

The domestication of civic education policy initiated and adopted in postwar Hong Kong

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Abstract. Generally speaking, after the Chinese Communist Party had gained political power, the colonial Hong Kong Government intended to resist the spread and influence of communism and to that end implemented Civic Education in Hong Kong. The present study disagrees with this simple description and analysis. The postwar Hong Kong was confronted with the complex Chinese civil war situation while the British maintained their colonial governance. Faced with the rising power of the Communist Party, the victory of the war and the outbreak of the Korean War, the entire geo-political transformation process influenced the administration and strategy of the Hong Kong Government. The question was that did Hong Kong conduct the Nationalist education as civic education before 1949 and under the cultural and educational influence of the Communist across the border? Hong Kong had to implement the embargo policy of the United Nations and the Cold War's strategy between the capitalist world and the communist blocs. It was not necessary for Civic Education wholly revealing a responding problem but it can partly explain the real situation.

Keywords: citizenship, geo-politics, education.

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the problem

The civic education just after the Second World War in Hong Kong has not been investigated in detail, but previous literature would like to promise that the Hong Kong government adopted western liberal and capitalist citizenship to counteract the communist influences. Chan (1996:235), Hong (2002:79) and Sha et al. (2002:60) agree that this conclusion was problematic and questionable. This paper intends to clarify the postwar policy of civic education in British Hong Kong. The historical context and the geopolitical situation are considered. The historical background and the society of postwar Hong Kong can be helpful for contributing to the interpreting and explaining of the British decision made in Hong Kong for maintaining their governance. This paper intends to clarify the context and the civic education policy of the Hong Kong government in the short postwar period before October 1949.

Historical background and citizenship education after the Second World War

The major development of Hong Kong history just after the Second World War is examined first. After 100 years of British rule, Hong Kong was captured by Japan in December 1941 to August 1945. A small planning unit had been working in London since 1943 on the task of producing a plan for resumption of British administration of Hong Kong. The Nationalist Party in China set up a similar team in Fukien Province for taking over Taiwan from Japan but it was not same degree of readiness as that of taking back Hong Kong. After the war ended in August 1945, the power balance over Hong Kong shifted between Britain and the Nationalist China. The surrender of Japan came earlier than expected. Once the war was over, Hong Kong emerged as a major problem in post-war

Anglo-Chinese relations. There was an obvious decline of the British Empire in the Far East. The British Empire's failure to defend and protect its Far Eastern territories against Japanese aggression weakened its prestige and undermined its influence in this region. Instead, the context of the general decline of British power and prestige in post East Asia were: it had been defeated by Japan during the war, the United States had assumed the leading role in the war against Japan, and that the tide of Asian nationalism was rising quickly.

The Americans finally agreed that the British should accept the Japanese surrender and British forces were the first to enter Hong Kong. Rear Admiral Harcourt commanded the British navy that occupied Hong Kong on 31 August 1945. China by the Nationalists became one of the five permanent members in the Security Council of the United Nations which was reformed from the League of Nations. When Japan surrendered, the Chinese inhabitants in Hong Kong saw the return of the British with both relief and indifference (Tsang, 2004:142). Local Hong Kong newspapers occasionally reminded people to behave in ways befitting of citizens of China (Tsang, 2004:142). A sense of national pride in China was developed in Hong Kong obviously just after the Second World War.

The change of government in Britain by the Labour Party in July 1945 did not alter the British position toward Hong Kong. The status of the British colony of Hong Kong remained a sensitive problem in Anglo-Chinese relations. China under *Jiang Kai-shek's* leadership was keen to regain Hong Kong, but taking over the British colonial Hong Kong by force was not politically wise enough and feasible and it was not the first priority of his political plans in China.

It is very important to note that, during the Second World War, the Communist guerilla forces in Hong Kong organized armed resistance against Japan. They were involved in the rescue of a number of British officers. This remarkable association made *Huang Zuomei* to be awarded a Member of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire (MBE order) in 1946 for the assistance to the British during the war. Later, he was the head of the New China News Agency's Hong Kong Office in May 1947. This indicated that the Communist gained the good relationship with the British during this period.

However, a military administration was set up under Harcourt as Commander-in-Chief and so Hong Kong was under military rule for eight months. After the Japanese surrender, the Communist guerrilla force assisted the British authorities in keeping order in Hong Kong. The Chinese Communist maintained order in those parts of New Territories under its control until British reinforcements arrived (Tsang, 2004:139). But the situation was complicated in the sense that British forces liaised with the Chinese Nationalist Army which used Hong Kong as an embarkation point for redeployment to north China. The military administration lasted until 1st

May 1946. A transition period prepared for the restoration of civil rule. Law and order needed to be established and food and water supplies needed to be well organized as many people came back to Hong Kong and the population increased to 1.6 million within a year.

The Governor, Mark Young returned to Hong Kong to resume the Governorship and his administration of Hong Kong in May 1946. The Colonial Office was planning to introduce constitutional changes in Hong Kong. A number of possible solutions to the Hong Kong problem included returning the colony to Hong Kong Chinese sovereignty in return for British administration and introducing democratic changes. The main issues for the civil governance were the introduction of a new constitution as a political reform in Hong Kong and the placing of local Chinese into positions of responsibility in the administration (Tsang, 2004:141). The constitutional reform was announced by Mark Young in August 1946. He made a broadcast address on 28th August 1946 after careful consideration of opinions and wishes of the community. The 1947 Young Plan envisaged the establishment of a municipal council comprising both elected and appointed members, and more direct representation of unofficial members of the Legislative Council. He charged with the task of examining in community with representatives of all sections of the community. The Executive and Legislative Councils should be reconstituted and normal administrative organizations would be restored as far as possible. He might want to find the best methods of giving effect to grant to Hong Kong people a fuller and more responsible share in the management of Hong Kong. It seemed that the postwar Hong Kong citizenship was built through the process of democratization by political institutionalization.

After a prolonged consultation, Young submitted the proposals to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in October 1946. In brief, Young proposed that a single council should be composed of two-thirds members elected equally by Chinese and non-Chinese voters and one third appointed by representative bodies. He presented the plan to change the constitution of the territory. The gist of the Young's plan was to give substantially great power to the local Chinese but it was never implemented. These proposals were subjected to close scrutiny in London over a period of several months not until July 1947. When the discussion on the proposals went on in London, the political situation of the civil war in China was taking a dramatic change.

Young left Hong Kong on retirement on 17th May 1947. His successor Alexander Grantham assumed duty on 25th July 1947. During the year cordial relations were maintained with the National Chinese authorities in *Guangdong* and friendly visits frequently exchanged. The Hong Kong Government had sympathetic understanding of the difficulties and problems confronting China in the post-war period under this geo-political context. Hong Kong made an astonishing rapid recovery from the

ravages of war replete with the population and housing problems. Yet, the fundamental problem of British Colony of Hong Kong was its relationship with China and not the advancement of self-government and independence. After Grantham arrived, his initiatives and responses to events happened in Hong Kong helped to bring modernity into what was once a colonial backwater hardly in tune with the socialistic and egalitarian waves sweeping postwar Britain. He believed that Hong Kong was politically fragile.

It must have been a cause of disappointment to Sir Mark Young that his term of office did not see the final seal set upon the plans for the revised constitution of the Colony to which he, and others, had devoted much time and consideration. It was not until July, after his departure from the Colony, that the approval of his constitutional proposals was announced by the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Hong Kong Government, 1948:2).

An announcement was made with a statement in the House of Commons in July 1947. The proposed revision of the Constitution Reform was given but that was subjected to certain reservations by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Broadly, the proposal was to establish a Municipal Council to which would be delegated certain functions by the Hong Kong Government and to alter the constitution of the Legislative Council that an unofficial majority would be created instead of the official majority (Hong Kong Government, 1948:2). Obviously, the democratization of political institutes was shelved after such consideration. The British government's attitude toward China and Hong Kong was consistent on maintaining its own interests. Britain could not afford to reassert its prewar position in China but the retention of Hong Kong was important to the empire.

The Chinese Communist authorities, however, did not instigate trouble for the British in Hong Kong at that time. The Hong Kong Central Branch Bureau was set up in 1947 and the New China News Agency's Hong Kong Branch operated on 15th May 1947. They were not set up to organize anti-imperialist or anti-colonialist movement but to coordinate the Communist effort in their struggle against the Nationalist. Many British officials were rather sympathetic to these Chinese Communists. Many Chinese Communists, indeed, had sought refuge in Hong Kong escaping from Nationalist persecution during the civil war in 1947. They used Hong Kong area as a base for anti-Nationalist political activity. The Chinese Communists were careful not to upset the British administration. As long as the Chinese Communists did not create trouble for Hong Kong, the government could tolerate their activities. The Hong Kong government noted that:

The continuing Civil War in China has necessarily had its reactions on the Colony both as regards its economy, which is closely linked with that of China, and as regards its population, which tends to fluctuate in inverse proportion to the stability of the political, military and economic situation in China (Hong Kong Government,

1949:1).

The Hong Kong government passed the 1949 Immigration Control Ordinance on 1 April 1949. This act was applied for the recording and controlling of arrival, departure and any activities of persons who were not born in Hong Kong. It was because of the population issue that the identity registration cards were issued at the first time to certify the residence of Hong Kong.

However, Britain was the first western country to recognize the People's Republic of China on 5th January 1950. After the establishment of the central government of the People's Republic of China, the first conflict between the East and the West was the Korean War. The United States led the United Nations and the postwar policies that the British had to follow. So, it was a critical moment in Hong Kong and the historical event should be analyzed carefully and accordingly.

METHOD OF STUDY

The study intends to analyze the situations after the Second World War in Hong Kong with a background the Chinese Civil War between the Nationalist and the Communist, the establishment of the People's Republic of China and the Korean War and the world trade embargoes against China by the United Nations. These historical and geo-political contexts affected the policy decisions very much. Citizenship education as a policy was mediated by these historical issues. These changing contexts should be reasonably noted. So the policy analysis is to put the historical context for explanation. The policy documents can give the real facts and the reasons for the policy implemented can be explained by these geo-political situations. The research method lays stress on the postwar Hong Kong history and important events and situations, making clarification and explanation of the substantive policy implementation.

The real situation should be reconsidered to be clarified with the geo-political context in the postwar Hong Kong. The Chinese community had demographic origins and socio-economic and cultural links with China. If Hong Kong was affected by two centers of influence which were Britain and China, the geo-political situation should be the key element taken into consideration for effective governance. After all, although having a small numerical presence in Hong Kong, the British held military, political and economic power (Luk, 1991:653).

UNDERSTANDING AND EXPLANATION OF CIVIC EDUCATION ADOPTED IN THIS PERIOD

It was so careless to conclude that the British Hong Kong government adopted citizenship education for counteracting the communist influences after the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949. The conclusion cannot make sense with the real situation

after the Second World War in Hong Kong. Researchers wrote journal articles and book chapters in Chinese to say that school curriculum should avoid political indoctrination by the communist propaganda (Chan, 1996:235), the Hong Kong government should use civic education as political knowledge for the Hong Kong people (Shan et al., 2002:60), and civic education could resist the possible effects of the communist regime (Hong, 2002:79). To a certain extent, the consideration about citizenship building in the postwar Hong Kong was expressed in the document of the Hong Kong government. It was that:

A number of dissident Chinese political groups out of sympathy with the Chinese Government continued during the year to take asylum in Hong Kong. There was a tendency for a certain number of these to abuse the hospitality granted to them by using the privileges of freedom of press and freedom of speech enjoyed in the Colony to attack in immoderate terms the established Government of China. It was therefore necessary for warnings to be given to them that they should not abuse the privilege of asylum they enjoyed (Hong Kong Government, 1949:2).

At the end of the Second World War, educators were faced with the ruins of both the physical and intellectual resources of the education system in Hong Kong. The return of British education to Hong Kong in September 1945 found itself faced with the difficulties. The destruction of school buildings, much of it was deliberate, the loss of school books and libraries, the removal or destruction of laboratory and handwork equipment were added to the prevailing conditions. There was uncertainty about the future of Hong Kong after the Second World War. Political practices were natural subjects for education concerns. Teachers and students were expected by others to be politically aware and active. If Hong Kong was of a special sensitivity towards politics in schools, the traditional Chinese assumed that education was instrumental to socio-economic advancement. The publicly funded education system wanted to resume the key features of the pre-war period and the educational system of Hong Kong had virtually to make a complete new start. It was highly selective and elitist, providing the relatively small public and international sectors of the economy with the bilingual manpower they required. There were reconstruction and rehabilitation of the Colony's educational structure through planning and policy. The immediate problem at hand was to rebuild the educational plants themselves as the places available were far from being sufficient. The years between the end of the Second World War and the establishment of a Communist regime in China were of considerable

significance in the field of education in Hong Kong.

Immediately upon beginning to reconstruct, Hong Kong was faced with the massive immigration from China which necessitated expansion of school places. Owing to the large influx of refugees into the Colony in the post-war years there was a large demand for education. Government planned the establishment of fifty government vernacular schools over a period of ten years, following the recommendation by Burney in 1935. The planning was postponed until the post war Hong Kong. There were some 50,000 children for whom no education was available in 1946 (Table 1). They were temporary residents for whom it would be assumed impossible to provide facilities (Education Department, 1947:6). The number of children enrolled by the end of March 1947 was nearly 100,000 in over five hundred schools (Education Department, 1947:6). Though far from ideal, the shortage of accommodation had necessitated using one school building for two with an evening school in addition (Education Department, 1947:6). The problems besides costs were one of the site and other of training teachers.

Education in Hong Kong was voluntary and controlled in the hands of government, missionary bodies and private individuals. Schools were required to register with the Director of Education and the regulations made under the Education Ordinance 1913. The schools in the Colony were classified as:

1. Government Schools which were staffed and maintained by the Educational Department;
2. Grant Schools which were schools run mainly by missionary bodies with the assistance of a grant from Government under the provisions of the Grant Code;
3. Subsidized Schools which were those schools in receipt of a subsidy from Government under the Subsidy Code;
4. The Military Schools and certain others which were exempted from the provisions of the Education Ordinance 1913;
5. All other private schools. (Education Department, 1948:8)

Table 2 shows a significantly larger numbers of boys studying in the government schools than those of girls, which reflect a gender bias in admitting students in English schools generally.

Under the terms of the Grant Code introduced in 1941 and modified slightly in 1946 Government paid the difference between approved expenditure and income of the grant-aided schools (Education Department, 1947:43). The objects of the Subsidy Code under which subsidized schools operated were threefold: [1] to enable properly qualified teachers to operate schools without running into debt; [2] to keep fees at a reasonable level; and [3] to ensure proper salaries for teachers. Many of these schools were not for the subsidy and would be

Table 1. Government issued Hong Kong students' statistics at 10 January 1947.

School type	Region	School	Number in primary	Number in secondary	Total number
Government	Urban inside	13	3142	1154	4296
	Urban outside	3	479		479
English boys practical		4	237	83	382
		3			663
Government grant	Urban inside	18	7583	4309	11892
Government subsidy	Urban inside	45	8909	421	9330
	Urban outside	144	9966		9966
Grant night		10	2678		2678
Private	Urban inside	173	32366	5330	37704
	Urban outside	15	742	2380	980
Private night		122	11733	562	12295
Total		547	77835	12105	90603

Source: Hwa (1947)

Table 2. Numbers of boys and girls in the Government schools in March 1947.

Class	Boys		Girls	
	English	Vernacular	English	Vernacular
Primary	1161	1336	61	1255
Post-primary	668	49	85	295
Total	1829	1385	146	1550

Source: Education Department (1948:13).

compelled either to charge exorbitant school fees in order to pay their teachers or to balance their budget by paying unreasonably low salaries and consequently lowering the standard of their tuition (Education Department, 1947:43-44). Private schools were those which were not in need of or did not merit Government assistance. A school might apply for Government subsidy or the Director of Education might approach the school manager and propose a subsidy if it appeared that it was in the interests of the children or of the children's parents that this should be done (Hong Kong Government, 1947:44).

Education in Hong Kong was not free although 10% of pupils in Government schools were allowed free places, these children being mainly from poor families. In 1946, the fees in Government school were \$5 per month for primary and \$10 per month for secondary classes. The fees of the grant-in-aids schools were on the scale \$6 to \$12 per month. The subsidized schools charged \$8 per month and the rural schools were fees ranging from \$1 to \$5 per month (Hong Kong Government, 1947:47). Instruction in government schools was given through the medium of English or of Chinese and out of a total of 4910 students there were 1975 receiving instruction in English and 2935 were taught in the Vernacular in March 1947.

In 1947, there were 16 Grant-in-Aid Schools and they were bearing the whole burden of secondary education in English in Hong Kong. These schools were formerly

aided by means of a Capitation Grant but this had been replaced by a Grant based on the difference between the income from tuition fees and approved expenditure. Additional aid was given through grants not exceeding half the cost of new buildings or major repairs to buildings, and in respect of furniture and equipment necessary for approved courses of instruction. Private schools had continued to increase in numbers and in enrolment. Certain numbers of them had taken advantage of the situation, the demand for educational facilities exceeding the supply, to making exorbitant profits (Education Department, 1947:9). The rather gender balancing of school places by Grant schools should be noted (Table 3, also compare with Table 2).

Schools in which the medium in instruction was Cantonese provided vernacular education. The schools were divided into groups according to the amount of Government assistance provided. They were:

1. Government Schools entirely maintained by Government;
2. Subsidized Schools to which Government made a contribution under the terms of the Subsidy Code;
3. Private Schools which received no contribution from Government but registered and inspected by Government (Education Department, 1947:18)

Subsidized schools increased in number during the year

Table 3. Numbers of boys and girls in the Grant schools in December 1947.

Class	Boys		Girls	
	English	Vernacular	English	Vernacular
Kindergarten	233	288	442	280
Primary	1677	1239	1769	1877
Post-primary	1819	461	1593	481
Total	3729	1988	3804	2638

Source: Education Department (1947:13).

from 120 to 194. The objectives of the Subsidy Code were to ensure higher standards of education, to enable schools to pay qualified teachers and to keep fees to a minimum (Education Department, 1947:18). Thus more students were engaged in subsidized schools. Many subsidized schools were badly housed, understaffed and overcrowded. Few of the occupied premises designed as schools and they were to be found in tenement blocks, church halls, converted stables, Nissen huts and village houses (Education Department, 1947:18). The conditions remained deplorable unless the children were to be deprived of education by closing them.

It was not until more government schools were built and more use was made of the building grant available. Reported by the Education Department in 1947, the system of education had tended to direct government aid towards education in English, particularly in the secondary level. Primary education in the vernacular had been in the hands of private schools (Education Department, 1947:30). However, private schools were entirely self-supporting. There were 84 in May 1946 and these had increased to 240 by March 1947 (Education Department, 1947:19). The poor conditions outlined in the case of subsidized schools above applied with even greater force on the private schools. Of course, converted dwelling houses, flats and floors of tenement blocks could not be considered satisfactory as schools. Although the Fisher Report even stated that places should be brought in certain private schools, it was rejected by the colonial government in 1951 (Sweeting, 2004:163).

Free schools or schools charging very low fees were believed to be for the children of the poorer class of workers. The governmental hopefulness was to increase the number of these schools. The type of education aimed at producing a better worker and citizen. The Education Report in 1947 stated that:

The general policy, therefore, is to improve vernacular education; to build Government vernacular primary and middle schools; to increase the scope and content of teacher training; to give opportunities for local officers to reach the higher grades in the service; to bring the standard of accommodation and staff of all schools to a high level; to strengthen the administrative side; to provide free practical education for the children of poor working class citizens; to increase subsidies towards

vernacular education; to provide educational opportunities for all classes of children and to provide a school leaving examination in the vernacular which would lead to entry into universities in China (Education Department, 1947:32). The arrangement of classes was somewhat confusing. Table 4 explains the position of different systems. The overview of the system of basic education in colonial Hong Kong was found in Table 4.

During the Chinese Civil War from 1946 to 1949, Hong Kong experienced influx of refugees and they were concerned about the problems of making a livelihood only. Many immigrants struggled to make a living and some Hong Kong officials helped to shape a situation in which the presence of politics within the formal or informal curriculum of schools became a matter for suspicion and should possibly be reported (Sweeting, 1993:193).

In fact, the desire to remain under British rule and to resist absorption by China was widespread but largely surreptitious in Hong Kong (Sweeting, 1993:193). On the other hand, the British Schools were not for Chinese pupils generally. Their school subjects did not contain Civics and the humanities subjects were History and Geography only (Table 5). The government schools were basically for Chinese students only. Schools provided more subjects in comparing with those of British schools, such as *Kuo Yu* and Chinese History. The government schools in which the medium of instruction was English still did not provide Civics as a subject. Interesting enough, Civics was the school subject only for the government vernacular middle or primary schools as early as 1946. It was included in their schools' time table and curriculum exactly.

Special attention could be placed on the subjects taught in schools in this period. The humanities subjects were History, Geography and Civics which could act as a certain kind of citizenship knowledge and education for students. Civics, of course, was the subject in a narrow sense of citizenship education in Hong Kong which taught basic political education. Table 6 shows the number of periods on each subject for government middle schools.

History and Geography were assumed to be the western knowledge about world history which mainly focused on European History and global conditions and customs. However, Civics was taught in Chinese

Table 4. The system of basic education in Hong Kong's government schools in the late 1940s.

British schools	English schools		Vernacular schools	
	Ages		Ages	
Kindergarten	4-6	Kindergarten	4 to 7	Standard 1 Standard 2
Class 1	5-7	Class 10	4-6	Lower Primary 1
Class 2	7-8	Class 9	7-10	Lower Primary 2
Class 3	8-9	Class 8	9-12	Lower Primary 3
Form 1	9-11	Class 7	10-13	Lower Primary 4
Form 2	11-14	Class 6	11-14	Higher Primary 1
Form 3	14-15	Class 5	12-15	Higher Primary 2
Form 4	15-16	Class 4	13-16	Junior Middle 1
Form 5	16-17	Class 3	14-17	Junior Middle 2
Form 6	17	Class 2	15-18	Junior Middle 3
		Class 1	16-19	Senior Middle 1
			17-20	Senior Middle 2
				Senior Middle 3

Source: Education Department (1947:33 and 1948:29)

Table 5. Time table (number of periods on each subject per week) for government middle schools.

Subject	Vernacular senior middle school				Chinese govt middle school	
	SM1	JM3	JM2	JM1	SM	JM
Chinese	8	7	7	7	5	5
English	6	7	7	6	5	4
Translation	1	1	1			
Mathematics	5	5	5	5	4	4
History	2	2	2	2	2	2
Geography	2	2	2	2	2	2
Science	3	3	3	4	4	4
Hygiene				1		1
Civics	2	2	2	2	2	1
<i>Kuo yu</i>	1	1	1	1		
Painting	1	1	1	1	½	1
Handwork						2
Music					½	1
Physical tr.	2	2	2	1	2	4
Military tr.						3
	33	33	33	33	30	31

Source: Education Department (1947:54).

language and it was the Nationalist government's curriculum, text books and ideology of Three People's principles. The text books were only written in Chinese and printed in Shanghai or Hong Kong. It was not until 1950 that the text books of Hong Kong Civics were written in English. This kind of citizenship knowledge in western culture if political rights were empowered after the Second World War might challenge the governance or ruling in colonial Hong Kong. On the other hand, the Hong Kong government did not have enough resources to localize or vernacularize the subject contents of citizenship education at such an early stage in the

postwar Hong Kong. The civic education can be compared with other subjects in Table 6.

Kuo Yu means Mandarin (Table 6) which has a little difference from *Putonghua* which was adopted as the official spoken language of the Communist China later. But this language education could give a signal that the British Hong Kong allowed a certain extent of the Nationalist educational content taught at Hong Kong. Also, military training was provided for middle school students (Table 5) in postwar Hong Kong.

During the postwar period in Hong Kong, the secondary education was provided in terms of more knowledge for

Table 6. Time table (number of periods per week) for government primary vernacular schools.

Subjects	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6
Chinese	13	13	12	12	13	12
English			6	6	8	8
Arithmetic	6	6	7	7	7	9
Civics	2	2	2	2	2	2
General knowledge	5	5	5	5		
Nature study					3	2
History	1	1	1	1	2	2
Geography	1	1	1	1	2	2
Physical education	5	5	2	2	2	2
Music			2	2	2	1
Art			2	2	1	1
Handwork	4	4	2	2	1	1
Mandarin	1	1	1	1	1	1
Total	38	38	43	43	43	43

Source: Education Department (1948:47).

those who intended to further their studies after finishing primary education. There was immediate problem of refurbishing the badly damaged education fabric or infrastructure of Hong Kong too (Sweeting, 2004:139). The tertiary level of education had not been provided yet as the University of Hong Kong was not re-opened until 1949. So, it was too careless to conclude that Civics was initiated in Hong Kong as a school subject counteracted communist ideology in Hong Kong and the rising dominating power of the mainland China. Luk gave the explanation that:

During the late 1940s, this was still the case. The textbooks then had been written according to the syllabi promulgated by the Nationalist government in 1941 from the wartime capital of Chongqing. Since the Chinese nation was fighting for its survival against the Japanese history textbooks were highly patriotic and emotive. Those books continued in use through the civil war years in China and in Hong Kong (Luk, 1991:664)

The government obtained the statistics of schools and pupils showed that, after the Second World War, private schools were in the highest percentage. It indicated the Hong Kong government could not dominate all education institutionally (Table 7).

The education report 1948-49 stated that legislation had been enacted with regard to the payment of school fees and it was an offence to collect fees except by the month unless with the special permission of the Director of Education (Education Department, 1949:1). At the secondary school level, Chinese-medium education expanded rapidly in this period (Sweeting, 1995:234-

235). Chinese education reached its peak in the years immediately after the Second World War. We can compare the figures of number of schools after Second World War in Hong Kong (1947 to 1950) and found that the number of private schools was much more than that of government or subsidiary schools during this period. And also the rate of number of these private schools was increasing (Table 8). But there had been public complaints the children of genuine residents were being excluded by pressure from "wealthy outsiders" who were more easily able to pay the "tea money" which many unscrupulous private schools operators were demanding (South China Morning Post, 13rd October 1947, cited in Sweeting, 1993:87 and 2004:141).

The government's sensitivity was heightened during this period. It was recognized that the two factions in the Chinese Civil War used local schools to promote their respective doctrines in Hong Kong. Although they were different ideologies, they were the same in their antagonism to the colonial and imperial regimes.

The term *education for citizenship* was first found in Hong Kong's official document in 1948. The official thinking on citizenship education was written in Hong Kong Annual Report of the Director of Education for the year from April 1948 to March 1949. It gave the statement about Civics in the way of considering new subjects to be infused into the Hong Kong School Certificate Examination as:

We are interested less than students should acquire a mass of formal knowledge than that should learn how to behave intelligently in the kind of situation they are likely to meet, less in what they know than in what they can do. Any syllabus must naturally be planned round

Table 7. Digest of schools and pupils in 1947.

Schools	Boys		Girls		Total
	Primary	Post-primary	Primary	Post-primary	
A. European					
Government	147	106	114	102	469
Garrison	7		5		12
Private	6		8		14
B. Government					
Training Colleges		21		80	101
Urban Schools	2217	717	1101	380	4415
Rural Schools	280		215		495
C. Grant Aided Schools	3437	2280	4368	2074	12159
D. Subsidized Schools	11810	191	8005	111	20117
E. Private Schools	27163	6654	22115	3426	59358
F. Evening institute		320		260	580
Total	45067	10289	35931	6433	97720

Source: Education Department (1947:57).

Table 8. Total number of schools, 1947-1950 (Report on Education Statistics, Wornal 1947/48 & Phillips 1949/50).

Type of schools	1947	Mar 48	Mar 50	↑ cf 48	50 ↑%
Government	26	27	31	+4	15
Grant in Aid	18	18	19	+1	5
Non-subsidised day sch (urban)	193	227	301	+74	32
Non-sub day sch (rural)	25	16	27	+11	69
Non-sub night sch (urban)	112	140	190	+50	36
Subsidised sch (urban)	46	58	84	+26	45
Subsidised sch (rural)	167	186	197	+11	6
Total	587	672	849	+177	26

the basic subjects, English and Chinese language, and Arithmetic, which provide the essential techniques for any study, but a place may be found for subjects such as Civics, General Science, Art, Music and Handwork (Education Department, 1949:40).

Civics in the hope that children before leaving school will have gained a working knowledge at least of how their own city works; of its hospitals and other social services; of its factories and its docks. It is intended that the course shall be a practical one, and that it will give students a background of real knowledge against which they can compare the achievements and failings of our own government with those of other forms of Government (Education Department, 1949:41). The practical implementation of Civics was observable. A, Civics, as a new subject, had been introduced to the Hong Kong School Certificate examination in 1950, and courses for

teachers were being run at the Northcote Training College. The planning was, as a matter of fact, adopted before the establishment of the central government of the People's Republic of China.

More importantly, many schools have raised large sums for charity by means of bazaars for which most of the work was done by the children (Education, 1949:67) The section of citizenship education must be considered in relation to the special local conditions. Hong Kong is grossly overcrowded, and it is probably true to say that the greater part of the population is here to make money, to seek refuge, or to take advantage of the educational and other social services provided. Thus it is unusual to find a resident who shows an unselfish interest in any form of social welfare. The great majority of the inhabitants show an apathy from which it will not be easy to [a]rouse them, but a start what being a good citizen means (Education Department 1949:67).

Yet, a precautionary position was taken by the Education Department about the implementation of

Civics. The important statement was expressed as:

The dangers of the subject being taught in a formal way and purely for educational purposes are realized; encouragement is given to groups of pupils to visit relevant institutions and to teachers to use practical methods of presentation of the subject matter (Education Department 1951:54-55). The curriculum was not obviously opened ideological and antagonistic to both the Nationalist and the Communist. However, the Hong Kong Government started to abolish the Nationalist textbooks and its curriculum. The re-orientation of education was obvious and the educational aims were made those of vernacularization and domestication. In fact, the mechanisms for controlling curricula involved a novel combination of bureaucratic process (Morris, 1992:120) in Hong Kong. The selection of the range and content of the subjects studied and examined, the provision of curriculum wide guidelines and the selection of textbooks used in schools (Morris, 1992:120) were the three main areas of decision making related to these ideological control by the bureaucracy. So, the subject contents of education in Hong Kong could be re-directed and were to abolish the Nationalist curriculum and prevent it from the Communist propaganda. The situation was paradoxical.

In the following year, the Education Department reported about the issuing of text books and the idea of citizenship education in Hong Kong. So, more development about Civics was expressed in 1950.

The lack of suitable text-books has been a handicap but this is now in hand and text-books prepared by the Department, in Chinese and in English, should be in print in time for the next academic year (Education Department, 1951:55). In 1951 Civics was for the first time a subject in the School Certificate Examination and every effort is being made to ensure that the course is practical rather than theoretical (Education Department, 1951:77). Indeed, the certificate examination was regarded as a stepping stone to Matriculation, the entrance examination to the University of Hong Kong. The new subjects that could give candidates a wider choice were English Literature, Chinese Literature, Civics, Music, Elementary Chinese and Elementary Mathematics, where English was the only compulsory subject.

This civic education syllabus presented Britain as a polity of citizens and China as a polity of subjects only. Most of the Hong Kong Chinese fled from mainland able to live under British rule and to enjoy certain rights. It was a blessing in comparison to the political situation in China (Tsang, 1998:239). The introduction of the syllabus was:

What Civics means. Man as an individual and as a member of Society: today he is a "Citizen" rather than a "subject". Active association in community life is the mark of a citizen: more obedience to community

laws is the mark of a subject. Democracy requires that all citizens should participate in its activities. This in turn requires a clear knowledge by each citizen of his rights and his duties. The tradition of voluntary service, e.g. hospitals, schools, charitable organizations.

As mentioned above, Civics was first offered as an examination subject in the School Leaving Certificate in 1950 (Education Department and Curriculum Development Council, 1985:1). The syllabus was intended to give pupils an insight into the workings of local government as it then existed and provide opportunities for comparison with other forms of government (Education Department and Curriculum Development Council, 1985:1).

There was also a section called our community. It was:

Hong Kong – The community in which we live. Brief history of its beginnings and development. Hong Kong connected racially with China, and politically with Britain. Opportunity thus provided for understanding and friendship between the Chinese and the British peoples. The international aspect of Hong Kong's life. Its far-flung connections through commerce and shipping.

Also, the Annual Report of Education for the year of 1948 expressed the idea and implementation of Civics:

While the course in Civics is designed partly to make the public conscious of the work of the Colony's Social Services, the emphasis is on the development of a sense of civic responsibility and on the need for self-help. The Grant Schools, in particular, have done much to instill in their pupils their duty to help their less fortunate brothers and sisters. During the summer holidays, senior pupils give up much of their time to teach free primary classes, while many of the free night schools are run by their former pupils. The organization which is perhaps the best known is the Wah Yan College Boy's Club, where the 'shoe shine' boys are given not only instruction in English which will give them the chance to better their position, but also food and recreation and a warm welcome to make them feel that some members of the community take an active interest in their welfare (Education Department, 1949:67).

The essential message conveyed in the syllabus was that Hong Kong was under British rule and was a community different from China (Tsang, 1998:238). The community in which we live *connected racially with China and politically with Britain* was a key message. Next, the section 'The Press' indicated *freedom of press* safeguarded by law to

give full and fair information and to criticize public affairs. There was also the *general description of the British system of justice, and how it differs from that of China*. So Hong Kong could enjoy under British rule with system of justice and democratic press only. Marshall's three types of rights was incompletely provided. Only civil rights were developed at the early days when British transplanted the legal system. People enjoyed civil liberties in the aspects of right to life, right to property, legal protection, freedom of movement, freedom of thought and religion, and freedom of speech and expression (Tse, 2004:179). Political and social citizenship rights were absent in British Hong Kong. The syllabus included social topics such as 'Public Health, 'Housing', 'Education' and 'Other public services' which had nothing to do with social right. In fact, they were the serious social problems in Hong Kong at that period which the Hong Kong government could not well entertain, such as housing, education, public health and social services.

A broader political view context could be found which included the comparison of 'American Capitalism, Russian Communism and British Socialism', reflecting the political situation in 1948 when the syllabus was initiated. There was the Labour Party which won the General election in July 1945 which brought about a spirit of optimism (Sweeting, 2004:137-138) and the China civil war raging. In the section 'War and Peace': Hong Kong was cosmopolitan and politically advanced far beyond a narrow form of nationalism. The UN was an ideal type and the British Commonwealth could achieve the peace, happiness and corporation of nations. There was also the Education Annual Report 1948-49 which stated the social context of Hong Kong and the purpose of the civic course and what the government can do on textbooks.

The greater part of the local population is not consciously aware of civic duties, rights and responsibilities. Even in the schools no widespread attempts had been made to foster such concepts. Nevertheless, encouraging though often unrecognized, activities have been promoted in individual schools whereby the more fortunate pupils have been giving personal service to the underprivileged. Many free night schools summer schools have been conducted in this way (Education Department, 1950:54).

The course in Civics has been designed to make the pupils aware of the work done by the Colony's social services and the same time to lay emphasis on the need for civic responsibility. Some schools, particularly the Grant-aided, seem to do this more successfully than others. The lack of suitable text-books has been a handicap but this is now in hand and text-books prepared by the Department, in Chinese and in English, should be in print in time for the next academic year (Education Department 1950:54-55).

Next, the Annual Report of Education Director for the Year 1950-51 further reported the supporting teaching materials for Civics:

During the year a series of twelve illustrated text-books using material based on local conditions and with a careful graded vocabulary, have been prepared and published as a progressive course in Civic for use in vernacular primary schools. The first book deals simply with personal habits and behaviour; later books deal with services such as the Post Office and Fire Brigade, with the benefits received from social services, the duties of citizens and social relationships. For Anglo-Chinese secondary schools, basic material for the Civics syllabus has been issued in the form of five pamphlets, three of which have been translated for use in vernacular secondary schools. Chapters in the secondary school series deal with such topics as "The place in which we live-its geography, history, form of government": with social services, trade and industry, labour relations, finance (Education Department, 1951:76-77).

The grant schools in particular and some other schools foster a sense of social responsibility by extra-curricular activities whereby the more fortunate give personal attention to the needs of the underprivileged (Education Department, 1951:76). Government assistance to schools for the children of employees in industrial and commercial concerns, known as Worker's Schools, takes the form of special grant of \$3 per pupil per month. During the year this grant reached a total of \$52260. Re-organization took place during the year by the opening of the two schools (Education Department, 1950:30). The two schools were specially erected in September 1949 for the Hong Kong government's intention to ban All Workers' Schools. This further showed that the British Hong Kong government wanted to maintain its governance in Hong Kong. But it was not successful where some communist schools could be retained. Hong Kong governance had better adopted the mild procedure which kept both sides to cooperate with each other.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The end of the Second World War was followed by the outbreak of civil war between the Communists and the Nationalists on the Mainland. There were more than a million people arriving in Hong Kong between September 1945 and December 1949. Yet, a considerable number of leftist intellectuals had come to Hong Kong between 1946 and 1947. They were experienced journalists, writers, and union organizers and wanted to set up a liaison base for the Mainland Communists and the overseas Chinese. Meanwhile, schools were set up and registered in the Education Department of Hong Kong. They provided education to those out of school children and to educate them for the future of China. The situation toward near of 1948 in China changed with the collapse of the Nationalist regime. British commercial interests in China would be affected by the Communist victory. The retention of Hong Kong as a British colony appeared to be

doubtful. The Communists brought the downfall of the Nationalists in 1949. A fresh and strong China was about to emerge. It resulted in, more importantly, the education in Hong Kong which could not adopt the Nationalist textbooks and curriculum as the People's Republic of China was established.

Later, the British government reinforced the British garrison in Hong Kong. The Hong Kong government adopted a tougher stance on the Communist activities. The British policy toward the Communist threat was a combination of the military buildup and limitation and regulation of local Communist activities. The Education Ordinance 1913 was amended to put more control on schools and schooling activities in December 1948. The Legislative Council adopted a whole sense of special legislation related to public security in August 1949. The armed forces were increased as well. The strategy could not be defined as antagonism. The British had no choice but defended Hong Kong itself.

When *Mao* conquered mainland China in 1949 after the Chinese civil war, not all the defeated members of the Nationalist Party went to Taiwan. Some stayed in Hong Kong. In early 1950, they started to organize study groups on leftist thoughts and new China policies. On the other hand, the threat of the Chinese Communist Party caused uncertainty concerning the future of Hong Kong. Their Marxist values such as egalitarianism and class antagonism stood as a stark contrast to the British values of *laissez-faire* and capitalism. There were confrontations in which school principals were expelled from the territory, schools were closed down by the Hong Kong authority and pupils were arrested. Even the Hong Kong garrison had reinforced, British policymakers were well aware of the fact that without China's acquiescence, it would be impossible to maintain Hong Kong under British rule. Hong Kong became embroiled in cold war politics as the Communists took power in China. However, Hong Kong was not a targeted battlefield. The Communist China fought against the capitalist Western in Korea. It was outside the territories, instead of taking back the sovereign areas such as Hong Kong or Macau. It was not necessary for the British Hong Kong government to adopt such entire antagonistic policy

However, post-war recovery and the rise of the Chinese Communist Party to power in mainland triggered an influx of refugees into the colony. Hong Kong faced a vast refugee problem as well as a need to expand school. From the moment of its liberation from the Japanese occupation, Hong Kong grew in population in a spectacular manner. There was an influx of people unparalleled in the history of the colony between years of 1948 and 1949. Nearly three-quarters of a million people who were mainly from *Kwan Tung* Province and Shanghai entered Hong Kong. The great influx exerted an enormous influence on education. Anglo-Chinese differences over the political status of Hong Kong were further complicated by the rise of communism in China when international politics were increasingly dominated by cold war considerations. Civics

as a subject was planned in 1948 and was introduced in British Hong Kong schools in 1950 in order to give pupils an insight into the workings of local government and it is inappropriate to say that Civics was implemented to counteract the influences of the Chinese Communist but it had long existed along the Nationalist thinking.

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