

“China Today” Module Teachers’ National Attitude and Their Implementation of Informal and Nonformal Education under “One Country & Two Systems”

Dick YAU Tak-sang

CUHK-TWGH Community College, Hong Kong

Abstract

Background: Prior to the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration, the civic education were characterized by denationalization and depoliticization. After the Joint Declaration, many of the conflicts emerged between the national interests advocated by the nationalistic camp and the Hong Kong interests promoted by the Liberal camp in the newly politicized Hong Kong not only unfolded that citizenship and national identity conceptually compartmentalized into unrelated ideas but also redefined civic education in such a way as to juxtapose and include both citizenship education and national education.. The teachers’ paradigms of the “China Today” module were explored because the module is directly related to both citizenship education and national education.

Aim: This study is to examine teachers’ paradigms of the ‘China Today’ module through their national attitude and their implementation in informal and nonformal education.

Sample: One secondary teacher taught the module of “China Today” a year ago and three secondary teachers are teaching the same module. As for methods, questionnaires and semi-structured interviews were used to assess the teachers’ perception and practices.

Results: Data revealed that the national attitude of the CSS1 teacher can be described as a cultural patriot; the CSS2 teacher, critical patriot; the CSS3, teacher, cultural nationalist or cultural patriot, the CSS4, critically cultural patriot.

Conclusion: The critical and cultural stances are not unrelated. “Critical” implies something about the evaluative framework of the teachers, while “cultural” understood in Confucian, World citizenship, Democracy or their combination terms, could be the philosophical foundation of an evaluative framework. In other words, the CSS1 teacher predominantly adopted the Confucianism as his evaluative framework in patriotism and world citizenship in nationalism; the CSS2 teacher, the concept of world citizenship in both patriotism and nationalism; the CSS3 teacher and the CSS4 teacher, Confucianism in both patriotism and nationalism. Only the CSS2 and CSS3 teachers carried out the informal and nonformal education. Thus, motivational and behavioral components of citizenship as volition are not yet part of the CSS1 and CSS4 teachers’ (cognitive) evaluative frameworks.

Key words: National attitude, informal and nonformal education

在一國兩制下教授“今日中國”單元老師的國民態度及其在非正式及非正規教育的執行

游德生

香港中文大學——東華三院社區學院

摘要

背景：在1984年中英聯合聲明以前，香港公民教育特色在於不提國家及不涉及政治。在聯合聲明以後，香港在新政治環境下，代表香港利益的自由派陣營和代表國家利益的國家派陣營的持續辯論不單揭示公民教育和國民教育一直以來分割的，並且要重新定義公民教育，以致把兩種教育並列及融合。選擇探索“今日中國”單元老師的典範是因為此單元內容包含公民教育和國民教育。

目標：籍研究四位中學老師的國民態度和非正式的教育來明白他們（老師）的典範。

樣本：一位在一年前曾任教及三位現在任教的“今日中國”的單元的老師。

研究方法：問卷調查及半正式的訪問。

研究結果：資料顯示教師一的國民態度傾向於文化愛國者；教師二的國民態度傾向於批判愛國者；教師三的國民態度傾向於文化國家主義者；教師四的國民態度傾向於批判文化愛國者。

結論：文化與批判不是沒有關係的；批判暗示教師的評估架構，而文化可包含儒家思想；世界公民、民主、或其組合可作評估架構的哲學基礎。換言之，教師一採用儒家思想作為愛國主義的評估架構及世界公民概念作為國家主義的評估架構；教師二採用世界公民思想作為愛國主義及國家主義的評估架構；教師三採用儒家思想作為愛國主義及國家主義的評估架構；教師四採用儒家思想作為愛國主義的評估架構及世界公民概念作為國家主義的評估架構。只有教師二和教師三執行非正式及非正規的教育；在公民情感意決層面，動機和行為組成部份尚未在教師一和教師四的評估架構內。

關鍵詞：國民態度、正式及非正式的教育

Introduction

Prior to the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration, the civic education were constrained by denationalization, depoliticization and decontextualization. After the Joint Declaration, many of the conflicts emerged between the national interests advocated by the nationalistic camp and the Hong Kong interests promoted by the Liberal camp in the newly politicized Hong Kong not only unfolded that citizenship and national identity conceptually compartmentalized into unrelated ideas but also redefined civic education in such a way as to juxtapose and include both citizenship education and national education. (Lee and Sweeting, 2001). Describing pre-handover ethos surrounding national education as prevailing indifference and avoidance among the populace and an absence of nationalistic and political education, Cheung Wing-hung (2005), a chief Curriculum Department officer, asserted that after the return of sovereignty, promotion of national identity became a stated education policy in the HKSAR. Approaches and strategies for the promotion of national identity have permeated the societal and educational levels. The teachers' paradigms of the "China Today" module were explored because the module used national themes as materials to inculcate values in students and is directly related to both citizenship education and national education.

Research Questions

The paradigms of the "China Today" module teachers are explored through the political-communal considerations which are broken down into two constituent parts: perception of the characteristics of good citizenship and national attitude. In the following research questions, the second question is

the main focus of discussion, while the rest are not addressed in this paper.

1. The first research question is to explore and identify teachers' perception of the characteristics of good citizenship, along with their aims and approaches to citizenship education.
2. The second research question is to explore and identify teachers' national attitudes and their aims and approaches to informal and non-formal education.

Literature Review

Lee Wing-on and Anthony Sweeting reported and analyzed the polarized rationales, aims, and visions of civic education which underlay the confrontation between the nationalistic and liberal camps before 1996. (Lee, Sweeting et al., 2001).

Cheung Wing-hung, a chief Curriculum Department officer, asserted that after the return of sovereignty, promotion of national identity became a stated education policy in the HKSAR. (Cheung, 2005).

Ip (1996) argued that the underdevelopment of civic person was due to Confucianism put a high premium on natural and social harmony which helped to generate a kind of holism which in turn gave greater significance to the whole (the public interests) than to the parts (the private interests). The state was depicted as the embodiment as well as the protector of the public interests, and thus had the right to dominate and control non-state institutions such as family which were conceived of as representing private interests.

Alex Porter argued that citizenship comprises three essential components: the notion of citizenship as status, the notion of citizenship as volition, and the notion of citizenship as competence.

Fairbrother (2003) had compared the Hong Kong and Mainland Chinese students’ patriotic and national orientation, their perceptions of agencies shaping political socialization, and critical thinking about Chinese society and politics.

Research Methodology

This is a qualitative research. Questionnaires and semi-structured interviews in informal and non-formal educational settings were employed along with text analysis. In terms of instrumentation, the study of national attitude comprised a questionnaire survey and a follow-up face-to-face interview with each teacher. The questionnaire on national attitude was designed by Gregory P. Fairbrother, and comes from his book *Toward Critical Patriotism: Student Resistance to Political Education in Hong Kong and China*.

The discussion will have two parts: the first part seeks to assess teachers’ national attitudes through an analysis of their responses to a questionnaire and follow-up interviews, and the second part seeks to examine the implementation of informal and nonformal education based on the notion of citizenship as volition. The teachers’ national attitude will definitely have an impact on their choice of aims and approaches to informal and nonformal education.

According to Fairbrother, “most writers on the subject of national attitude agree, explicitly or implicitly, that nationalism and patriotism are multidimensional concepts.” Fairbrother understands these concepts in the following ways:

Patriotism encompasses (1) an emotional attachment to the nation, (2) a sense of duty toward the nation, (3) the precedence of national over individual and regional interests, (4) a sense

of community with one’s fellow nationals. Nationalism encompasses (5) the idea that the nation should be valued more highly than other communities, (6) a desire for national power, and (7) a belief in the superiority of one’s own nation relative to others (Fairbrother, 2003).

Attitudes 1, 2, 3, and 4 are associated with patriotism, while attitudes 5, 6, and 7 are associated with nationalism. Regardless of how teachers may define patriotism, the term “patriotism,” in this questionnaire is used to describe those attitudes which apply to the nation and one’s fellow-citizens without reference to other nations—these are the first four dimensions of national attitude. The fifth, sixth, and seventh dimensions, which have reference to other nations and the international arena, are grouped together as representative of the attitude of “nationalism” (Fairbrother, 2003).

Two or more questions from Fairbrother’s research will be employed from each dimension to assess teachers’ national attitudes. Four teachers of ‘China Today’ module were asked to specify whether they “Strongly agree,” “Agree,” “Disagree,” or “Strongly Disagree” with each statement. After they had completed the questionnaire, I tabulated the statements and their corresponding responses under each dimension of national attitude. Table 1 provides the questions for each dimension, along with their responses.

To the CSS1 teacher, the focus of these emotions was Chinese culture and the Chinese people. Regarding the first statement, “I love my country,” he admitted that he loved his country, which he defined in terms of cultural heritage and extended to love for the Chinese people, the Great Wall, and the history, events, and progress of the country. As for the second statement, “I am not very proud of Chinese

Table 1

Emotional Attachment to the Nation and its Symbols

	Agree / Strongly Agree	Disagree / Strongly Disagree
I love my country. (Fairbrother, p83)	The CSS1 teacher Strongly agreed. The CSS2 and CSS3 teachers agreed.	The CSS4 teacher unwilling to respond.
I am not very proud of Chinese culture (Fairbrother, p83)		The CSS1, CSS2, and CSS4 teachers disagreed. The CSS3 strongly disagreed.
I am very proud of the changes China has made since the beginning of reform and openness. (Fairbrother, p83)	The CSS1 and CSS2 teachers agreed. The CSS3 teacher strongly agreed.	The CSS4 teacher disagreed.
I feel very happy when I hear China’s national anthem at the Olympics (Fairbrother, p83)	The CSS1 teacher Strongly agreed The CSS2, CSS3, and CSS4 teachers agreed.	

culture,” the CSS1 teacher was proud of Chinese culture because he noted and appreciated the self-perfecting mechanism of Chinese philosophy which combines Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. All respondents said they were proud of Chinese culture.

Regarding statement 3, “I am very proud of the changes China has made since the beginning of reform and openness,” with the exception of the CSS4 teacher, all three teachers showed recognition of competing views and weighed the pros and cons in an effort to give a balanced judgment. For instance, the CSS1 teacher chose “agree” because progress, construction, and the living standard in the country had improved visibly. At the same time, he also saw opportunists using their official status and power to exploit and oppress people. Corruption and the disparity between rich and poor were still serious problems.

The CSS4 teacher did not feel proud of the changes that China had made since the beginning of reform and openness: Here is his explanation:

If you (communist government) killed and burned before, now you know it is wrong. You don’t kill, and go back and raise your family (your country). I don’t feel I need to be proud of your good deeds... I believed the economic reforms are a correction (of past mistakes)... This is just your duty, even if you have done a good job. How can I be proud of the communist party?” Therefore, I chose “disagree.”

Regarding the playing of China’s national anthem at the Olympics, all of the teachers said it made them happy. The CSS1 teacher emphasized:

I am talking about the moment when the Chinese athletes won the Olympics medals. My happiness comes from two sources. First, it is my national identity. Second, I was excited for the Chinese athletes’ achievement. I wouldn’t feel that way if US athletes won medals.

The CSS2 teacher said, “I will be happy because

that is my intuition when I hear China’s national anthem at the Olympics.” The CSS3 teacher said initially, “I feel happy.” Later on, he supplemented this answer, explaining that it is the commitment that counts. He continued, “It is much easier for those who cheer for national achievements than for those who commit to correct the many social evils which persist in the PRC.”

In Table 2 it can be seen that there was a split with respect to the first statement, “A citizen should be willing to sacrifice his life for his country.” The CSS1 and the CSS3 teachers chose “agree” and “strongly agree” respectively. The CSS3 teacher did not comment, while the CSS1 teacher explained his reasoning: although he was willing to sacrifice, he wanted to specify for whom or for what cause he

would sacrifice. He noted that “country” has a dual meaning of either “motherland” or “state.” He was cautious, but still open to making sacrifices for the majority simply because he was group-oriented. He chose “agree.” Here was his explanation:

If the meaning of “for the benefits of the nation” means “for the benefit of majority,” I will agree. I am willing to sacrifice my life for my country. However, it (my response) does not mean I am willing to sacrifice for any regime, ruling party, or the Chinese Communist Party. I ask myself whether my decision or my behavior is beneficial to the majority of people in the PRC. This transcends the concerns of parties and only focuses on the nation (defined in terms of its members).

Table 2
Sense of Duty to the Nation

	Agree /Strongly Agree	Disagree /Strongly Disagree
A citizen should be willing to sacrifice his life for his country (Fairbrother, p85)	The CSS1 teacher agreed. The CSS3 teachers strongly agreed.	The CSS2 and CSS4 teachers disagreed.
I would like personally to help my country attain its goals. (Fairbrother, p85)	The CSS1 teacher strongly agreed. The CSS2, CSS3 and CSS4 teachers agreed.	

The CSS2 teacher’s stance was skeptical and questioning. He said, “I don’t agree with this. This belief is dangerous because it makes collective interest supersede individual interests.” He applied the same logic to the statement that “the interests of the nation should come before local regional interest.” Despite his skeptical stance, he was willing to consider the evidence and was open to changing his point of view in light of new evidence. He was ready to give the reasons why

he held a particular point of view. For example, I asked him why he wouldn’t choose “strongly disagree.” He said, “under certain circumstances and with rational choice, we can allow collective interest to supersede individual interest.” The CSS2 teacher was suspicious of the term “collective interest” which he feared might be used by opportunists. Therefore, he was unwilling to make any commitment until he could clarify what was the “substance” of the issue.

Regarding the second statement, “I ‘d like to help my country attaining its goals,” all the respondents chose either “agree” or “strongly agree.” The CSS1 teacher was not clear about what the national goals were, but he said, “I do not see this as hegemony of the PRC or the expansion of Marxism. The PRC just wants progress economically or to counterbalance the U.S. culturally. Under these assumptions, I am willing to help.”

The CSS4 teacher’s emotional attachment to Chinese culture extended to China’s national goals. He was motivated to help the nation to achieve her goals because he believed that national goals and his own personal goals were interconnected. The CSS4 teacher thought this was a very traditional Confucian idea. He illustrated by saying that:

I am wholeheartedly committed to my

teaching post, as a Chinese teacher, and I inculcate independent thinking and critical thinking in my present students and help them to develop these skills.

With respect to the first statement in Table 3, “The welfare of the individual is more important than the welfare of the nation,” the CSS1 teacher displayed both an individualistic spirit and a collective spirit in his answers.

With regard to the first statement, the CSS1 teacher was individualistic. He said, “Everyone has basic rights. If civilians didn’t have a right to be happy, then they would not be able to make others happy. If I am not willing to die for the country, then I will not do it. I will not sacrifice individual happiness for the welfare of the nation.”

Table 3

The Precedence of National over Individual and Regional Interests

	Agree / Strongly Agree	Disagree / Strongly Disagree
The welfare of the individual is more important than the welfare of the nation. (Fairbrother, p86)	The CSS1, CSS2, and CSS4 teachers agreed	The CSS3 teacher strongly disagreed.
The interests of the nation should come before local regional interest. (Fairbrother, p86)	The CSS1, CSS3, and CSS4 teachers agreed.	The CSS2 teacher disagreed

With respect to the second statement, “The interests of the nation should come before local regional interest,” he was group-oriented. He associated local regional interests with selfishness. If regional interests are detrimental to national interests, he would not support them. He said: “If you ask me, are Hong Kong interests greater than those of the PRC as a whole? I would say the PRC (national) interest referring to the majority’s interest should take precedence over HK (regional) interests.”

CSS1 argued that the interest of the nation as a whole should take precedence over the interests not only of individuals, but of all communities below the national level, thereby requiring the individual to forsake all other duties in the interest of national duty, or to make personal sacrifices for the sake of the nation.

However, the CSS4 teacher did not equate regional interests with selfishness as the CSS1 teacher did. He said, “The Beijing government might

view people in Hong Kong actively striving for direct legislative elections as a threat to national harmony, and that is [always] the perspective of those in power.”

The CSS2 and CSS3 teachers dichotomized the statement. The CSS2 teacher contended that without guaranteeing the welfare of the individual, there is no welfare for the nation. The CSS3 teacher argued that without the welfare of the nation, there is no individual welfare.

The CSS2 and CSS4 teachers questioned why the interest of the nation as a whole should take precedence over the interests not only of individuals, but of all communities below the national level. Again, the CSS2 and CSS4 teachers were wary of opportunism and therefore adopted a skeptical and questioning stance. The CSS2 teacher asked:

What does national interest mean? Does it mean the minority obeys the majority? Or is it defined by the central government or those who are in power? In some cases, the minority’s interests should also be respected. If the interests of the minority involve the very basic human rights, then we should not force the minority to sacrifice and obey the majority, or make the individual submit to the collective.

Again there was a split regarding the first statement, “I have a favorable impression of the Chinese people.” See Table 4. The split was caused by the different images of the Chinese people evoked by the statement. Emotional attachment, where the nation is defined in terms of its members, may or may not extend to positive feelings toward one’s fellow nationals.

Table 4
A Favorable Impression of the Chinese People

	Agree / Strongly Agree	Disagree / Strongly Disagree
I have a favorable impression of the Chinese people. (Fairbrother, p88)	The CSS1 and CSS2 teachers agreed	The CSS3 and CSS4 teachers disagreed.
The Chinese people are more united than other people of the world. (Fairbrother, p88)		The CSS1, CSS2, CSS3, and CSS4 teachers disagreed.

The CSS1 teacher favors the Chinese people because He believed that “The Chinese are the ones who inherited the wonderfully cultural heritage.” The CSS2 teacher said that many civilians in China are farmers who are innocent people and this gave him a favorable impression. The CSS3 teacher mentioned that the Chinese people have become rich. Later on, while leading an observational tour, he noted that farmers in the PRC have both

good and bad characteristics. In terms of good characteristics, farmers are simple, innocent, and kindhearted. In terms of bad characteristics, they are uneducated, irrational, simplistic, and foolish. The CSS4 teacher asked me: What do I mean by Chinese people? Taiwanese or Chinese? I told him I meant mainlanders, and he chose “disagree.”

Concerning the second statement, all four teachers were unanimous in their response that

Chinese people were not more united than other people in the world. The CSS4 teacher said, “if they are compared with the people of Japan or South Korea, I would choose “strongly disagree.” However, if they are compared with people of the USA or the USSR, I would choose “disagree.”

Thus, in terms of patriotism, I found that these teachers were emotionally attached to the Chinese people and culture, were dutiful but not uncritical,

and had a mixed impression of the Chinese people depending upon the images invoked. As a result, my hypothesis is that they are either cultural patriots, critical patriots, or both.

With respect to the two statements about nationalism shown in Table 5, with the exception of the CSS3 teacher, the respondents did not perceive China as better than other countries.

Table 5
Perception of China as Better than Other Countries

	Agree / Strongly Agree	Disagree / Strongly Disagree
China is the best country in the world. (Fairbrother, p89)	The CSS3 teacher agreed.	The CSS1 and CSS4 teachers strongly disagreed. The CSS2 teacher disagreed.
No other nation’s culture can compare to China’s. (Fairbrother, p89)	The CSS3 teacher strongly agreed.	The CSS1 and CSS2 teachers disagreed. The CSS4 teacher strongly disagreed.

Although the CSS1 and CSS4 teachers were also teachers of Chinese language, culture, and history, they disagreed on the above statements. CSS1 had read *the Clash of Civilizations* by Samuel P. Huntington and elaborated,

Human culture is determined by factors such as geography, climate, human interactions, and economic factors. That’s why no one culture is superior to other cultures... Although I appreciate many

things in Chinese culture, I would not deny her shortcomings.

The CSS4 teacher strongly objected to the word “best” which was the reason he chose “strongly disagree.” As in his previous responses, he noted the shortcomings of Chinese culture and the many problems of the country.

Regarding the first of the statements in Table 6, both the CSS1 and CSS2 teachers imposed a time frame on it.

Table 6
China’s Quest for Power in the World

	Agree / Strongly Agree	Disagree / Strongly Disagree
China should strive for power in the world.(Fairbrother, p.90)	The CSS1 and CSS4 teachers agreed. The CSS3 teacher strongly agreed.	The CSS2 teacher disagreed.
China should take strong action in the Diaoyutai dispute. (Fairbrother, p.90)	All teachers agreed	

Under certain conditions, the CSS1 teacher said he would agree this statement. His response was related to Confucian thought:

If China can use her power according to Confucian notion of moral rightness to promote love (jen) and moral rightness (yi) for the world’s benefit, then I agree that China should strive for more power. There is a time frame - I would not endorse China seeking more power if the PRC endorsed Marxism as it did 20 years ago. I would definitely disagree because ideologically, the PRC adopted Marxism, and to strive for more power implies the expansion of Marxism.

I was surprised at the CSS2 teacher’s response to the first statement. Again, he did not use Confucian ideals as his evaluative framework to evaluate China’s use of power, but adopted a skeptical and questioning stance. Here is his response:

I will put this statement in the present context. If you had asked me this question 20 years ago, I might have checked “agree. However, if you consider China’s power in today’s context, as a matter of fact, the influence of China today in the international arena keeps increasing and expanding. If China keeps seeking more power, what is this implication? Today China is exploiting some developing countries. Of course, China is rising peacefully. But what will result if China keeps seeking more power? I feel China’s present influence is enough. There is no need to demand more power.

This response told me that his perception was that China’s quest for power in the world is aggressive. The CSS2 teacher was suspicious of China’s motives,

while the CSS1 teacher did not make this assumption. The CSS3 teacher always thought in terms of Confucian culture. In this respect, the CSS3 teacher had a stronger nationalistic tendency than the other teachers. The response of the CSS3 teacher was noteworthy: he said, “Confucian philosophy should strive for more influence in the world.” To him, the statement was to be interpreted in cultural rather than economical, political, or military terms. When I asked about economical, political, or military influence, he declined to answer.

Regarding the second question in this category, all four teachers agreed that China should take stronger action, but their answers revealed that they were cautious and disliked war. The CSS1 teacher said:

If Diaoyutai belongs to China, then it is natural to take it back by force. The strong action I mean is not military force but appealing to an international court. I support PRC’s use of righteous measures to claim it back, but not through war or deceit.

(The CSS2 teacher) this is a problem created by the USA. Clearly Diaoyutai belongs to China, so China should strive to take it back.

Yau: Do you agree with the use of military force to take it back?

CSS2: No, I don’t agree with using force to take it back. We can use diplomacy or some other means to take it back.

With respect to the first statement in Table 7, the CSS1 teacher following his previous logic, saying that just as regional interests should not supersede the national interest, so national interest should not supersede international welfare. He gave an example to illustrate his point:

I would not join the Chinese army if the

PRC wanted to annex Asia and became an empire greater than the US. I consider that

my behavior would have a very negative impact on the world population.

Table 7
Belief in the Importance of Patriotism over Internationalism

	Agree / Strongly Agree	Disagree / Strongly Disagree
We should strive for loyalty to our country before we can afford to consider world brotherhood. (Fairbrother, p.91)	The CSS3 teacher strongly agreed. The CSS4 teacher agreed.	The CSS1 and CSS2 teachers disagreed
We should teach our children to uphold the welfare of all people everywhere even though it may be against the best interests of our own country. (Fairbrother, p.91)	The CSS1, CSS2, and CSS3 teachers strongly agreed. The CSS4 teacher agreed.	

The CSS2 teacher noted that, “this is precisely the concept of world citizenship.” He cited the uncooperative and selfish stance of the U.S. on the issue of global climate change: “The United States of America was unwilling to sign the Tokyo Accord due to her economic interests. Therefore, the U.S. was blameworthy for her selfish act. She did not fulfill her duty as a world /global citizen (member of the international community).”

The CSS4 teacher’s belief in Confucian philosophy led him to “agree.” He admitted,

I am not so cosmopolitan (like westerners or Christians). This is due to my training in Chinese culture. I adopt (the lens of) Chinese culture to view events. The so-called cosmopolitan view is very western. As a matter of fact, the “concept of equality before God” comes from Hebrew faith. As a result, Westerners can establish universality more easily. Mother Teresa is an exemplar of universal love. Chinese culture is different. It is more pragmatic and takes one step at a time: an extension from within... Compared

to Christianity, although it is great, it is an unattainable goal.

Overall, the CSS1 teacher’s responses to this questionnaire reflected that his national attitude is closed to a cultural patriot. He is emotionally attached to the nation, dutiful, has a favorable impression of the Chinese people, and advocates the precedence of national over individual and regional interests. With regard to nationalism, his responses to those nationalistic statements reflect his favor for the concept of world citizenship. His awareness of competing contexts allows him to transcend nationalism. His responses reflected a collective and hierarchical tendency.

From the CSS2 teacher’s response, it appears that although he is emotionally attached to disadvantaged people and minorities and has a favorable impression of the Chinese people, he is not unquestioning in his sense of duty to the nation. In terms of internal affairs, he does not favor the precedence of national over individual and regional interests because he is aware, alert, suspicious, and critical about problems of graft and opportunism. As

a result, he seemed somewhat less patriotic and more “individualistic” than the others in terms of national attitude. In his responses to statements pertaining to nationalism, his choices reflected his favor of the concept of world citizenship. His awareness of competing contexts allowed him to transcend nationalism. He is more external in his focus, rather than focusing inward or favoring narrow national interests. Because of his awareness of the global interdependence of countries and regions, he pays less attention to the need for strengthening or maintaining national identity. He does not have a hierarchy of rules to resolve conflicts among competing contexts. Thus, his national attitude is that of a critical patriot.

From the CSS3 teacher’s response, he appeared to be both patriotic and nationalistic. Although he does not have a favorable impression of the Chinese people and their unity, he is emotionally attached to the nation, particularly to Chinese culture; he is dutiful and group-oriented. With reference to other nations, he sees China as better than other nations and feels that China should strive for more power in the world and use that power in accordance with Chinese cultural values. His patriotism and nationalism seem to be built upon a foundation of Confucianism or Chinese culture, not on modern China’s political and military prowess or economic progress. Although he has world citizenship in mind, he views world citizenship as a development from in-groups to out-groups. He appeared to have adopted either cultural nationalism or cultural patriotism as his paradigm.

The CSS4 teacher was more emotionally attached to Chinese culture than to the Chinese people, not to mention the state. He seems to take an outsider’s or observer’s stance toward culture, nation, and people, which leaves him noncommittal about them. In terms of internal affairs, he takes

a skeptical and questioning stance toward the precedence of national interests over individual and regional interests. With reference to other countries, although he did not perceive China as better than other countries, he supports China’s quest for power in the world. His ultimate context is the nation, not the world, because the modern concept of the world did not exist in traditional Chinese philosophy, which is more pragmatic rather than idealistic. Due to his Confucian training and his relative inexperience with the curriculum, he has not moved from the concept of national citizenship to that of world citizenship. He may be described as a critical cultural observer (outsider) or a critical cultural patriot.

The responses of the CSS1 and the CSS4 teachers fell between those of the CSS2 and CSS3 teachers. The CSS1 teacher’s training is in Chinese heritage and literature, as well as in the social sciences.

Informal Education

After examining and evaluating the responses to the national attitude questionnaire, I tried to explore how these teachers cultivated students’ national attitude. The best way to find this out was through a study of their practice of informal and nonformal education. Both informal and nonformal educational practices reflect the notion of citizenship as volition and thus appeared to match the aims of national identity. Alex Porter wrote:

When considering citizenship as volition, we are highlighting not simply feelings but also inclinations, intentions, resolutions and willingness. Citizenship as volition begins by embracing feelings of identity, a sense of togetherness, of belonging to a community, of belonging to a geographic region, of sharing a common culture and a history,

feelings of respect, approval, loyalty, pride, and honor. It goes on to include a sense of responsibility and obligation resulting in a willingness to engage in service for the community, to take up causes, to seek the welfare of others and to protest when rights are infringed. (Porter, 1996, p.4)

In this section, informal education related to the China Today module will first be discussed. The CSS2 principal told me that the school implements two national rituals: the flag-raising ceremony and the national anthem sung in Mandarin. Every new Form one student has to learn two songs when they enter the school: one is the school song and the other is the national anthem. These two songs are the first and second tests for newly-arrived students. Perhaps the national anthem can arouse patriotic sentiment. There are several days designated to have a flag-raising ceremony, and in an assembly the CSS2 teacher explained the meaning of the ceremony and gave detailed instructions to students about how to comport themselves while the flag was being raised. Flag-raising ceremonies are normally scheduled for the first and last days of each academic year, the first day after the lunar New Year holiday, a day around July 1st (the Reunification Day to celebrate the reunification of HKSAR with China), and a day near Oct 1st (the PRC National holiday).

On these assembly days, the CSS2 teacher was assigned to give a talk, and the topic of the most recent one was the 70th anniversary of the Nanking Massacre. During TV coverage of the Nanking Massacre, survivors had been interviewed. Some students had hostile sentiments toward the Japanese, particularly the Japanese government. Two or three days before the assembly, the CSS2 teacher talked about the same topic in his China

Today class. Students brought it up at the beginning of the class, and the CSS2 teacher was soon faced with both rational and emotional responses from his students about the historical events surrounding the Nanking Massacre. Then one student said the Japanese should imitate the Germans in expressing remorse. The CSS2 teacher then asked the students how the Germans had faced their war crimes. None of the students responded. Then he mentioned a book entitled *Andrew and I*, written by Taiwanese visiting scholar Lung Ying-tai and her son Andrew, a German. The book is a collection of letters exchanged between her and her son. In the book, Andrew mentioned how the continuous reminders in school of German crimes in World War II had a dispiriting impact on him and other German students. This way, students were given another perspective about their demand for remorse from the offenders. After the classroom dialogue, the CSS2 teacher told me that he had made a subtle change in his talk in the school assembly later. The dialogue was revealing and bi-directional, and both the CSS2 teacher and his students would experience change if they were open-minded and open-hearted. His talk in the assembly not only suggested reciprocity and reconciliation for the people of China and Japan, but also gave the students a balanced dose of emotionality and rationality.

Nonformal Education

After examining informal education, the nonformal educational practices will be examined the notion of citizenship as volition. To begin with, there are various definitions of nonformal education (NFE). The nonformal education such as an observation tour refers to educational activities outside of school which reinforce the formal curriculum. Nonformal education supplements and complements what formal

education cannot achieve. Learning through first-hand experience helps motivate students, stimulates their thinking, and encourages them to reflect on their own lives. An observation tour not only broadens students’ horizons to the developments in China’s economy, culture, politics, and livelihood, but also sharpens their thinking and analytical skills and strengthens students’ sense of belonging to their mother country. The CSS1 and CSS4 teachers did not undertake any observational tours in connection with his China Today class. The CSS4 teacher told me that his school did not allocate much resources to informal and nonformal education.

For the observation tour, the itinerary designed by the CSS2 teacher was meant to cover various aspects of China Today, including economic, historical-cultural, environmental, academic, and agricultural aspects of China. The things they observed left them with an unforgettable impression and helped them to reflect:

Yau: Could you explain your design of the observational tour? What were the sites you visited? Why were they chosen for your trip?

CSS2: The itinerary of the observational tour, including all the destinations, routes, and visits, was aimed at understanding China today. That is, to understand various aspects of China today through visiting state-owned enterprises, the State Bureau for Letters and Calls, a secondary school, a University in Beijing, the National Palace Museum, and so on. For instance, when we visited the state-owned enterprise, my goal was to help students understand why it has become a burden for the country and needs economic reforms.

Yau: Besides state-owned enterprise, where did you explore the historical, cultural, social, and

academic aspects of Beijing?

CSS2: We went to visit Tienanmen (Gate of Heavenly Peace) at the center of the old Forbidden City in Beijing and the National Palace Museum, and both were important landmarks in contemporary and modern history. As for historical-cultural sites, the visit to *hutong* (traditional Beijing alley) in Beijing helped students to recognize the tensions between economical development, historical preservation, and ecological degradation. When the students witnessed the ongoing dismantling of the historical-cultural sites in the capital, they were awakened and started to reflect and reexamine their feelings about the dismantling of historical sites in Hong Kong. Next, we visited the Bureau for Letters and Calls where people come from all corners of the country to lodge their complaints. We had lunch with one of the complainants, and this un-structured interview gave students unforgettable impressions about the social aspects of livelihood in China. Furthermore, our tour also covered a non-participant observation of a local secondary school and a university.

In evaluating the trip, the CSS2 teacher observed a change in students’ motivation, initiative, and creativity.

Yau: What were their responses after the trip?

CSS2: One participant said what was taught and discussed in the classroom was now visualized in the tour, and concepts became clearer. Another participant said he was impressed by the attachment of the peasants to their land.

Yau: What are the changes you saw in your students and how did you follow up after this observational tour?

CSS2: After the tour, I found students’ national

identity was deepened and clarified. For instance, they took the initiative to read the news about the PRC. Some of them participated in the June-Fourth Candle Night meeting at Victoria Park. Some scripted their experience at the Bureau for Letters and Calls, put it into a drama, and performed at school publicly in order to share their feelings.

For his observational tour, the itinerary designed by the CSS3 teacher took three days and covered economic and agricultural aspects of China. The CSS3 teacher and his students visited state-owned enterprises and private enterprises, and the students were able to see the difference between them in terms of efficiency. Regarding state-owned enterprises, CSS3 students were puzzled by the way their official hosts at the newspaper company always praised their merits. Later on, the CSS3 teacher expounded the culture of state-owned enterprise. The state-owned enterprises they visited were restructured and much less burdened with bureaucracy than those visited by the CSS2 students. The private enterprises they visited were China Honda (a joint venture between China and a Japanese company) and an electronics factory. Visiting both a state-owned enterprise and private enterprises gave the students opportunities to see the difference between them in terms of efficiency and to understand the need for economic reform. For instance, they found employees in state-enterprises were less efficient and motivated. They also visited a farming company where they witnessed the state of agricultural reform in China. Before the agricultural reforms, each farmer was allocated only 0.5 acre of land to cultivate; productivity was low then. After the reforms,

companies were set up to purchase or lease lands from farmers and mass-produce products for export in the age of globalization. Farmers became workers. Due to better use of land and increased productivity, farmers' standard of living had improved. Finally, arrangements were made for the students to spend a day in a village to experience rural life. They found that hygiene was horrible, and food was scarce. The CSS3 teacher commented, "although the material conditions of the inhabitants of the village was poor, their life was marked by simplicity. In contrast, Hong Kong people who have been indulging a materialistic lifestyle were marked by poverty of spirit."

In addition to this observation tour to China, the CSS3 teacher also organized observational tours in Hong Kong to inspire students and heighten their awareness. The CSS3 teacher liked to juxtapose the systems of Hong Kong and China so that students could compare and identify the differences - thus engaging in a higher level of thinking. For instance, He shared:

I brought students to watch a simulation of a Chinese court. Students then realized that the lawyer of a defendant in China would not try to defend his client's interests, but would try to persuade the defendant to admit guilt. In a court in China, the judge has the power to decide who is wrong and determine the severity of punishment. However, in a court in Hong Kong, the judge does not have the power to determine whether the defendant is guilty or not. Once the defendant has been pronounced guilty, the Hong Kong judge can determine the level of punishment within legislative guidelines. Thus, courts

in Hong Kong acknowledge a separation of powers, but courts in China do not. When you compare, you can differentiate the better from the worse.”

In sum, I can infer from the teachers’ responses to both the questionnaires that the national attitude of the CSS3 teacher belongs to cultural nationalist, while the rest were patriots, either critical or cultural or both. However, the critical and cultural stances are not unrelated. “Critical” implies something about the evaluative framework of the teachers, while “culture,” particularly when understood in Confucian, world citizenship, democratic, or their combination terms, could be the philosophical foundation of an evaluative framework. As a result, the stances of democratic citizens and critical or cultural patriots are congruent in terms of their evaluative framework. In other words, the CSS1 teacher predominantly adopted the Confucianism as his evaluative framework in patriotism and world citizenship in nationalism; the CSS2 teacher, the concept of world citizenship in both patriotism and nationalism; the CSS3 teacher, Confucianism in both patriotism and nationalism; the CSS4 teacher, Confucianism in patriotism and nationalism with strong suspicion toward PRC government. Although they have similar national attitude, only the CSS2 and CSS3 teachers carried out the nonformal education partly because the CSS1 and CSS4 teachers were new, partly because their schools had not required them to do. Thus, motivational and behavioral components of citizenship as volition are not yet part of the CSS1 and CSS4 teachers’ (cognitive) evaluative frameworks.

Based on the interviews about their observational tours, I can infer that both the CSS2 and CSS3 teachers are socially-concerned citizens and capable

to mobilize students to understand and relieve the needy in PRC. Regarding nonformal education, triangulated data confirmed that the CSS2 teacher was not just a critical patriot or democratic citizen, but also had the capacity to equip students to be critical patriots. In terms of nonformal education, the sites they visited and the people they met reflected the underlying beliefs of the teachers. The CSS2 teacher was highly dedicated and extensively involved in formal, informal, and nonformal education in the context of his school. He was very socially concerned, emotionally attached to the people (the image invoked was the Chinese farmer), and his goal was to lead students to empathize with the poor and the oppressed. He advocated economic reform by taking his students to visit a state-owned enterprise.

Likewise, the national attitude of CSS3 teacher can be categorized as cultural nationalist and capable of equipping his students for independent thinking as rationally critical nationalists or critical patriots. In terms of nonformal education, the sites he took his students to visit and the people they met reflected his primary focus on systems, structures, and the development of the PRC. Perhaps this reflected his hope for improvement, while the primary focus of the CSS2 teacher was more on people.

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Author

Dr. Dick Yau Tak-sang, Lecturer,
CUHK-TWGH Community College, Hong Kong
[yautaksang@gmail.com]

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