Comparative Education Bulletin

No.13

2011

Editors, Comparative Education Bulletin
Bjorn Nordtveit & Bob Adamson

Comparative Education Society of Hong Kong

Officers 2010-2012

President	Mok Ka-Ho
Vice President	Bob Adamson
Secretary	Emily Mang
Treasurer	Bjorn H. Nordtveit
Past President	Yang Rui

Website
www.hku.hk/cerc/ceshk

CESHK Membership

CESHK membership entitles you to participate in a wide range of activities, such as seminars, conferences, and study visits. Members enjoy a 20% discount on books published by the Comparative Education Research Centre at the University of Hong Kong, and a reduced registration fee for the WCCES's World Congresses of Comparative Education. Subscription fees for 2010/11 are HK$150 (HK$100 for students).

**The CESHK is a member of the
World Council of Comparative Education Societies**

Comparative Education Bulletin No. 13 (2011)
比教教育通訊　第十三刊　（2011年）

Editorial

This 13th edition of the *Comparative Education Bulletin* appears at the time of the Comparative Education Society of Hong Kong's Annual Conference on the theme of "Comparative education, sustainable development and social justice". The issues embodied by this theme are worthy directions for researchers to pursue, particularly at a time when globalization and increased commodification of education are exacerbating the marginalization of under-privileged groups, and new formal and informal channels are needed to enhance the opportunities for access to education. The conference, which was organized in conjunction with the Hong Kong Educational Research Association, the Centre for Greater China Studies, Hong Kong Institute of Education and the Department of International Education & Lifelong Learning, Hong Kong Institute of Education, provided a venue for the discussion of the nature of comparative education and its contribution to society, the challenges of sustainable development, and the attainment of social justice from a variety of perspectives. It addressed questions such as: Does comparative education research have a role to play in issues such as sustainable development and social justice? If so, what contribution can it make?

In this edition of the Comparative Education Bulletin, many of the contributors also discuss these questions. Maria Manzon explicitly assesses the potential for comparative education as a field to contribute to social justice. The other articles cover a variety of perspectives and areas ranging from civic education (Ng Hoi Yu), museums (Tracy Lau), globalization and Chinese culture (Wu Siu Wai, in Chinese), trilingualism and language policies in education (Feng Anwei and Bob Adamson), and education and protection (Bjorn H. Nordtveit), while Kokila Roy Katyal reflects on some of the complexities to be faced in achieving ethical integrity in carrying out comparative education research.

We hope that this edition provide stimulating reading. We believe that the papers presented at the conference and the articles included here form a significant contribution to comparative

education in the Asia-Pacific region. It is gratifying to see Hong Kong consistently referred to as an international centre of comparative education and the work of the society is important in maintaining and developing this role. The theme of the conference and of the articles in this edition reminds us that, as researchers in comparative education, we have the potential to make a difference.

Bjorn H. Nordtveit & Bob Adamson
Editors

Comparative Education: a Constructed Field, a Constructive Field
Maria MANZON

Introduction
Despite its long history and widespread institutionalisation into university courses, professional societies, and specialist publications, questions about the nature of comparative education remain (e.g., Cowen, 2006; Phillips & Schweisfurth, 2006; Klees, 2008; Mason, 2008; Olivera, 2009). That comparative education is institutionalised as a distinct area of inquiry does not necessarily imply its intellectual legitimacy as an independent field. This paper principally elucidates how comparative education is a field constructed not purely based on cognitive criteria, but also by power relations associated with social structures and human agency, and discourse. It also comments on the potential of comparative education in contributing to the construction of a socially just world.

Comparative Education: The Construction of a Field
In the first place, I address the problem of why the intellectual and the institutional trajectories of the field of comparative education diverge. Why does comparative education exist and perpetuate itself institutionally (institutional legitimacy) despite the unresolved debates about its intellectual legitimacy? I contend that comparative education exists and perpetuates itself institutionally as a distinct field despite the continuing debates about its intellectual legitimacy because it is a body of knowledge constructed not purely out of an inner logic based on cognitive criteria, but also as a result of interlocking societal discourses (Foucault, 1972) and the interplay of power relations located both in social structures and in human agency (Bourdieu, 1969). In the construction of its institutional infrastructures and of its intellectual definitions, power relations embedded in discourses, social structures and human agency intervene conjoined with cognitive principles. I demonstrate this claim by examining the institutional and intellectual forms of comparative education, employing textual analysis of the field's

3

intellectual definitions and institutional histories covering over 50 countries and interviews with key international figures in the field (see Manzon, 2011).

Institutional Construction of Comparative Education(s)
My investigation of the institutional histories of the field of comparative education reveals that the institutionalisation of comparative education did not necessarily follow cognitive criteria alone, but was also influenced by pragmatic and political factors. A complex interplay of sociological forces at the macro- and meso-structural level and micro-political interests of agents in the field, as well as the shaping force of contingent societal discourses intervened in the field's institutionalisation. I substantiate this claim by examining two main forms of institutionalisation of comparative education as a distinct academic programme at universities and as a distinct professional society, elucidating the underlying power struggles that accounted for their origin and development, and illustrating discontinuities and divergences between institutional and intellectual principles.

In the case of academic institutionalisation as university courses and programmes, two divergent typologies illustrate the institutional construction of comparative education. The 'USA' typology exemplifies intertwining of discourses on comparative education with those on international and development education, within a favourable structure of American foreign policy and global leadership after World War II. Academics who had the *habitus* and pertinent capital (linguistic, social, political) received the impetus and structural support, particularly from philanthropic foundations, to institutionalise the intellectual field of comparative education in a substantial way at American universities. From this followed the substantial formation of the corpus of the field: academic programmes, professional societies and the publication of specialist journals and books in the USA and outside, partly owing to the influence of American scholarship. This case highlights the sensitive relationship of comparative education to the directions of geopolitical power, particularly in the area of international relations among governments. Moreover, the central position then enjoyed

by the USA in world affairs, and the corresponding prestige of its universities, partly explains why the academic programmes of comparative education in their institutions served as a model and seedbed for comparative education to take root in other parts of the world. These power-knowledge relations in the intellectual field thus reflect homologies with the external field of world power.

By way of contrast, a similar power-knowledge dialectic is evident in the typology of the then 'Soviet Socialist Bloc', where academic comparative education had been eclipsed, if not 'suppressed', within a radically distinct *episteme* (Foucauldian sense) which viewed comparative education as running counter to the logic of the intellectual field and of the wider field of power. This pair of typologies articulates the power-knowledge relations that have divergently shaped comparative education at universities, ensuing from the same world event – World War II – but differently shaping national contexts and their respective comparative education*s*.

The formation of national, language-based, and regional societies of comparative education – another form of institutionalisation – also illustrates the sociological construction of the field owing more to pragmatic and (micro) political reasons than to purely intellectual criteria. Society formation can be understood more dynamically as a quest for *distinction* in the field. Professional societies struggle for distinction within this global field of societies – the World Council of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES) – partly in order to legitimate their existence in the domestic or international scenario as one more entity at par with other entities irrespective of their unequal political, economic and academic power. Evidence of this lies among the responses of some comparative education society leaders (e.g., Australia, Cuba, Spain, Turkey) who explicitly acknowledged that their decision to form a society was motivated by the desire to be represented on the WCCES. In some cases, the formation of new societies represented power struggles over positions and institutional resources, sometimes catalysed by micro-politics. The dynamism of the intellectual field, owing to the competition for 'distinction' among its participants, has contributed to the 'proliferation' of these societies. However, a close examination

of the nature and internal consistency of these scholarly infrastructures has revealed problems of a dilution of substantive identity among some societies. Thus, it is not sufficient to argue that comparative education is a well-established field on the grounds that it has a global network of almost 40 comparative education societies worldwide. The varied and less-intellectual motivations and criteria that have led to society formation and that maintain some of them further demonstrate that the institutional construction of the field follows sociological forces and not purely epistemological criteria.

Intellectual Construction of Comparative Education(s)
Fields of study incorporate both an epistemological non-arbitrary core and a sociological arbitrary component (Maton, 2000). How does the interface of these two co-principles in the discursive activity by comparative educationists of defining their field account for the divergence between the intellectual and the institutional aspects of comparative education?

I argue that academic definitions of the field are not a priori conceptual abstractions by scholars based on cognitive criteria alone. Rather they are a posteriori definitions based also on cumulative work done in the field (which is partly determined by practical developments outside the intellectual field and areas of teaching/research that arise from them), and on the position of power and breadth of vision of the academic defining the field in relation to other positions in the field. The intellectual definitions of the field of comparative education are thus constructed partly by epistemology and partly by the interplay of objective social structures and subjective dispositions of agents and their divergent (micro-) political interests. I would go further in saying that, academic definitions of the field represent the *quasi-discursive intellectual construction* of comparative education by individual academics who, through scholarly discourse, codify the relations of power between the external social structures within which they work (from international, national down to the local university), the various forms of capital they hold and the intellectual traditions and criteria that govern their intellectual field.

6

These insights into the 'positional properties' of definitions of comparative education have already been noted by comparativists (e.g., Anweiler, 1977; Kelly et al., 1982; Cowen, 1990; Marginson & Mollis, 2002). A socially positioned understanding of academic definitions is particularly pertinent to a critical reading of the historical contingencies which led to the emergence of fields related to but distinct from comparative education: international education, global education, development education. These developments were intimately linked with the empirical work carried out by comparativists – studies that were largely generated to address the pertinent interests or concerns of national governments, international organisations, and private funding agencies.

I take the theme of the intellectual construction of comparative education and international education to illuminate the question on how the forces of epistemology, structure and agency, and discourse construct the intellectual field of comparative education. I argue that the definitions of '(academic) comparative education' vis-à-vis the definitions of 'comparative and international education' can be better understood by teasing out the positional properties of the agents who advocated them and the varied social structural forces with which agents interact. The typology of the USA and post-World War II internationalism elucidates the intertwining between the discourses on comparative education and international and development education. Favourable American foreign policy, in view of geopolitical concerns to balance world power, offered structural opportunities to extend foreign aid to other countries, partly through the work of international organisations and philanthropic foundations. Within this conducive structure, individual scholars who possessed pertinent forms of capital (linguistic, cultural, political, social) and *habitus* later formed the foundations of a new intellectual field: the field of comparative *and* international (and/or development) education. Due to varied contingent reasons, the growing community of international and/or development-oriented practitioners became associated with comparative education scholars. In some cases, pragmatic and institutional reasons prevailed over epistemological considerations,

thereby leading to coalitions between these different subfields. Nevertheless, the comparative *and* international education strand is not a universal and necessary phenomenon. One indicator is the names (and underlying histories) of the professional societies. Of the 37 member societies of the WCCES, only six have the 'comparative *and* international education' in their names. They are the societies of the USA, UK, Germany, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, and the Nordic countries. These societies exhibit a common feature: the existence of a community of scholars working in the field of international and/or development education, a feature less salient albeit absent in other societies (Manzon & Bray, 2007), and as Cowen (2009, p.3) argues, was politically positioned in terms of US and British foreign policy. Thus, comparative and international education epitomises a sociologically constructed subfield formed within contingent historical circumstances and due to specific power relations, particularly in those countries active in international development assistance or international agency work.

Comparative Education: A Constructive Field
Having mentioned the distinct but related fields of international education and development education (also international education development), with their more pragmatic, action-oriented and critical purposes, leads us to the second theme of this paper. How can comparative education, more particularly international education, address issues of social justice and sustainable development?

By disposition, I identify myself more with the field of academic comparative education. Thus, I will limit myself to epistemological issues which can refine and enrich our understanding of social justice and sustainable development. Precisely after having elucidated the constructed nature of the field of comparative education, we comparative education practitioners need to explicitly acknowledge the positional nature of our institutional and intellectual configurations of the field, and to recognise and dialogue with *other* (and otherwise marginalised) positions in order to give a balanced and comprehensive view of it, thus avoiding ethnocentric and reductionist perspectives. As scholars (e.g.,

Mebratu, 1998; Hopwood et al., 2005) point out in their historical and conceptual analysis of the debates on and definitions of 'sustainable development', conflicting and reductionist interpretations are determined by the political and philosophical agenda of the institution or group advocating them. The call of Crossley (2008) for a dialogue and bridging of cultures and traditions within and beyond the social sciences is apposite.

In this vein, I propose to widen our conceptual understanding of the ideals of social justice and sustainable development by fostering a dialogue with other cultural and cognitive perspectives of a more universal and transcendent scope. In particular, I cite the importance of opening a dialogue between faith, truth and reason and the role of Christianity in social development. As Habermas (2006, pp.150-151), a philosopher and social theorist not of the Christian faith stated: "The egalitarian universalism which gave rise to the ideas of freedom and social coexistence is a direct inheritance from the Jewish notion of justice and the Christian ethics of love. … To this day an alternative to it does not exist". Thus in his meeting with British government leaders and intellectuals at the Westminster Hall last September 2010, Pope Benedict XVI suggested a profound dialogue between the world of reason and the world of faith for the good of our civilization. "Without the corrective supplied by religion, reason can fall prey to distortions, as when it is manipulated by ideology, or applied in a partial way that fails to take full account of the dignity of the human person" (Benedict XVI, 2010). Thus he speaks of an *integral human development* in charity *and* truth, as one that is not only technical-economic, but also moral-religious (Benedict XVI, 2009). While a more holistic approach to social development issues and education is becoming reflected in the literature of our field (e.g., Vargas, 2000; Zajda et al., 2004, Nordtveit, 2010), an open and sincere dialogue between the worlds of secular rationality and religious belief is yet to be established. This, in my view, will offer new horizons not only for comparative education, but also for its constructive role in working towards integral human development.

Note: This paper is a summarised version of the Keynote Address

prepared for the CESHK Annual Conference 2011. Most of the first part is an extract from Manzon (2011) and is here reproduced in revised form with permission from the publishers.

References

Anweiler, O. (1977). Comparative Education and the Internationalization of Education. *Comparative Education, 13*(2), 109-114.

Benedict XVI (2009). Meeting with the Representatives of British Society, including the Diplomatic Corps, Politicians, Academics and Business Leaders, Westminster Hall, 17 September 2010. Downloaded from www.vatican.va on 9 January 2011.

Benedict XVI (2010). *Caritas in Veritate*. Encyclical Letter of the Holy Father Benedict XVI on Integral Human Development in Charity and Truth. Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana.

Bourdieu, P. (1969). Intellectual Field and Creative Project (Trans. S. France). *Social Science Information 8*(2), 89-119.

Cowen, R. (1990). The National and International Impact of Comparative Education Infrastructures. In W.D. Halls (Ed.), *Comparative Education: Contemporary Issues and Trends* (pp.321-352). Paris: UNESCO and London: Jessica Kingsley.

Cowen, R. (2006). Acting Comparatively upon the Educational World: Puzzles and Possibilities. *Oxford Review of Education, 32* (5), 561-573.

Cowen, R. (2009). Then and Now: Unit Ideas and Comparative Education. In R. Cowen & A.M. Kazamias (Eds.), *International Handbook of Comparative Education* (pp.1277-1294). Dordrecht: Springer.

Crossley, M. (2008). Bridging Cultures and Traditions for Educational and International Development: Comparative Research, Dialogue and Difference. *International Review of Education*, *54*, 319-336.

Foucault, M. (1972). *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. London: Tavistock Publications.

Habermas, J. (2006). "A Conversation about God and the World". *Time of transitions*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hopwood, B., Mellor, M. and O'Brien, G. (2005). Sustainable

Development: Mapping Different Approaches. *Sustainable Development, 13*, 38-52.

Kelly, G.P., Altbach, P. & Arnove, R. (1982). Trends in Comparative Education: A Critical Analysis. In P. Altbach, R. Arnove & G. Kelly (Eds.), *Comparative Education* (pp.505-533). New York & London: Collier Macmillan.

Klees, S. (2008). Reflections on Theory, Method, and Practice in Comparative and International Education. Presidential Address. *Comparative Education Review*, *52*(3), 301-328.

Manzon, M. (2011). *Comparative Education: The Construction of a Field.* Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre, The University of Hong Kong, and Dordrecht: Springer.

Manzon, M. & Bray, M. (2007). Comparing the Comparers: Patterns, Themes and Interpretations. In V. Masemann, M. Bray & M. Manzon (Eds.), *Common Interests, Uncommon Goals: Histories of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies and its Members* (pp.336-363). Dordrecht & Hong Kong: Springer & Comparative Education Research Centre, The University of Hong Kong.

Marginson, S., & Mollis, M. (2002). The Door Opens and the Tiger Leaps: Theories and Reflexivities of Comparative Education for a Global Millennium. *Comparative Education Review, 45* (4), 581-615.

Mason, M. (2008). What is Comparative Education, and What Values Might Best Inform its Research? Presidential Address Given at the Annual Conference of the Comparative Education Society of Hong Kong.

Maton, K. (2000). Language of Legitimation: The Structuring Significance for Intellectual Fields of Strategic Knowledge Claims. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, *21*(2), 147-167.

Mebratu, D. (1998). Sustainability and Sustainable Development: Historical and Conceptual Review. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review, 18*, 493-520.

Nordtveit, B.H. (2010). Development as a Complex Process of Change: Conception and Analysis of Projects, Programs and Policies. *International Journal of Educational Development, 30*, 110-117.

Olivera, C.E. (2009). *Introducción a la Educación Comparada* (2nd ed.).

San José, Costa Rica: Editorial Universidad Estatal a Distancia (EUNED).

Phillips, D. & Schweisfurth, M. (2006). *Comparative and International Education. An Introduction to Theory, Method and Practice*. London: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Vargas, C.M. (2000). Sustainable Development Education: Averting or Mitigating Cultural Collision. *International Journal of Educational Development, 20*, 377-396.

Zajda, J., Majhanovich, S. & Rust, V. with Martín Sabina, E. (Eds.) (2006). *Education and Social Justice*. Special double issue of *International Review of Education*, *52*(1-2). Republished 2006 as book with same title, Dordrecht: Springer.

Challenges of Conducting Educational Research in Hong Kong: An Insider/outsider Point of View
Kokila Roy KATYAL

Introduction

In this paper I chart some of the challenges that I faced while conducting a study in three Hong Kong schools. Specifically I focus on the issues that I faced as an outsider who had an insider dimension. My emergent understanding of the cultural complexities of the landscape of Hong Kong schools led me to question and review the very paradigms that outlined my research project. I conclude the paper with a set of implications that may provide guidelines for other researchers who find themselves in a similar position.

The Hong Kong Context

There is little argument that though Hong Kong appears on the surface to be a Westernized city, the socio-cultural attitudes of the city are very largely influenced by the teachings of Confucius and may be termed a Confucian Heritage Culture (CHC). Research indicates that Confucian societies are known to be collectivist in nature. Consonant with collectivist cultures, a differentiation is often made between those individuals who belong to one's in-group (*Zi ji ren*) and those who are outsiders (*Wai ren*); attention is only devoted to the needs, desires and goals of *Zi ji ren*. This is because people tend to assess other peoples' *Cheng ken* (or sincerity) and *Xing yong* (or trustworthiness) quite often. These values are considered important in any *Guanxi* or interpersonal relationships with in-group members. It is important to note that I was an insider at one level I had a degree of familiarity with Hong Kong being a resident of the city. I was also an insider on a professional level having worked in schools for many years albeit never in Hong Kong. However being ethnically non-Chinese positioned me as an outsider. Additionally, I found that my Western-trained research self accepted certain normative paradigms, whilst my gradual understanding of CHC mores tended to question these self-same paradigms. In sum, the research context assumed hues in accordant

with the lens that was used for viewing data concurrently and concomitantly.

The current discourse on the insider-outsider issue is bifurcated in its points of view. A large number of scholars argue that only those who have shared in, and have been part of, a particular experience can have a true understanding of the issue at hand. At the same time there are also a number of scholars who believe that though individuals from one community have access to a particular form of cultural cognition, this does not automatically attach authority to this cognition (Kreiger, 1982). Furthermore, it has also been argued that the very 'outsiderness' of the researchers may shed light on information which may otherwise have been overlooked (see Bridges, 2001). Were my inferences influenced by Western positivist points of view that formed the conceptual background of my study? Did I make assumptions of universality where in fact none exist? Or was the studies influenced by my own cultural perspectives? These are some of the questions that rose during my reflection – and indeed these are questions that may challenge many others who attempt to study cultures which are not their own.

The Study
The study explored the impact of teacher leadership on student engagement in three Hong Kong schools using qualitative research methods of on-site participant observation, detailed semi-structured interviews and written standardized question interviews with the teachers, students and parents. In concordance with the aim of the study, the technique of purposive sampling was used to select participants in order to receive a wide variety of messages from information-rich cases. Consequently, schools were selected on the basis of being ones where teacher leadership was recognized informally as a significant feature of school life. School 1 had won an award for its excellent management practices. School 2, a reputed girl's school is well known for having a caring body of teachers. School 3 has the reputation of having an educationally progressive staff and leadership group. Five teachers, five parents and groups of ten to fourteen students formed the participant pool in each school. Data were collected through participant observation and detailed

semi-structured interviews conducted with teachers and parents. The data from the students were collected from group discussions and also through written standardized question interviews. The questions that were asked of the teachers, parents and students were complementary and were informed by systems theory that formed the conceptual framework of the study. The questions dealt with the participants' beliefs about the impact of the external environment on schools, knowledge of the school teaching and learning systems, teacher influences and the issues related to home school communication.

The first challenge that I faced was getting access. At the beginning of my study I contacted the proposed research sites via emails with detailed information about the research. I found that in some cases there were no responses to the emails while some of the other schools couched their refusal in terms that were convoluted. Indeed, there was even an instance when the principal agreed to give access while the teacher who was to help me set up the research in the school indirectly indicated my outsider status as a bulwark to the project. Eventually, it was by using *Guanxi* that I managed to get the research sites (Katyal, forthcoming).

Researchers have pointed out that Chinese individuals tend to reveal more about themselves to those in their in-group than do their Western counterparts (Gudykunst et al., 1992). Such rigid communication styles not only place people into various relational realms, but also prescribe specific rules for human interactions. Given the contextual factors outlined above, how did being a racial outsider, yet wearing an insider's hat affect my position as a researcher?

First, once I gained access the principal undertook the responsibility of putting me in touch with the parents – the teachers, students and parents, in other words including me in their *Guanxi* network. The fact that I came recommended by the principal and was a researcher on behalf of HKU gained me an initial interview. However, since I was clearly an ethnic outsider I found that the participants tended to assume that I would be unfamiliar with the educational context

tended to talk in great detail thus I elicited more detailed and in-depth accounts than I may have otherwise obtained.

Second, as a part of my rapport building strategy I explained to the participants that I had been a teacher and was a parent of two school-going children. Again this strategy helped me to get richer data as they perceived that I would be in a position to form an informed understanding of the issues under discussion.

Third, though my outsider-insider status helped to access rich veins of data it also led to a situation where I realised that at least the parent participants believed that since I understood their issues about their children's education coupled with the fact that I was an 'expert' in education – I would be able to address their concerns by way of making changes. I thus had to specifically make clear that I was a researcher and though I hoped that my research would help the cause of how teacher leadership functioned in Hong Kong I had in fact no real 'authority' to ensure that changes would take place.

In sum, the fact that I was concurrently and outsider and an insider worked to my advantage while gathering data while at the same time the self same data proved to be problematic in terms of its analysis.

For example, at the onset I discovered that though teachers had considerable leadership over their students, the functioning and nature of this leadership did not depend on an egalitarian school environment, with flatter organizational structures as has been supposed in leadership studies and is indeed encapsulated in popular leadership theories such as distributed theories and transformational theories (see for example, Harris, 2003). However, far from being critical of tightly bound bureaucratic and hierarchical school structures, teachers were happy to follow such structures:

> (Miss Kwan, teacher, School 2) I think that it is well organized. It works efficiently and seriously. We take everything very seriously and strictly.

As long as teachers were clear about what was expected from them

and about the reporting structure of the school's hierarchy they had no problems in fulfilling these requirements.

Second, another emergent paradox was the fact that teacher leadership in the research literature is bound up in notions of autonomy, empowerment and professionalism, and authoritarian attitudes by the principal are viewed negatively, I found that in Hong Kong the paternalistic attitude adopted by the principal was an accepted, and expected, mode of interaction. There appeared to be little argument that principals in my study wielded total control over the schools. A non-Asian teacher stated,

> Basically, you have to respect and adapt to the hierarchy. The principal is very important here (as in all Asian schools). She dictates a lot.

Manifestations of this power were the fact that the principals of two of the three schools granted access and consent of behalf of all members of the organizations (including teachers and parents), and undertook to correct linguistic errors in all response sheets of adult participants. While my Western-trained researcher self struggled with questions about the possible impact that this may have on issues of the individual rights of the teachers, my growing insider knowledge help me to realize that this was a manifestation of what Pratt and his colleagues (1999) have called the affective component that governs the hierarchical relationships in CHC. Just as a father gives consent (thus taking on all the implicit responsibilities that this implies) so too the principal as the head of the organization gives consent, even though the 'children' in this faux family are adults (see Katyal & Pang, 2009).

Steeped in Western egalitarian notions of leadership, it is difficult to view such conditions positively. Nonetheless, when viewed through Confucian frameworks of reference it is easy to understand that hierarchy constitutes stability and security and the principal's interventions are an extension of their familial role. Given the implications of paternalism inherent in Confucian values, I found that the teachers were likely to observe the value of 'ordering relationships' when interacting with their superiors. This type of

authoritarian leadership style requires principals to be benevolent, respected and decisive while at the same time possessing the ability to anticipate and defuse potential confrontations. Subordinates in Chinese societies are expected to "perform with instant, exact and complete obedience" (Bond 1991, p.82) and any questions asked are seen as challenges to authority and threats to the superior's' *Mian zi* (or face). Stening and Zhang, (2007) and others (see for example, Fang, 2006) argue that in general Western conceptualizations of Chinese culture are intrinsically flawed as they present a Chinese world view that is a "rational structural perspective" rather than one that is full of paradoxes and contradictions. In essence, I would argue, the views held by the teachers are a case in point.

Very early in my study a non-Chinese teacher in School 2 pointed out that there was a "cult of secrecy" that operated in Chinese schools. This need for secrecy not only extended to in-school contexts (for example between the principal and the teachers, between non-Chinese teachers and the Chinese teachers) but also extended to members of the same ethnic community such as the teachers and parents. Within school policy, the term 'partnership' seems to have acquired the connotation of an ideal form of parent-school relationship. There is also an increasing consensus that the notion of partnership should be viewed in terms of the complementary roles that are played by the teachers and parents in the education of children. However, I found that the notion of partnership with its accompanying undertone of equality and the complementary sharing of responsibilities is unrealistic in CHC (Katyal & Evers, 2007). The parents and teachers in my study had little interaction between the formalised parent teacher days and school report cards. Teachers who were seen as "Authority" figures by the parents did not see the need to share or include parents in the educational process, neither did the parents challenge this stance, thus forming separate sets of in-groups and out-groups and creating socially accepted hierarchical systems.

(KRK) How much do you know about the educational terminology or strategies adopted by teachers?

(Roberts, parent from School 1) Not much… Normally parents do not know and I think it does not matter….

Moreover, teachers and parents both displayed ambivalent and dichotomous attitudes towards the complex issue of teacher-parent communication. A teacher suggested that this was a cultural issue:

(Mr. Lan, teacher from School 3) Usually if I have to contact with the parents I have to give warnings. Usually Chinese do not have the custom of praising the students and telephone them.

Again, home school relationships such as this are difficult to view positively when viewed through Western frameworks of understanding but easier to understand when viewed through a CHC lens.

Implications

The sub-text of much of the insider/outsider discourse is the assumption that some accounts are more accurate or reliable than others. However, I would argue that neutrality and objectivity are difficult, if not impossible to achieve in any research project. Rather, I would posit that the inferences drawn by the researcher should be viewed as context specific and, providing there is a rigorous methodological checklist, valid accounts (Rhodes, 1994), irrespective of whether it contains an insider's perspective or an outsider's. Influential scholars like Pike (2003) claimed that outsider accounts should not be considered superior to insider accounts, as all claims to knowledge are ultimately subjective. While insiders and outsiders may receive different responses, each account is interesting and meaningful in its own right. By reflecting on their relationship to their respondents and making this explicit, researchers allow their accounts to be judged alongside a range of others in any area. As well as allowing contrasting accounts to be openly evaluated, an explicit awareness of one's outsider status can also benefit both data collection and analysis.

A second critical imperative here was to acknowledge perspectives. In dealing with cultures not our own it is critical to be honest about where we are coming from theoretically and personally. This is

important since all behaviour observed in field work is interpreted through this biographical lens, what leads one to 'see' things about others.

A third imperative is to exhibit integrity. This is both methodologically and ethically sound since people will talk to the researcher if they trust them. The length of time spent in the field may in part determine this relationship, as was the case of Researcher A. The researcher's job is to record and later analyse, not pass judgement.

However, as suggested by Dinges and Baldwin (2001), even deep immersion in a particular culture over a long period of time will not guarantee that one's interpretation of data will not be flawed. This is explained by the fact that although competence in the given culture may be achieved at a cognitive level, residual affective effects from one's own culture make objective assessments difficult. For this reason, a self-reflexive perspective permitted us to reconcile our respective motivations for conducting the research in the first place and the extent of accountability we owed to the participants in our studies. Further, it became clear to us that any researcher, whether using qualitative or quantitative methods, has a distinct point of view with cultural and personal values that cannot be removed from the research equation. The challenge, therefore, is not to eliminate these cultural and personal values but to consider (and even document) the effects of personal bias that may influence one's perspective and positionality in research.

Note: An expanded version of this paper will appear in a Special Issue of Comparative Education to be published later this year.

References
Bond, M. H. (1991) . *Beyond the Chinese face: Insights from psychology.* Hong Kong: Oxford University Press
Bridges, D. (2001). The ethics of outsider research. *Journal of Philosophy of Education,* 35, no. 3: 371-387.
Dinges, N. G., & K. D. Baldwin (1996). Intercultural competence - A research perspective. In: *Handbook of intercultural training,* eds. D.

Landis & R. S. Bhagat, 106-123. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

Fang, T. (2006). From "Onion" to "Ocean": Paradox and Change in National Cultures *International Studies of Management & Organization*, 35, no. 4: 71-90.

Gudykunst, W. B., G. Gao, K. L. Schmidt, T. Nishida, M. Bond, K. Leung, G. Wang, & R. A. Barraclough (1992). The influence of individualism-collectivism, self-monitoring, and predicted-outcome value on communication in ingroup and outgroup relationships. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology,* 23, 196-213

Harris, A. (2003). Teacher Leadership as distributed leadership: heresy, fantasy or possibility*? School Leadership and Management,* 23, no. 3: 313-324.

Katyal, K. R**.** (forthcoming) Gate-keeping and Paternalism: ambiguities in the nature of 'informed consent' in Confucius societies. *International Journal of Research & Method in Education.*

Katyal, K. R., & C.W. Evers (2007). Parents - partners or clients? A re-conceptualization of home-school interactions. *Teaching Education.*18, no. 1: 61-76.

Katyal, K. R. & M. F. Pang (2010), Paradigms, Perspectives and Dichotomies amongst Teacher Educators in Hong Kong. *Journal of Educating Teachers*. 36,no.3: 319-332.

Kreiger, S. (1982). Lesbian identity and community: recent social science literature, *Signs,* 8, no.11: 91-108.

Pike, K. L. (2003). *Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behaviour* (2nd ed.) The Hague, The Netherlands: Mouton.

Pratt, D., Kelly, M & Wong, M.S. S. (1999). Chinese conceptions of 'effective teaching' in Hong Kong: towards culturally sensitive evaluation of teaching. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 18, no. 4, 241-58.

Rhodes, P. J. (1994). Race-of-interviewer effects: A brief comment. *Sociology* , *28* (2), 547-558.

Stening, B. W., & Zhang, M. Y. (2007). Methodological challenges confronted when conducting management research in China. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management, 7*(1), 121-142.

Exploring How Schools, Teachers and Museums Can Work Together to Support Teaching and Learning
Tracy LAU

Introduction

Education is widely recognized as one of the key functions of a museum today. A significant percentage of the visitors who visit most museums are students on school field trips, and many teachers unthinkingly assume that museums provide good experiences that will enhance their students' learning (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007). However, the conditions of museum learning are very different from those that can be found in the classroom, and museum-goers or trip organizers are free to construct their self-directed experiences in the museum. This raises the question of whether museums are places where students benefit as much as they expected.

Most present day museums recognize their responsibility for supporting education. It is usual for museums to have education officers or education units which can support the development of public education. Nearly every museum provides tours and special programs for school visitors. Other common resources include travel trunks with hands-on objects shared with students, teaching packages that contain exhibition information, video tapes, collection images, worksheets and internet games which can be accessed either on-line or in the gallery. Some well-funded museums even have outreach programs providing travelling exhibition panels and "artists in schools" workshops. In fact, field trips expose students to information in an interdisciplinary manner and the museum experience often touches an emotional or intellectual nerve within visitors. It is undeniable that museums have great potential to engage students, to teach them, to stimulate their understanding, and, most importantly, to help them assume responsibility for their own future learning.

However, museums are not only designed for school visitors. They are usually intended for the general public. Even though students

of all ages form a large part of the museum audience, not every museum has tailor-made programs or teacher training or curricula-related support for teachers and students. In Hong Kong a large percentage of the existing educational programs, workshops, teaching packages and worksheets are outsourced to production companies, which may have little knowledge about education. Also, museums in Hong Kong do not offer teacher training workshops, worksheets or teaching packages that are connected to school curricula or pedagogies adopted in schools.

Research Questions
Therefore, as a former assistant curator, a former secondary school teacher and an academic researcher, I cannot help wondering whether a school trip to a museum in Hong Kong is always as beneficial as the participants expect it to be. And any benefit has to be weighed against the considerable investment in time and money which is required to make a school visit work. With such limited support, training and curricula-related resources, how do these secondary school teachers use museum visits in their teaching? What do they do to enhance their students' learning? What is the rationale for the museum visit?

This study adopts a multi-method approach for the purpose of data collection and analysis. It uses a survey of schools using school museum trips, as well as group interviews, observation, individual interviews and documentary analysis. This multi-method approach will make it possible for the researcher to make use of data from various sources to cross-check and validate the findings.

Discussion
The term 'museum' is used as a collective term for a range of institutions that includes museums, science centres, resource centres, aquaria and other similar information and/or educational venues. Taking this broad definition, there are at least 48 of this kind of institutions to be found in Hong Kong (Wikipedia, 2010). To be more specific, the present study involves only museums that include the word 'museum' in their title. Amongst the 28 museums that fall into this more restricted category, six belong to the

discipline of art, three belong to science and 19 belong to themes related to social studies, such as history, heritage, culture, geography, anthropology and so on, although these categories are not wholly mutually exclusive. Most museum education research studies focus on a single type of museum. This study, however, tries to see what kind of pedagogical approaches/teaching strategies schools and teachers use in different museum settings. Its arguments will be built on empirical evidence from research on the interactive relationship between museum visits and teaching and learning in schools. The particular focus of this study is to examine the museum experience during school visits and the contribution of the school museum visits to teaching and learning.

Each year thousands of school teachers take their classes to museums on class field trips in Hong Kong. As stated in previous research studies, whether the museum visit has the desired impact on the cognitive and affective development of the students depends very largely, if not wholly, on experiences prior to the visit, and in particular rests on the school and the teacher in undertaking the teaching and learning in the museum. While students would admit to the importance of museums, they do not usually choose to go to museums. It is highly likely that for many students, especially those with less social capital, their only experience of museums will be that of school visits.

Although it is still an on-going research study, the pilot study reveals three strands of inquiry: student learning, teacher practice and school support. An array of responses within each of these categories makes a cogent case for integrating museum visits into the curriculum. The museum visits create an opportunity for interdisciplinary learning and create stimulation that returns to the classroom. Teachers report that the museum visits create an opportunity for interdisciplinary planning and creativity of working with a variety of other institutions, promoting professional growth and support. Through embedding the tour into their curriculum, classroom learning is reinforced; and teachers can widen students' learning experiences and promote higher order thinking skills. Although teachers also report issues

and problem, their enthusiasm to make use of the local museums' facilities and exhibition is strong. School support is essential for proper preparation for the museum visit. Cost and transportation are the key considerations in planning a field trip that they are also most likely to occupy the bulk of the planning time. Although teachers also care about the quality of the exhibits and programs, the safety and security of students, and the relevance of the field trip experiences to the school curriculum come out as the major concerns of teachers in the pilot test.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The participation of the teacher is crucial for the success of the visit. The teacher acts as a bridge between the content learned in school and the museum experience. Teachers are familiar with the museum setting and teaching methods can ensure the quality of their students' experience at the museum. They know their students, the class curriculum, and the conceptual background of the class. Therefore, teachers have the ability to organize, sequence, focus, and evaluate the event, adapt it to the needs of each student and provide an experience consistent with the desired outcomes. However, this pilot study also shows that little efforts have been made by the museum to communicate with teachers in school. Teachers and museum educators do not have much opportunity to discuss their expectations in conducting meaningful school visits. Therefore, encouraging the museum to play a more active role in planning the visit with all the relevant people in school is important. Teachers' workshops at a museum can create better understanding of both partners and contribute to the establishment of mutual planning of visit. In-school meetings between museum educators and teachers are also recommended. Inviting school curriculum planners to be visiting curators to produce curriculum-related materials for school visits will also be very useful in enhancing the linkage between the planned and taught curriculum of the museum visits, maximizing the effectiveness of museum learning and integrating it more organically with the learning objectives of the formal curriculum in different domains and the adopted pedagogical devices. In this way, teachers can be actively involved in conducting museum field trips and

maintaining meaningful working relationships with museum and museum educators.

Reference
Hooper-Greenhill, E. (2007). Museum and Education. New York, Oxon: Routledge.

Wikipedia. (2010). List of Museums in Hong Kong. Retrieved 24 October 2010 at

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_museums_in_Hong_Kong

Hong Kong Secondary School Teachers' Perceptions of Civic Education
NG Hoi Yu

This short article explores the understanding of civic education of some Hong Kong secondary school teachers based on the interview data collected for a larger project. Civic education in Hong Kong is described as depoliticized and nationalistic as the official Moral and Civic Education curriculum (CDC, 2002) tends to marginalize political issues and focuses on personal character and traditional Chinese values, but simultaneously stresses the importance of national identity (Leung & Ng, 2004). However, the situation has changed somewhat since the introduction of the compulsory subject Liberal Studies in 2006 because, for the first time, a subject with political and civic elements is taught in all secondary schools (Leung & Yuen, 2009). Nevertheless, civic education implemented in schools may not completely reflect these curriculum changes since they enjoy a relatively high degree of autonomy in determining how and what civic education is implemented (Morris & Morris, 2001). The perceptions of teachers could have significant influence on the content and pedagogy of civic education actually implemented in schools. Therefore, it is worth exploring how teachers perceive civic education.

Review of Literature
Over the last decade, there were a number of studies seeking to explore the understanding of civic education and citizenship of Hong Kong primary and secondary teachers. The results showed that Hong Kong teachers tended to focus on personal and moral dimensions of civic education and downplay the importance of political and social issues. Their understanding of citizenship was rather passive in that they paid little attention to political participation. For instance, Morris and Morris (2001) studied the implementation of civic education in two local secondary schools. The findings showed that teachers laid great stress on the personal and moral elements of civic education such as discipline, good manner, personal responsibility and Confucius values. Similar

findings were shown in other studies. For example, Grossman (2004) conducted a survey of primary school teachers' perceptions of future citizens in Hong Kong and Guangzhou. The results showed that teachers in both cities put strong emphasis on the personal dimension of citizenship as they frequently selected personally-related choices such as "values spiritual development" as the desirable citizen characteristics, while socially-related characteristics such as political participation were lowly rated. Lee (2005) conducted a mixed methods study on the perceptions on citizenship of primary and secondary teachers in Guangzhou, Hangzhou and Hong Kong. The survey results showed that Hong Kong teachers placed fulfillment of family responsibilities as the most important quality of good citizenship, while Guangzhou and Hangzhou placed knowledge of current events and patriotism respectively as the most important qualities. The interview data showed that Hong Kong teachers valued citizen's duties and virtues such as obeying law more than individual rights and political involvement. Lo (2009) conducted in-depth interviews with six teachers in a government-aided primary school in order to explore their understanding and attitudes towards Moral and Civic Education (MCE). The findings showed that teachers largely defined MCE as moral and ethical education and some even treated the entire MCE as personal growth education. The interviewees also frequently mentioned Confucian concepts such as virtue and self-cultivation.

Research Design
This paper is based on the qualitative interview data collected for a larger project which aims to determine the suitability of implementing an independent and compulsory subject of civic education at the junior secondary level of Hong Kong's education system. The third phase of the project conducted semi-structured interviews in 2009 and 2010 with secondary school principals and teachers responsible for civic education in order to seek their views on the most appropriate mode of delivery of civic education for Hong Kong. The first question of every interview asked the interviewees to briefly describe their perceptions on civic education. The data presented here are based on teachers' responses to this

question.

Research Samples

Altogether 47 teachers responsible for civic education from 32 local secondary schools were interviewed. The selected schools belong to various sponsoring bodies, districts and religions. 17 of them have a civic-related independent subject and the remaining ones rely on permeation and cross-curricular activities to implement civic education, the more common approaches in Hong Kong. The samples adequately cover the major types of secondary schools in Hong Kong, since the sample schools and the teachers were not randomly chosen. Therefore, while there is no intension to generalize any finding from the data, it is hoped that the study could further enhance our understanding of secondary school teachers' perceptions on civic education.

Research Findings

Firstly, many interviewees perceive civic education as a broad concept which is associated with many different things such as moral education, value education, national education and global citizenship. Here are some typical responses. Teacher 19 said, "In our school, civic education is a very broad concept. It is not limited to civics, but also includes moral education, national education, sex education, environmental education and all kinds of value education". Teacher 21 said:

  Civic education is a very broad subject which can be associated with different areas. The aims are to let students to gain in-depth understanding of the society and the nation, and to let them to think over the change of the world and the causes of social phenomena. It also includes international communication and significant events, as well as personal growth and attitude towards difficulties.

Teacher 30 said:

  Civic education consists of many components. According to my understanding, it includes national education, environmental education, and moral education. Even faith, religion, and sex education are part of civic education. It is very broad and it

involves many different things.

This finding supports the results of Lee (2004)'s study. He found that Hong Kong secondary schools in general hold an eclectic attitude towards civic education. Under this attitude, civic education is defined loosely and implemented flexibly.

Secondly, although the interviewees tend to define civic education as a broad concept, many do have emphases. Like many previous studies, moral and personal issues occupy an important place in teachers' understanding. For example, moral and value education is the most frequently mentioned component of civic education, with 32 out of 47 teachers mentioning it in the interviews. Personal growth-related education (e.g. life, health, sex, and drug education) was also mentioned by 27 interviewees. Terms like "moral", "value", "responsibility", "obligation", "personal growth" and "family" are frequently seen. Here are three teachers who define civic education with a strong emphasis on moral education. Teacher 1 said:

Civic education has several aims. The first is to let students to understand themselves and to build their characters. The second it to educate students about the virtues and morals of handling interpersonal relationship….Lastly, it aims to educate students about social responsibilities and to nurture their commitment to the nation.

Teacher 5 said:

The aim of civic education is to educate our students to be good citizens. Value education is crucial in achieving this aim. There are four major values that we have to pay attention to. They are respect, responsibility, commitment, and national identity.

Teacher 25 said:

We want to prepare students to become good citizens in the society. This is the ultimate and the simplest goal. The basic is law-abiding. The next step is to have good morals. The government has clearly stated the values. My school will follow the government's direction because most of the colleagues are very much subscribed to those values.

Nevertheless, there are a few teachers who try to differentiate between civic education and moral education and think that the two should be separated. As teacher 10 said,

> We always hear the term 'moral and civic education', so moral and civic education should be separated into two. Civic education is more about citizen-related things such as nation and political party, in particular the ruling party.

But generally speaking, the finding of this study is in congruence with the results of the literature mentioned in the review above (Grossman, 2004; Lee, 2004, 2005; Lo, 2009; Morris & Morris, 2001), which found that teachers in Hong Kong tend to prioritize moral, value and personal growth over other civic education components.

Third, national education or knowledge about China is the third most frequently mentioned component of civic education. About half of the interviewees mentioned it in the interviews. This is in line with the Hong Kong SAR government's effort to enhance national education after the handover of sovereignty in 1997. However, teachers tend to pay more attention to the understanding and knowledge of China rather than the cultivation of patriotism and national identity. For example, Teacher 8 said,

> Especially after the handover, we want our students to pay more attention to things happening in the mainland. It is because the communication between Hong Kong and the mainland has become more and more frequent.

Some teachers hold a critical attitude towards national education. They think that the current official national education is one-sided and that an unbiased and critical approach should be adopted instead. For example, Teacher 7 said:

> The general impression is that civic education in Hong Kong puts strong emphasis on national consciousness….I think that the "hard-sell" of national consciousness or national identity is not very effective. Instead, it is more effective to present and analyze the unbiased information of the achievements and dark side of China with students.

33

Teacher 29 said,

  [The government] treats civic education as national education and
that national education is one-sided….It may only emphasize the
achievements and pay less attention to critical thinking.

Fourth, compared with moral education and national education,
political education receives relatively less attention from the
interviewees. Only 40 percent (19 teachers) of the interviewees
include political-related concepts in their understanding of civic
education. In the social dimension, teachers tend to focus on current
affairs, social issues, and environmental education, rather than
political issues and concepts. For example, Teacher 3 said, "I think
that civic education should also include knowledge of society,
contemporary Hong Kong, and China". Teacher 45 said, "As I have
said before, [civic education] should include moral education, social
issues, current affairs, liberal studies, and personal issues". Among
the political concepts, civil rights and responsibilities is most
frequently mentioned concept (13 teachers), followed by election
and voting (5 teachers), political system (4 teachers), democracy (3
teachers), and government policies (3 teachers). Political
participation, political party, and civil society are only mentioned by
one teacher respectively. Other more confrontational acts like
protest, demonstration, social movement and civil disobedience
were not mentioned by any interviewees.

Nevertheless, there are a few teachers who put strong emphasis on
political education. For instance, Teacher 25 said:

  The content of civic education should include human rights
education and political education such as the understanding of
political system. It is not merely about the knowledge of the
political structure, but also about how you can participate in,
interact with, and influence the political system, about how to
become aware of your rights and responsibilities and how to build
a more mature and democratic society which can defend human
rights.

Teacher 29 said:

  Of course, self-management and life skills are part of civic

education. But sense of citizen, government-people relations, rights and responsibilities and democratic ideas, which are relatively weak in Hong Kong, should be included....Civic education should teach students how to exercise their rights and take their responsibilities. Take election as an example, you have the rights to elect the government. According to the "Social Contract Theory", you have the rights to overthrow the government if your life is not satisfied.

Lastly, although the interviewees pay more attention to moral and national education, global citizenship education is not seriously marginalized. Actually 21 percent of the interviewees (10 teachers) have included global citizenship or world affairs in their definitions of civic education. For instance, Teacher 19 said:

I think that civic education can be divided into 3 levels. First, it should introduce students to the values and principles of different places of the world….Furthermore, as global citizens, students should have a broad perspective. They should understand and participate in some activities organized by international organizations.

Teacher 12 said:

As global citizens, students should make contributions to the world. For example, they should protect the environment by not producing too much waste and not polluting the world. They should also be concerned about the bad situation of other countries such as child abuse.

Conclusion
This paper has revealed several major characteristics of the perceptions of Hong Kong secondary teachers on civic education. First, similar to many previous researches, moral, value and personal growth education still occupy a very important place in teachers' understanding of civic education, though many teachers define civic education as a broad concept. Second, as expected, political literacy is not a major concern of the teachers although social and current issues are frequently mentioned. Civic education in their minds is still relatively depoliticized. Third, national

education has become a major focus of many teachers. However, most of their emphases are on knowledge and understanding rather than national identity and patriotism. Lastly, global citizenship education is not seriously marginalized as it is mentioned by over one-fifth of the interviewees. Overall, I would argue that there is more continuity than change between the findings of previous studies and this paper. It seems that the perceptions of Hong Kong teachers on civic education have not changed significantly over the last decade.

References
Curriculum Development Council (CDC). (2002). *Basic education curriculum guide: Building on strengths*. Hong Kong: Curriculum Development Council.

Grossman, D. L. (2004). Teachers' perceptions of future citizens in Hong Kong and Guangzhou. In W. O. Lee, D. L. Grossman, J. K. Kennedy & G. P. Fairbrother (Eds.), *Citizenship education in Asia and the Pacific: Concepts and issues* (pp. 215-238). Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre, University of Hong Kong.

Jeffery, T. F., & Lee, W. O. (2005). *Education for social citizenship: Perceptions of teachers in USA, Australia, England, Russia and China*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Lee, W. O. (2004). *Secondary School Civic Education: Diversified school-based practices*. Hong Kong: Commercial Press (HK) Ltd. (In Chinese)

Lee, W. O. (2005). Teachers' perceptions of citizenship in China. In T. F. Jeffery, & W. O. Lee (Eds.), *Education for social citizenship: Perceptions of teachers in USA, Australia, England, Russia and China* (pp. 209-248). Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Lee, W. O., Grossman, D. L., Kennedy, J. K., & Fairbrother, G. P. (2004). Citizenship education in Asia and the Pacific: Concepts

and issues. Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre, University of Hong Kong.

Leung, Y. W., & Ng, S. W. (2004). Back to square one: The "re-depoliticizing" of civic education in Hong Kong. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education, 24*(1), 43-60.

Leung, Y. W., & Yuen, W. W. (2009). A critical reflection of the evolution of civic education in Hong Kong schools. *Pacific-Asian Education, 21*(1), 35-49.

Lo, W. Y. (2009). Understanding and attitudes towards moral and civic education among primary school teachers in Hong Kong. *Asian Social Science, 5*(7), 3-17.

Morris, P., & Morris, E. (2001). Becoming civil in Hong Kong: A tale of two schools. *International Journal of Educational Research, 35*(1), 11-27.

中國傳統儒釋道思想看"和諧"的異同

胡少偉

全球化中的中國文化

全球化是廿世紀末由資訊科技革命所引起的人類變革；互聯網的普及加速了全球經濟一體化，使各地民眾感受到這個全球化年代的到來。加上，交通工具的便利、通訊技術的更新、跨國公司的貿易、各地大學教育的國際化、移民人口比例的增加和旅遊事業的發展，世界各地的人確實更親近。事實上，世界上各色人種皆居於這個地球，在地球只有一個的情況下，很多國際社會問題如貿易摩擦、對抗恐怖主義、打擊國際洗黑錢活動、能源危機、臭氧層損耗、流行性傳染病等都需各地民眾共同面對的，這使居住不同地域的人民覺醒到全球是一體的。面對全球化，不少學者強調全球各地發展的趨同性，但有學者卻不以為然，指出全球化並不代表世界文化和價值的一元化。香港教育學院校長張炳良(2000)曾指出"全球化假設世界走向趨同，在將來必然成為主導社會變革和管治模式的動力；然而亞洲卻重視本土社會價值和文化傳統，認為這些才是最終主宰社會發展的決定因素"。因此，他提出全球化中全球一體價值與本土文化是雙軌並行的。羅伯森也曾認為"全球化過程本身——使世界成為單一的場所——制約著各種文明和社會；但全球化也包含了特殊主義的普遍化，而不只是普遍主義的特殊化"(梁光嚴，2000)。可見，全球化不單使各地民眾越來越重視國際社會的共通文化和價值，亦同時感到要保護和珍惜本土特色的重要性。

面對全球一體化的大環境,中國有學者強調要保存傳統文化的重要性。"如果資本的全球化是一個不可遏制的趨勢，那麼，中國人如何來面對這些問題，中國傳統文化中是否有一些因素可以限制資本所帶來的負面影響，中國傳統的文化精神是否可以和現代生產結合起來，從而煥發出生機並找到自己的位置、保持自己的獨特性，中國傳統文化是否還有既與國際文化相融合，又呈現出自己的獨特的特質從而保持自己的獨特性的可能。這些是擺在國人面前不容迴避且極需解決的問題"（左國毅，2010）。從這可看出找出傳統文化與全球化相適應的元素，是中國學者一個必需處理的課題；回望中國傳統文化中，最多人談論和肯定的是和諧價值。在 2008 年北京奧運的開幕式中，有一幕凸顯"和"字的表現，弘揚了中國傳統文化，令人津津樂道；而根據最新一期的《中華遺產》雜誌發佈的"100 個最具中華文化意義的漢字"評選，"和"字亦贏得了網上投票的最高票數（文匯報，2010）。故可以說中國傳統文化是一個和諧的文化。

中國傳統的和諧概念

中國傳統文化是一種有強大生命力的文化，與中國文化同時產生的其他古代文明，如兩河文化、瑪雅文化等都在歷史長河中消失了；"只有中國的文化傳統能歷久彌新，影響至當代，其中的奧秘就在於中國文化是兼容並包的開放型文化"(劉新科主編，2002)。中國當代著名教育家顧明遠(2004)認爲"中國文化具有強大的統合力，中國的古代文化包括齊魯文化、荊楚文化、巴蜀文化、吳越文化、嶺南文化等多個文化體系；這些文化雖然所處的地域不同，但它們都有融爲一體的共同特徵，它們都有共同的大傳統。全世界的華人，無論身處何地，都有著極其相似的價值觀和人生追求"。由 56 個不同組成的中華民族能長期地和平共存於一國，除了體現了大家對中國傳統文化的認同外，亦反映出中國傳統文化是一個重視和諧的多元一體文化。

在中國古代，絲綢之路被公認爲中外友好合作之路。"明朝時，當時世界一流的鄭和船隊七次下西洋，經印度洋到達非洲，交往了 30 多個國家和地區，一路帶去的只是互利貿易和宣揚國威的邦交友誼，而非掠奪和建立殖民地"(杜永傑、韓香蘭，2010)。使不少中國民衆和他國民衆皆認爲"和諧"是中華傳統文化的核心價值；因此，認真理解"和諧"的價值，對面對全球化的當代中國人來說是有現實的意義。當代儒學大師郭齊勇(2008)認爲："中國哲學家強調整體的和諧與物我的相通，他們不僅把自然看做是一個和諧的體系，不僅爭取社會的和諧穩定、民族與文化間的共存互尊、人際關係的和諧化和秩序化，而且追求天、地、人、物、我之關係的和諧化"。和諧價值今天已成爲中國民衆公認的核心價值，其形成與儒釋道三家合一有關。雖然牟鍾鑒(1995)曾指出儒釋道"彼此間已經滲透得很深，你中有我，我中有你，形成無法分割的關係"；但此文的重心卻在於分析儒釋道三家對和諧價值不同的銓釋，讓讀者可透過比較方法去深入理解中國傳統文化中和諧的意義。

儒家重仁與和的價值

在中國傳統文化中，影響最大的價值觀念是由孔子所創的儒家思想；儒家是集西周以來禮樂文明、等第秩序和社會倫理大成的思想。漢代以來，儒家思想成爲了中國社會的主導思想，其核心理念"仁"與"和"，一直指導著各代中國民衆的生活；並成爲鄰近亞洲國家的主流思想之一，故有人說亞洲東部有一個儒家的文化圈。儒家以仁爲最高的道德，何謂仁? 根據《說文》的解釋："親也，從人，從二"。仁是關於人我關係的準則；儒家仁愛學說是由己推人、由近及遠。仁是一種道德範疇，從積極的方面講，要"己欲立而己人，己欲達而達人"；從消極的方面講，要"己所不欲，勿施予人"。劉強(2005)在編著《論

40

語》時更指出：“仁之爲用，用於己則身修，用於家則家興，用於鄉則正風氣化民俗，用於國則政通人和，用於天下則洽化太平”；可見儒家“仁”的思想是一種有益於人與人及人與社會和諧相處的概念。

漢代大儒董仲舒獨尊儒術，並提出了三綱五常的學說，所謂“五常”即以仁、義、禮、智、信等五種價值，規範和調整父子、君臣、夫妻、兄弟和朋友第五倫關係；儒家認爲堅持五常之道，就能維持社會的穩定和人際關係的和諧，故有人稱儒家思想是一種“人和”理論。而要達至“人和”，徐儒宗(2006)認為“饑而思食，寒而思衣，這是每個人都相同的；所以可從我之饑而思食推知別人也饑而思食，但是喜歡吃什麼或需要吃多少，各人就不同了。不能從我愛吃蘿蔔推知別人也愛吃蘿蔔，不能從我吃一碗而飽推知別人也吃一碗而飽。“從這個推論就產生了和而不同的原則”。《論語子路篇》中曾說“君子和而不同，小人同而不和”；當中的“同”是取消矛盾對立相方的差異，而“和”卻承認保持矛盾對立面的必要性。在人與人關係中“和而不同”既承認了關係中兩者的不同，但卻要雙方彼此尊重、求同存異、以和爲貴，才可得到互利雙贏。若能有效運用儒家這個“和而不同”的理論，人與人的緊張關係就得以減少，社會便可以得到和諧的局面了。

除了“和而不同”之外，儒家與“和諧”有關的概念，還有“中和”的觀點，“儒家提倡中庸之道，主張實踐中和，中是天下最重大的根本，和是天下通行的道路”(郭齊勇，2008)。舒大剛(2008)分析“矛盾是不可避免的，無處不在，無時不有，如何處理這些矛盾呢？唯有儒家，唯有孔子，既看到了矛盾的對立性，又看到了矛盾的同一性，但也看到了矛盾協調共處的必須性。於是，提出了中和的方法”。“中和”就是提倡走中庸之道，在對立的情況下，不走偏激和極端，通過調節使矛盾可得到平衡，並強調追求整體和諧的重要性。在施政方面，儒家提出“寬猛相濟”的觀點，理想的施政是中庸的，是不偏不倚，不剛不猛，才可恰到好處；但現實生活中卻很難準確把握這個中正的分寸，不是太寬就是略猛。故此，儒家在施政方面提出了“寬猛相濟”爲補救措施，這個理念背後就是“中和”的價值。

佛教內與和有關的論述
佛教非源於中國本土，來自印度，東傳後卻先後與中國本土的玄學和儒學合流，並得以立足和擴展於中國社會；方立天(2006)指出“中國佛教的調和性是指對佛教外部的不同思想甚至不同觀點的妥協、依從、迎合、附會”。佛教與其他思想的調和，不單使佛教融入中國社會中，亦促成了中國儒釋道三教合一，使中國有一個多教並存的社會傳統文

化。佛教在中國有很多門派，較著名的有淨土宗、天台宗、密宗和禪宗等；佛教是一個不排斥別教的宗教，主張坐禪、念佛和修行，以達到出世的目的。佛教教義除了重視因果之外，也有所謂"三法印"，即：諸行無常、諸法無我、涅盤寂靜。佛教內涉及與和諧較爲明顯的是"因緣和合"、"慈悲"和"六和敬"等三方面。

佛教認爲人生是一個充滿苦難的過程，一切人們視爲理所當然的事物，不過是眾緣和合而生的，其本質是無常；在佛法上說，宇宙萬物的生成與幻滅，皆由於因緣二字。《四阿含經》中對因緣二字有如下解釋："此有故彼有，此生故彼生，此無故彼無，此滅故彼滅。"意思是宇宙間一切事物，都是沒有絕對存在的，都是因相對的依存關係而產生的結果；這種依存的因果關係有同時的和異時兩種，"在時間上說，是因果相續，因前復有因，因因無始，果後復有果，果果無終；在空間上說，是主從相聯，主旁復有主，沒有絕對的中心，從旁復有從，沒有絕對的邊際。以這種繼續不斷的因果關係，和重重牽引的主從關係，構成了這個互相依存、繁雜萬端的世界"(于凌波居士，1992)。正如一顆小樹雖本身具有生長的主因，但只有樹苗，而沒有陽光、水份和養料等助緣的配合，小樹是無法茁壯成長的。佛家利用這個小樹成長的例子說明因緣和合的理念。按這思路，佛教信眾常常提及隨緣的觀點，以保持自己的心境平和。

"佛自覺樹成道，發現法性平等，眾生佛性平等，而許多眾生都是因迷成著，不知這種道理，沉淪苦海，不得出頭，所以他就動了悲天憫人的慈心，誓願救拔眾苦，同登彼岸。這便是從慈悲的本心"(慧森法師，1992)。佛教慈悲主張從無分別彼此的心，發出慈愛心與同感心，讓受眾得到接納、尊重和支持，這也是一種有益於人際和諧的說法。與此同時，在佛教團體的生活原則上，還有一個重視和諧的理念，"六和敬是團體共修的基本守則，無論是出家團體或是在家團體，都必須要知道和遵守的"（淨空，2006）。所謂六和敬是指：身和同住、口和無諍、意和同悅、戒和同修、見和同解、利和同均；在僧團生活中，僧俗皆以"和"與"敬"爲金科玉律，在身口意和戒見利等六方面皆以"和"爲眾人的標準，要求各人可包容差異、減少對立的狀態，佛教僧侶是一個重視內部和諧的群體。

道家天人合一的和諧觀
道家思想對中國人的影響不亞於儒家，如果把古代華人的生活分爲立身和處世兩部分，那麼立身的部分，儒家思想的影響在中國傳統文化中處處可見；至於處世之道，道家與世無爭的退隱思想，往往又對失

意者起著積極的作用。道家思想的核心是"道",主張順其自然;"道"是一切人、物共同存在的最終保證,也是終極性的價值根源。道家思想視人爲自然界的一部分,認爲人是一個小天地,並教化人當效法天地自然,遵循自然界的規律,依憑自然的天性行動,反對破壞自然的行爲,提倡天人合一的主張。內地學者黃濟(1993)曾指出"天人合一觀念的產生,與農業社會的生產活動有密切關係,農業生產必須順應並尊重自然規律;四季變化,生長到收藏的過程,以及自給自足的生產特點,都不斷啓示人們要注意人與自然的和諧"。道家尊重自然界的內在法則,認爲事物發展會自然而然;說到底,人與自然的和諧合一是道家思想的重要元素。

《道德經》第四十二章指出"萬物負陰而抱陽,沖氣以爲和",在《道德經釋義》解說爲"自然萬物雖千差萬別,形態各異,但它們都由陰陽二氣合和而成,都包含著陰陽兩種質因子,包含著內在的矛盾。這兩種相反而矛盾的物質因子是互相補充、彼此和諧的,陰陽二氣的妙用在於和"(任法融,2000)。在論述矛盾的對立統一時,道家相信任何一組的對立面都是能動和轉化的;"道"是秩序的凝構,造化能使萬物得以相生、相續、轉化和發展,而當中"和"的存在使雙方的轉化成爲有可能。正如《道德經》第五十八章所述"禍兮福之所倚,福兮禍之所";"道家不僅看到了人類道德生活對立面相互依存的關係,而且看到了對立面相互轉化的可能性與必然性"(王澤應,1999)。這個禍福轉化的觀念,包含了一體內對立雙方是可互易轉化的,這種轉化最終亦會產生調和的果效。

《道德經》第五十六章"和其光、同其塵",含義亦與和諧有關連;此段話,教人修身處事要與眾人和諧,隨俗同塵。與此同時,道家的一個核心思想是重視"無爲",無爲的真諦不是指不作爲,而是指不需深思熟慮或有目的地作爲。"道家的無爲理論有好幾層解釋:無爲是無所作爲;無爲是盡可能地少做事;無爲是自發地行動;無爲是消極的或順從的態度對待社會;無爲是等待事物自行發生轉化;無爲是根據事物的客觀條件和本質採取行動,也就是自然地行動"(劉笑敢,2008)。道家所強調的"無爲不爭",也就是鼓勵人不要互相爭奪,不爭吵、不爭氣、不爭寵,這個不爭的理念令人安分守己,與他人在一個"和諧"情境中共處共生。

儒釋道看"和諧"的異同
"任何社會的文化都是在對以往文化的繼承中發展起來的,文化的發展決不可能繞過對傳統文化的創新性改造;要實現中國傳統文化的創造

轉化，必須處理好民族性與時代性的關係，實現繼承與超越性的統一"
（孫梅，2010）；要使中國傳統文化得到繼承與發展，深究最爲公認的
"和諧"價值是必要的。從上文的分析，中國傳統儒釋道三家皆認同
與提倡"和諧"的價值，但對"和諧"概念卻有不同的側重；儒家思
想重在"仁"、"和而不同"和"中和"等三個概念。而佛家所主張
的"因緣和合"、"平等慈悲"和"六和敬"，則從另一角度去闡釋
和諧的概念；至於道家提倡的"天人合一"、"禍福轉化"和"無爲
不爭"亦與和諧價值一脈相承的。當中，儒家的和是重人與人之間的
和諧，道家的則重人與自然的和，而佛家所說僧團之間的和，亦談因
緣和合。可見，"和諧"已成爲儒釋道三教合一的中國傳統文化內的
核心價值；故香港和內地應將"和諧"這個價值放入學校教育中，讓
學生能在課堂與學校生活中認識"和諧"，並能繼承和發揚中國重
"和"的傳統文化。

在面對全球一體化的情境，要認識中國傳統文化的精粹，掌握儒釋道
三教對和諧的不同側重，是不可或缺的。與此同時，亨廷頓指出"在正
在來臨的時代，文明的衝突是對世界和平的最大威脅，而建立在多文
明基礎上的國際秩序是防止世界大戰的最可靠保障"(項賢明，2008)。
要世界有和平，全球各地民衆便要學習接納和欣賞別的文化；中國傳
統文化有別於歐美主流文化，強調以和爲貴，提倡人與人和人與自然
要和諧相處，這個價值既有益於各地民衆的共同相處，亦可提醒人類
珍惜資源，以保地球的可持續發展。最後，正如中國比較教育大師顧
明遠(2008)認爲"實現教育公平與和諧發展，並不是不講差異；我們要
承認差異，重視差異，培養差異"。在全球文化教育的交流和互動中，
"和諧"價值值得各地民衆重視，若不同文化民衆都有"求同存異"
的心態，便能在承認和尊重不同文化的差異的同時，使各地文化傳統
可在全球化中共存共生。

參考文獻

于凌波居士(1992)。《向知識分子介紹佛教》。台北：財團法人佛陀教育
　　基金會。

文匯報(2010)。＜「最中國」百漢字出爐＞。載於《文匯報》，2010 年
　　10 月 16 日 A20 版。

方立天(2006)。《方立天文集(第 3 卷)中國佛教文化》。北京：中國人民
　　大學出版社。

王澤應(1997)。《自然與道德——道家倫理道德精粹》。湖南：湖南大學
　　出版社。

左國毅(2010)。〈試論中國傳統文化在資本全球化中的轉化與新生〉。載
　　於《蘭州學刊》，(198)。

任法融(2000)。《道德經釋義》。香港：蓬瀛仙館重印。

牟鍾鑒(1995)。《中國宗教與文化》。台灣：唐山出版社。

杜永傑、韓香蘭(2010)。〈論儒家文化在建設和諧世界中的新作用〉。載於《洛陽理工學院學報（社會科學版)》，(3)25。

河清(2003)。《全球化與國家意識的衰微》。北京：中國人民大學出版社。

孫梅(2010)。〈全球化背景下中華民族的文化自覺訴求〉。載於《武警學院學報》，第 26 卷第 5 期。

徐儒宗(2006)。《人和論——儒家人倫思想研究》。北京：人民出版社。

張炳良(2000)。〈全球化潮流下亞洲價值〉。載於鄒崇銘主編，《千禧年 全球化 新思維》。香港：明報出版社有限公司。

梁光嚴(譯)(2000)。羅蘭‧羅伯森著。《全球化——社會理論和全球文化》。上海：上海人民出版社。

淨空法師(2006)。《認識佛教—幸福美滿的教育》。台北：華藏淨宗學會。

郭齊勇(2008)。〈孔子的中庸之道〉。載於傅佩榮、郭齊勇和孔祥林(合著)《孔子九講》。北京：中華書局。

舒大剛(2008)。《孔子的智慧》。北京：中央編譯出版社。

項賢明(2008)。〈和諧教育：全球化時代的教育新理念〉。載於《比較教育研究》，(4)，10-15。

黃濟主編(1993)。《中國傳統教育哲學思想概論》。河南：河南教育出版社。

劉笑敢(2008)。《道教(世界宗教入門)》。陳靜(譯)。上海：上海古籍出版社。

劉強編著(2005)。《論語》。北京：藍天出版社。

劉新科主編(2002)。《中國傳統文化與教育》。長春：東北師範大學出版社。

慧森法師(1992)。《初級佛學課本》。台北：財團法人佛陀教育基金會。

顧明遠(2004)。《中國教育的文化基礎》。太原：山西教育出版社。

顧明遠(2008)。〈教育公平與和諧教育〉。載於《比較教育研究》，(4)，7-9。

Trilingual education in minority regions in China
FENG Anwei & Bob ADAMSON

Introduction
In recent decades, the People's Republic of China (PRC) has instigated language policies in education ostensibly designed to foster trilingualism in ethnic minority groups. The policies, which vary from region to region, encompass the minority group's home language, Chinese, and English. As the minority groups tend to live in relatively remote and poorly resourced areas of the country, the promotion of trilingualism and trilingual education presents a range of challenges to communities in general and primary schools in particular. How these challenges are addressed is the subject of a research project that we are currently undertaking in collaboration with nine teams of researchers in different parts of China. Using data arising from interviews, ethnographic field notes, documentary analysis and secondary sources, this project is examining the tensions behind these trilingual education policies by comparing the implementation of policies for minority groups in Yunnan, Sichuan, Guangxi, Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang, Jilin, Gansu, Qinghai and Guangdong. It seeks to identify some of the facilitators and barriers that affect the achievement of trilingualism, and to make some suggestions for enhancing the effectiveness of the trilingualism policy.

Research Design
To make the data generalisable for a country with 55 officially recognised minority nationalities, we have adopted what methodologists such as Yin (2003) call multiple-case studies. The case studies cover minority autonomous regions or prefectures where the minority nationality groups live, in isolation in remote areas or in mixed communities together with the majority Han group. The methods and tools are consistent in all case studies. Each research team in each region has chosen three sites (mostly counties) according to the same criteria as follows:
• Demographically, the three sites represent the population typology of the region or prefecture. Usually, one is a county or

47

town that is dominated by the minority group; one a mixed community with a (near-)balanced population in ethnic terms; and the third one the capital city with mixed population but usually dominated by the Han majority.

• Geographically, the three sites represent the whole region or prefecture in terms of typography and transportation: one that is the most remote and isolated; one that is close to towns and life opportunities; and one that is the centre with all modern transportation and population mobility.

• Economically, the three sites chosen represent the region or prefecture in terms of GDP (PPP) per capita as well.

In each site, four schools (three primary schools and one secondary) have been chosen using criteria similar to those defined above. Primary schools are as representative as possible in terms of resources, history, demography, geographical condition, and so forth. Only one secondary school (an ordinary school where minority children attend) is chosen because minority children from remote areas tend to go to a secondary school in a town specially catering for minority children. They are unlikely to go to those privileged 'key schools' (*Zhongdian Zhongxue*) dominated by the Han majority children.

The study includes:

1. Surveys with questionnaires of all the school communities involved in the project
2. Documentary analysis of policies in each region
3. Observation (5-10 per school) of classroom practice with observation sheets*
4. Interviews with stakeholders such as policymakers, and focus groups of teachers (5-10 per school), parents (10-20 per school) and children (20-30 per school).

Multiple-case studies enable us to explore the phenomena through the use of a replication strategy so as to achieve saturation of data and to enhance validity and reliability of research data and thus the conclusions and generalisability drawn from them. Furthermore, to make the data comparable both between the cases nationally and internationally, our multiple-case studies are carried out by a

triangulation of qualitative and quantitative methods as those used by the researchers in a similar project in Wales.

Trilingualism in Chinese Education
The main purpose of developing trilingualism is to enhance students' sense of cultural heritage through the mother tongue, identification with the rest of the nation through the national language, and opportunities for social mobility through better employment prospects afforded by competence in an international language. While there appears to be general consensus regarding the potential benefits of trilingual education, data from the project to date indicate that major tensions have arisen when the policy is implemented. These tensions fall into three categories: political, theoretical and logistic.

While recent efforts of the state to maintain political stability have produced language in education policies that take into account the desire of minority groups to maintain their culture and identity, resulting in efforts to preserve and promote minority languages, a potential tension has arisen as the state also makes strenuous efforts to promote national cohesion through the promotion of standard Chinese as a *lingua franca* (Blachford, 2006). School curricula throughout the PRC now require all pupils, including ethnic minorities, to learn standard Chinese. Meanwhile English has attained prestigious status in the country because of the PRC's desire to play a prominent role in international affairs, such as by gaining admission to the World Trade Organisation, and since 2002, English has become a subject to be studied by students from Primary 3, provided that schools are able to offer it.

The theoretical debates focus on the key question: can students cope with learning three languages? There appears to be a general consensus in the literature that bilinguals are normally better at learning a third language in schools than monolinguals are at learning a second language and have a cognitive advantage over the latter (Cenoz & Jessner, 2000; Hoffmann & Ytsam, 2004). Cenoz (2003) and Cenoz & Valencia (1994) demonstrate with empirical evidence that bilingual students (Spanish and Basque in their case)

49

achieved higher proficiency in English language in schools than monolingual Spanish students learning the same language. As Baker (2006) points out, this can be explained by Cummins' (2000) interdependence hypothesis that suggests that academic language proficiency transfers across languages in terms of phonological, syntactical and pragmatic abilities. However, in the emerging literature of trilingual education in China, despite occasional reports that give support to the hypothesis, many educators and researchers argue that the reverse is true (e.g., Zhang, 2003; Jiang, et al., 2007). Instead of cognitive advantages, they report various cognitive, cultural and psychological problems minority students experience in learning the third language, in this case English. Some therefore argue that special policies should be made for minority students, such as setting a standard lower than the required levels specified in the New Curriculum for foreign language proficiency (Yang, 2006; Zhang, 2003). In making this argument, these educators seem to neglect the obvious consequence that, once such special policies are made, minority pupils with lower standards in a school subject with increasing importance will inevitably find it even more difficult to compete for academic and career opportunities; and thus they will be further economically, socially and politically marginalized.

Preliminary findings from the current project in three minority dominated regions (Xinjiang, Guangxi and Yi Autonomous Prefecture in Sichuan)—reported in Adamson and Feng (2009), Feng (2007; 2008), Feng and Sunuodula (2009); and Sunuodula and Feng (2011)—show that many minority pupils fail to acquire age-appropriate competence either in their minority home language or the majority language (Putonghua) and are unlikely to avoid negative consequences to their social and economic development. Furthermore, while some minority regions have responded to the official 2001 English Curriculum Standards (ECSs) by enhancing English provision, others seem to pay only lip service and their priority remains to further enhance the teaching and learning of Putonghua. The logistical problems in finding suitably qualified teachers of English for the rural areas render the goals of the trilingual policy even more difficult to achieve.

The diverse policies, which include a variety of attitudes towards the ethnic minority language ranging from strong attention to negligence, a piecemeal implementation of English, and consistently strong promotion of Putonghua, reflect linguistic priorities and the relative status of the three languages, all of which have political, social and economic implications. For instance (and at the risk of over-simplification), trilingualism, if implemented effectively, can enable marginalized groups to fully engage in the social and political life of mainstream society and enjoy educational and economic benefits. Poorly conceived and/or ineffectively implemented policies could exacerbate the marginalization and deprivation of minority groups.

The final report of this research will take the results of the nine regional projects and compare them, in order to produce an overall analysis of the policies and the implementation of trilingualism and trilingual education, the forces that shape them, in different parts of China. The results of the comparison will be significant for the formulation of socially equitable trilingual language policies in China, which will also have relevance to other education systems including Hong Kong SAR that have aspirations to foster trilingualism effectively through schooling.

References

Adamson, B. & Feng, A. (2009) A comparison of trilingual education policies for ethnic minorities in China. *Compare.* 39, 3, 321–333.

Baker, C. (2006) *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism.* 4th edition. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Blachford, D.R. (2006) Language spread versus language maintenance: policy making and implementation process, in: M. Zhou (Ed) *Language policy in the People's Republic of China: theory and practice since 1949*. Norwell, MA, Kluwer.

Cenoz, J. (2003) The additive effect of bilingualism on third language acquisition: A review. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 7, 1, 71-87.

Cenoz, J. & Jessner, U. (2000) *English in Europe: The acquisition of a*

third language. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Cenoz, J. & Valencia, J.F. (1994) Additive trilingualism: Evidence from the Basque Country. *Applied Linguistics*, 15, 195-207.

Cummins, J. (2000) *Language, power and pedagogy: Bilingual children in the crossfire*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Feng, A. (ed.) (2007) *Bilingual education in China: Practices, policies and concepts*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Feng, A.W. (2008) *Trilingualism or bilingualism, or else? Language use and provision for ethnic minorities in China*. Keynote speech given at the Conference on '*Capacity Building in Ethnic Minority Language Education*' at Hong Kong University.

Feng, A. & Sunuodula M. (2009) Analysing minority language education policy process in China in its entirety. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism.*

Hoffmann, C. & Ytsam, J. (eds.) (2004) *Trilingualism in family, school and community*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Huang, B.L. (2007). Teachers' perceptions of Chinese-English bilingual teaching in Guangxi, China. In A. Feng, *Bilingualism and bilingual education in China* (219-239). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Jiang, Q.X., Liu, Q.G., Quan, X.H. and Ma, C.Q. (2007). EFL education in ethnic minority areas in Northwest China: an investigation in Gansu Province. In A. Feng, *Bilingualism and bilingual education in China* (240-257). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Sunuodula, M. and Feng, A. (2011) English language education for the linguistic minorities: The case of Uyghurs. In A. Feng (ed.) *English language in education and societies across Greater China*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Yang, X.J. (2006) Difficulties in English education for minority groups and measures to handle them. *Guizhou Minzu Yanjiu* (Guizhou Ethnic Studies). 26 (3)), 133-137. (in Chinese)

Yin, R. (2003) *Case study research: Design and methods* (3nd edition). London: Sage.

Zhang, Z.D. (2003) Making foreign language education policies for the development of the Northwest. *Zhongxiaoxue Waiyu Jiaoxue* (Foreign Language Teaching in Primary and Secondary Schools), 26, 2, 12-15. (In Chinese)

Schools as Protection of Disadvantaged Children: Teachers' Role in Contexts of Adversity
Bjorn H. Nordtveit

Introduction

This paper discusses teachers' roles in protecting disadvantaged children in contexts of adversity. The term "disadvantaged" is used to define groups with a low socio-economic status, but is also used in its extended meaning of "vulnerability" – and thus includes orphans and other at-risk population groups. "Contexts of adversity" are here divided into two main types; adversity experienced within the family (such as poverty, abuse, illness, death) and exosystemic or community adversity that takes place outside the family (such as adverse economic conditions, or lack of government services) (Grotberg, 2003). "Vulnerability" is understood as "individual susceptibility to undesirable outcomes" (Wright & Masten, 2006, p.19), and is therefore directly linked to socioeconomic disadvantage as well as biological and genetic predisposing factors.

My first proposition, backed by the diathesis–stress model (Monroe & Simons 1991) and complexity theory (Nordtveit, 2010a) is that there is a dialectical and mutually reinforcing relationship between familial and environmental adversity, and child disadvantage and vulnerability. My second proposition is that schools and teachers ought to have a contextual role in ameliorating adversity, through the creation of a protective milieu around the child. My third proposition is that currently, most teachers do not receive sufficient training in child protection and therefore in many cases cannot provide a sufficient level of protection; and additionally, that some schools may be unsafe and alienating environments for the vulnerable child, reflective of an unsafe and alienating society. My forth proposition is that there is a need for a paradigm shift in the discourse of educational aims and in teacher education; both should henceforth include protection as a core educational aim. The academic discourse has often constructed schools as analytical

exercises in knowledge transfer, and hence, relate education to the economy, academic rationalism, social reconstruction, or some other abstract category, instead of attempting to build resilience in contexts of adversity.

I argue that contexts of insecurity, with its attendant levels of fear and anxiety, are especially harmful to the cortical structures underlying learning processes in young people. Research in the functional neurosciences reveals that, in the context of insecurity, exposure to traumatic events often results in intrusive memories, hyperarousal, avoidance and numbing, and difficulties in attention and memory, especially in childhood and adolescence (e.g., Brown, 2009). Consequently, teachers need to be trained to identify and face adverse contexts, and that they must be offered tools to deal effectively with them. Further, I contend that the most vulnerable of children are also the most affected by these contexts of adversity. Hence, the research questions that I seek to address in this paper are related to the protection of vulnerable children and the building of resilience in children. Indeed, what is the role of the teacher to create a protective milieu at school? How to train and equip the teacher to perform this new role?

Stress at Home, in the Community and in School
Stress induced by child abuse at home is the subject of considerable research. However, its relationship with schooling and education has not always been recognized. The mutually reinforcing impact of child disadvantage and vulnerability, combined with family and exosystemic adversity, has rarely been addressed in the educational development literature.

Some western countries have increasingly acknowledged a need for at least a minimum teacher training in protection: "the significance of teacher involvement in child protection [in UK] has been recognized for some time" (Bagisnky & Hodgkinson 2006, p. 395). However, the problem is generally reduced to identifying suspected child abuse, and the procedures to deal with such abuse, on a case-by-case basis. A broader security and protection view of how to make schools protective and safe institutions for all children

is generally not taken. Also, often teacher training avoid offering courses on how teachers themselves, and peer school children, can be perpetuators of abuse. Likewise, during a teacher training session in UK-influenced Hong Kong, students (who all were pre-school, primary or secondary education teachers) complained to me that they had never learned about adversity, student resilience, protection, abuse and identification of at-risk or abused students, or even about the Hong Kong teacher code of conduct, readily available for download from the Internet. Clearly, their training had focused, as in the interview cases above, on the most basic preparation for use of instruction materials in their teaching subject.

In the UK, local education authorities have considered the provision of awareness and training programs given by medical and welfare specialists as a part of teacher training programs (Bagisnky & Hodgkinson 2006). At present, the training is not mandatory and does not have a fixed curriculum. Each teacher's child protection training is relegated to individual school programs, regardless of the fact that since 1997, the Department for Education Circular 10/97 requires teachers to have a working knowledge of "the role of the education service in protecting children from abuse." Despite the lack of regulations in the sector, a 1997 study (Bagisnky & Hodgkinson 2006) found that over ninety percent of initial teacher training courses offered child protection training, and that such training was compulsory for over eighty five percent of students. However, the information about protection is reduced to short sessions covering the most basic issues (17 percent were 1 hour or less; all courses with the exception of one, were less than four hours of duration). Most schools claimed to offer the most basic coverage related to the essential technical and legal issues of protection in schools, including school procedures for dealing with suspected abuse (96% of courses offering coverage); detection of children at risk (87% coverage); agencies involved in child protection (97%). A number of schools (57%) also offered discussion of case studies. Few schools offered instruction of child protection related to a wider societal perspective. Most courses were taught by outside specialists, such as social workers (34%)

and head teachers or senior schoolteachers (19%). Mary Bagisnky & Keith Hodgkinson (2006) argue that such awareness training programs are necessary albeit not sufficient to ensure adequate child protection in British schools, especially since very few courses assessed students' work in child protection, and only one third set a required reading list on the subject. Interestingly, one of the aspects mentioned as a reply to the open-ended question asking for "reflective comments" on the issue of training on child protection, was related to students anxiety related to this subject. The problems included how to deal with teacher students who themselves had been abused.

Many countries implement similar, unstructured and ad-hoc training sessions on how to deal with the most obvious cases on abuse and stress. Instead of having child protection and welfare as a primary concern, teacher training is mostly related to studies of the subject matter to be taught by the future teachers; and some extra classes will provide the most basic introduction to protection in the form of detection of child abuse. In many countries and areas (including Hong Kong), even these most basic issues will not be covered. Plainly, the education environment is not seen as protective, but as a system and location of knowledge transfer. This is also the case internationally, and interestingly, increasingly the discourse of globalization and international competition has accentuated the economic role of schools, instead of promoting their role as a sanctuary of protection and a place to prepare children for their encounter with an alienating society.

One core problem, I argue, is the implementation of a subject-centered academic rationalist curriculum and education system which trains the teacher to be an executer of a pre-established program without teaching him or her how to care for children. I argue a paradigm shift in teacher education is necessary, which should center on how teachers can facilitate a school-based inclusive, child-friendly construction of knowledge, and at the same time, teach the teachers how to address the existing context of adversity and structural and functional barriers to education.

The literature distinguishes between the "executive approach," viewing the teacher as being an executor, a person charged with delivering predefined knowledge and skills to the pupils, and the "therapist approach" viewing the teacher as an emphatic person charged with helping individuals to grow personally and to reach a higher level of self-actualization. Further, a "liberationist approach," much in line with Paulo Freire's views of the teacher as a liberator, a freer of the individual's mind, and a developer of well-rounded, autonomous and moral human beings, views the teacher as a person who should develop consciousness about the possibility of transforming reality, a process called "conscientization" from the Portuguese term *conscientização.* I propose that an emerging "protector approach" could combine the child-centered therapist approach and the liberationist approach, and view the teacher as a mediator between a difficult socio-economic situation, the home, the society, the past and the future, with a role in the socialization of the child and his or her successful integration in the local economy, at the same time as reducing stress during the school day. The teacher would then be trained to promote children's independence, empowerment, and knowledge to local economy, through holistic and basic skills learning in a caring environment. The learning methods could include interaction and play; and, if necessary for protection of disadvantaged and vulnerable children: clubs and after-school activities.

Conclusion
Exosystemic and family stress factors combine with biological and genetic predisposing factors to create patterns of vulnerability and resilience. These patterns are caused by numerous psychological, social, and biological factors that interact with one another, and with a given individual's unique vulnerabilities. The factors are not acting in a linear fashion, but, as complex systems that needs to reach thresholds, or a *critical mass*, to overcome inertia of the status quo, and to reach a "sustainable autocatalytic state – that is, for it to maintain its own momentum in a particular direction" (Mason, 2007, p. 4). Once such critical mass is reached, new proprieties and behaviors emerges that are not necessarily contained in the

system's constituent elements (Byrne, 1998).

In order to reach such critical mass for change, interactions between factors of change are important. If an educational effort is failing, it may therefore be that it has not a sufficient level of interactions to reach a sufficient level of complexity to attain a critical mass for change. For example, if children are not performing well in school, it may be due to a number of stress factors that hinder the learning of age-appropriate tasks. It is the interaction between efforts of protection that can produce an environment prone to a dynamics of positive change. In complexity theory, each additional factor (for change) added to the system multiplies quadratically the number of interactions between agents, and hence multiplies quadratically the number of possible outcomes (Mason, 2007). In view of the resilience of children, the number of positive factors need not be many. In this paper, I have suggested that the teacher's education and his or her contribution to create a safe, healthy and positive milieu at school, could help the children thrive in school.

Note: A longer version of this paper was presented in a keynote address at Tamkang University, Taipei, Taiwan, May 22, 2010.

References

Baginsky M. & K. Hodgkinson (2006). Child Protection Training in Initial Teacher Training: A Survey of Provisions in Institutions of Higher Education. In Hartley, D. & M. Whitehead (Eds.) *Professionalism, social justice and teacher education*. Oxon: Routledge.

Brown, B. A. (2009). Posttraumatic Stress Disorder Experienced by Survivors of School Violence in South Africa: Sex and Age Differences. *Journal of Psychology in Africa, 19*(1), 45-52.

Byrne, D. (1998). *Complexity theory and the social sciences: an introduction.* New York: Routledge.

Grotberg, E. H. (2003) "Resilience for Today." In E.H. Grotberg (Ed.) *Resilience for Today: Gaining Strength for Adversity*. London: Praeger.

Mason, M. (2007). "Making Educational Development and Change

Sustainable: Insights from Complexity Theory." Paper prepared for the "Education, Skills and Sustainable Growth" Symposium of the UKFIET Conference, "Going for Growth?," at the University of Oxford, 11-13 September 2007.

Monroe, S. M. & A.D. Simons (1991). "Diathesis-stress theories in the context of life stress research: Implications for the depressive disorders." *Psychological Bulletin*. Vol 110(3), Nov 1991, 406-425.

Nordtveit, B.H. (2010). "Development as a complex process of change: Conception and analysis of projects, programs and policies." *International Journal of Educational Development.* Vol. 30(1), Jan 2010, 110-117.

Wright, M.D. & A.S. Masten (2005). "Resilience Processes in Development." In S. Goldstein & R. B. Brooks (2006) *Handbook of Resilience in Children*. New York: Kluwer.

New CERC Publication

CERC Studies in Comparative Education 29
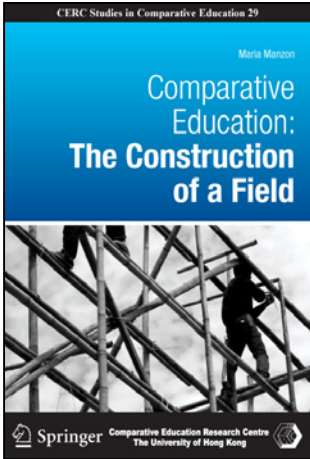
Comparative Education: The Construction of a Field

Maria Manzon

This book is a remarkable feat of scholarship — so remarkable in fact that I put it in the same league as the great classics of the field that had so much to do with setting the direction of Comparative Education. Indeed, this volume goes further than earlier classics to reveal, through textual analysis and interviews with key figures, how the epistemological foundations of the field and crucial professional developments combined to, as the title indicates, construct Comparative Education.

Manzon's work is indispensable — a word I do not use lightly — for scholars who seek a genuine grasp of the field: how it was formed and by whom, its major theoreticians, its professional foundations, and so on. Clearly too, this book marks the rise of a young star, Maria Manzon, who shows promise of joining the ranks of our field's most illustrious thinkers.

Erwin H. Epstein
Director, Center for Comparative Education
Loyola University, Chicago, USA

Maria Manzon is a Research Associate of the Comparative Education Research Centre (CERC) at the University of Hong Kong. She was Editor of CIEclopedia in 2009 and 2010, and Assistant Secretary General of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES) in 2005.