

- (18) Jones, Catherine, op. cit., p. 187.
Sweeting, Anthony, op. cit., p. 9.
- (19) Birch, Alan, op. cit., p. 155.
- (20) Sweeting, Anthony, pp. 69-70.
- (21) Jones, Catherine, op. cit., p. 190.
Sweeting, Anthony, op. cit., p. 40.
- (22) Jones, Catherine, op. cit., p. 188 & pp. 246-249.
- (23) Postiglione, Gerard A., p. 61, p. 245 & pp. 249-250.

Notes

- (1) Jones, Catherine, *Promoting Prosperity – The Hong Kong Way of Social Policy*, (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1990), p. 141.
- (2) Postiglione, Gerard A., Editor In Collaboration with Julian Y.M. Leung, *Education and Society in Hong Kong—Hong Kong Becoming China: The Transition to 1997*, (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1992), p. 42.
- (3) Afendras, Evangelos A, and Eddie C.Y. Kuo edited, *Language and Society in Singapore*, (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1980), p. 204.
- (4) Jones, Catherine, op. cit., p. 136.
- (5) Ibid., p. 138.
- (6) Sweeting, Anthony, *A Phoenix Transformed*, (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 8.
- (7) Postiglione, Gerard A, op. cit., p. 43.
- (8) Jones, Catherine, op. cit., p. 148.
- (9) Ibid., pp. 145–146 & pp. 56–158.

‘Payment by results’ was the formula introduced by Robert Lowe, Vice President of the Education Department, for English and Wales in his speech to the House of Common in 1862: “If it is not cheap, it shall be efficient; it is not efficient, it shall be cheap. ”

The term ‘Anglo–Chinese’ is used for English–medium instruction for the Chinese. Jones pointed out that ‘Anglo–Chinese’, unlikely Anglo–French or Anglo–American, was a contradiction in terms. At best it came to signify and unsatisfactory compromise for all save the most exceptional of students: those capable of absorbing two quite separate traditions.

- (10) Postiglione, Gerard A., op. cit., p. 43, p. 72 & pp. 77–78. There were 3 goverment–assisted Chinese schools (in Victoria, Aberdeen and Stanley).
- (11) Sweeting, Anthony, op. cit., p. 66.
- (12) Ibid., p. 142.
- (13) Lo, Hsiang–Lin., *Hong Kong and Western Culture*, (Tokyo: The Center for East Asian Studies, 1963.), pp. 157–193.
- (14) Postiglione, Gerard A., op. cit., .85.
- (15) Lo, Hsiang–Lin., op. cit., p. 24 & pp. 28–29.
- (16) Birch, Alan, *Hong Kong Eclipse*, (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1978.), p. 139.
Jones, Catherine, op. cit., p. 162.
- (17) Birch, Alan op. cit., p. 132 & p. 155.
Sweeting, Anthony, p. 9.

In 1955 the target of a place in school for every child by 1961 was set. By 1961 the target number had grown, but by that time the population had also increased. Yet in 1971 when there were reckoned to be sufficient primary school places to accommodate the entire 6–11 year–old population, free compulsory education in government and most government–aided schools was finally put into law – one hundred years behind England and Wales.⁽²²⁾

Vernacularization

Vernacularization of education in Hong Kong came from both above and below. The short–lived Board of Chinese Vernacular Primary Education was established in 1911. But the Board was not given any legal means to control primary schools. Vernacularization–from–below, especially in the years following the May Fourth Movement was much more successful. The number of schools in which the medium instruction was Chinese increased and more employment opportunities within the education system were, therefore, provided for Hong Kong Chinese. Chinese teachers, however, were discriminated against in salary. Such discrimination later gave the Japanese fuel to propagate an anti–British campaign.

During the first few decades after the war Hong Kong had a massive influx of refugees. Vernacularization proceeded rapidly to meet the needs of refugee children with the least knowledge of English. In the 1960s primary education was already almost entirely conducted in Cantonese. Vernacularization obviously had improved the learning opportunities of the majority of Hong Kong children. However, statistics showed the rapid increase in the enrollment at ‘Anglo–Chinese’ schools at the secondary level.

In 1958 Chinese middle school students constituted approximately 45% of the total enrollment at the secondary level. By 1983 the percentage dropped to 9%. Anglo–Chinese school classrooms have experienced more and more difficulties in using English as a medium of instruction, especially after 1978 when secondary education became available to all school age children. However, the popular demand for English proficiency and English–medium education has continued to be strong in Cantonese–speaking Hong Kong because of the sociolinguistic dynamics and the demographic, techno–economical, and occupational structures of the society. Thus, Hong Kong has the historical background and conditions to make Anglo–Chinese bilingual education work and most Hong Kong Chinese feel that it is a grasp of English which may promise them a future.⁽²³⁾

troyed or seriously damaged and most of Hong Kong's teaching staff had been dispersed. In reality, however, the main suppliers of schooling in Hong Kong during the Japanese occupation were Chinese and 'friendly neutral' (Italian and Irish) voluntary organizations.⁽¹⁸⁾

There was much talk of re-opening the University of Hong Kong, but no steps were taken. An East Asia Academy giving special courses in Japanese language, history and culture by Japanese lecturers who catered to Chinese teachers, government employees and students was set up in April 1943. The language was learnt mainly for survival purposes, however.⁽¹⁹⁾

Period of Reconstruction

After the end of the war Hong Kong faced a wide variety of shortages. School buildings were destroyed or damaged by Japanese forces, allied bombings or local looting. Some of them survived only to be requisitioned by the military authorities for higher priorities, i.e., military use. Under the circumstances officials and school principals had to resort to short-term expedients. Various buildings were adopted for school use, and basic items of furniture and equipment, such as school desks and blackboards were borrowed. The most urgent requirements were textbooks and notebooks.⁽²⁰⁾

By 1949, an estimated 5.8% of primary and secondary school children were in government schools, 9.6% in grant-aid schools, 19% in subsidized Chinese vernacular schools and no less than 65% in wholly private Chinese schools. Private school fees were seven times higher than those of government and grant-aid schools. Early on there arose arguments over whether compulsory education should extend up to the age of fifteen or sixteen. On September 18, 1945 *South China Morning Post* ran an article under the headlines, 'Planning for the Future' and 'Constructive Suggestions for the New Hong Kong', which included the following remarks:

Compulsory Primary Education

Another measure for educating the masses for public service is the immediate establishment of compulsory primary education for all children up to the age of fifteen or sixteen. This is probably the most essential element of the 'long-term policy for reconstruction' mentioned by Mr. Gimson. We must reduce the percentage of our illiterate population before we can hope to be a fully self-governing unit.⁽²¹⁾

However attractive such arguments were to politically minded people, there was very little chance they would be taken up seriously by the government. The day-to-day needs to re-open schools were considered first.

them to receive instruction in English although in this respect most of them were qualified in the Government Central School. Dr. Ho Kai, one of the founding members of the college, is long remembered for his devotion to the development of medical education. He authored two books, *On the Reform China* and *China Sleeps First and Wakes Up Later*. Educated in England as a physician, he attacked the Manchu Government which was inefficient and corrupt with the ultimate goal of constructing a new China.⁽¹³⁾

The University of Hong Kong is one of the enduring legacies of Sir Frederick Lugard, governor from 1907 to 1912. His ideal went beyond the needs of the local community. As did Dr. Ho Kai, he also put particular emphasis on the importance of higher education for the development of China. Although their original intention was forgotten in the following decades, there is now a possibility of returning to the spirit of this early goal.⁽¹⁴⁾

Cultural exchange was another contribution made by the missionary educators to the development of Hong Kong as a center of interchange between China and the outside world. A new translation of the Bible was completed and put into print in the 1860s. The translation of western books on geography, mechanics, astronomy, mathematics, medicine and jurisprudence also appeared one after another. On the other hand, the Confucian *Four Books* was translated into English by James Legge, distinguished scholar and educator residing in Hong Kong. The Jardine brothers, successful businessmen in Hong Kong, helped promote the publication. Thus in early days the cultural avenue ran both ways.⁽¹⁵⁾

Period of Japanese Occupation (Christmas Day 1941 to August 14, 1945)

During the Japanese invasion, Hong Kong suffered considerable bomb damage. Japan wasted no time in demonstrating that effective defence demanded a drastic reduction in population. Assisted by a Chinese Repatriation Committee composed of representatives of district associations a Repatriation Bureau was set up. The Bureau reduced the population from 1,600,000 to 600,000, in large part by sending Chinese back to Guangdong. The number of school children was reduced accordingly.⁽¹⁶⁾

District bureaus under the Japanese developed quickly since their chief responsibility was rice rationing. Bureau chiefs also met to discuss plans for compulsory education in December 1943. The Japanese naturally looked to education as a means of building Japanese influence and were anxious to reopen schools but since they made the teaching of Japanese compulsory, the schools were unable to re-open until enough teachers of the language were available. Therefore, they were forced to remain closed until May 1945. Enrollment figures fell even more sharply than the general population as conditions of living deteriorated.⁽¹⁷⁾

The Japanese occupation disrupted schooling in Hong Kong dramatically. The estimated school population dropped from nearly 120,000 in 1940 to a mere 34,000 by 1945. Many schools had been des-

be virtually reversed. The schools in the private sector were eligible for grant-aid on the condition of 'payment by results' in respect of a pre-determined elementary curriculum. Moreover, there remained a contrast between a turn-of-century suzerain complete with universal, compulsory, free elementary education and a Hong Kong far from being able to offer any sort of schooling for all children, let alone insist on it. On the other hand, 'the payment by results' Hong Kong style allowed varieties of curriculum compared with the standard elementary curriculum in England laid down so narrowly. Five different curricula existed: Chinese (vernacular) education, Chinese education plus additional English, European education in a European language, European education in a European language plus additional Chinese. In 1893 the list was reduced to three: Chinese vernacular, European in Chinese, and European in a European language. Subsequently, in 1903 these categories were abandoned. 'Only English' and 'westernized' Chinese schools were in favor of receiving grants based on the recommendation made by a Governor's committee of enquiry. It recommended separate schools for European British subjects and criticized the poor standards of English teaching in 'Anglo-Chinese' schools, arguing that ideally the latter should not attempt higher-form work at all without the use of British teachers. This last was to be a recurrent theme.⁽⁹⁾

Although in terms of education, Hong Kong was an exceptional case among the British colonies, evidence of colonial attitudes existed. Legally sanctioned presumptions of racial superiority appeared in the first set of rules issued in the 1850s by the Education Committee appointed by the British Governor of Hong Kong to shape behavior in government-assisted schools. For example, Clause 7 of the rules says, "When any European gentleman, especially a Government Officer, or any of those gentlemen who supervise the schools, enter the school-room, the teacher should instruct the boys to stand up and be silent and respectful..." At various times during Hong Kong's colonial history, non-Chinese teachers at government schools and at schools run by religious bodies have revealed arrogant or patronizing and racially biased attitudes.⁽¹⁰⁾

Burney commented on 'Anglo-Chinese' secondary education that it was more fully maintained from public funds but too academic and insufficiently related to the needs of the pupils. He recommended more professional forms of teacher education such as a properly resourced training college to be introduced to Hong Kong.⁽¹¹⁾ As a result, in 1939 Northcote Training College, the first government teacher's college, was opened. In 1941 there were 300 applicants for the 48 vacancies.⁽¹²⁾

The establishment of the College of Medicine for Chinese in 1887 is another noteworthy development in the history of Hong Kong's tertiary education. The college was founded within the Alice Memorial Hospital run by London Missionary Society with the idea of providing Chinese medical treatment based on western principles. The course of study pursued was not very much different from that of medical schools in England. A preliminary knowledge of English was required of the students to enable

at the outset of colonial history, no long-term investment in education was considered. In Singapore, for example, colonial policy favored the extension of English education since, as the colonial government suggested, the kind of education the English stream provided would be more conducive to the growth of self-government.⁽³⁾ Hong Kong's experience of colonization differed markedly from almost all other territories that underwent a colonial period. From the British point of view Hong Kong was a strategic outpost, and commercial, diplomatic and military considerations always loomed large in the discussion of the future of the colony. The possibility that Hong Kong would itself become an independent nation was never a realistic option.

Grants by the colonial government to aid education, which was supervised by the newly established Education Committee, were started in 1847. The first grants were very modest sums offered for the support of three Chinese village schools rather than missionary schools.⁽⁴⁾ As the Chinese schools were free from religious prejudices, they were considered safe to assist. Later in 1879 secular elements regarding the timing of religious and secular instruction were relaxed, and more aid was granted to western schools also.⁽⁵⁾ By the end of the nineteenth century missionary schools blossomed. However, the curriculum of the main stream western schools was highly academic, Eurocentric and male-oriented.⁽⁶⁾ The Hong Kong Government Education Department, which was established in 1868 to replace the Education Committee, reported that the number of Chinese children was so large that it was impossible for the government to take charge of their education at all. The first priority was given to Euro-British children and then Portuguese and Indian children.⁽⁷⁾

Government sponsored British schools were not opened until 1903, and eligibility was limited to Euro-British children. In 1903 the Education Ordinance was set up requiring all schools to be registered, and subsequently the Grant Code was abolished. Chinese children did not benefit appreciably from the new arrangements, however.

The importance of giving priority to vernacular primary education was not acknowledged until Her Majesty's Inspector, Edmund Burney's visit to Hong Kong. "It is a serious weakness in Hong Kong's education system...that the schools in which the primary foundations are laid are of so poor a quality....It is evident that the Government's expenditure on Higher (including Secondary) Education is out of proportion to its expenditure on Primary Education," he reported.⁽⁸⁾

Burney accused the Hong Kong Government of neglecting primary education in the vernacular by leaving it in the hands of out-of-date private schools. Yet missionary schools and Chinese fee-charging schools were better placed as for teaching methods and curriculum than government village schools. Simply put, Government village schools offered the worst of all worlds. It is also worth noting that in the case of the suzerain state, it was the voluntary sector which had proved inadequate and whose gaps were to be filled in by Government. The whole approach in the colony would need to

香港の教育（１）

教育における言語デュアリズムの過程

松 原 真沙子

Education in Hong Kong (1)

—Historical Process of Linguistic Dualism—

Masako Matsubara

1841 - 1941

When the British arrived in 1843 after the conclusion of the Treaty of Nanking, educationally Hong Kong was not virgin territory. A number of village schools supported by the island's resident population existed but most of them were decidedly primitive types of Chinese schools, though. On the other hand, Chinese colleges like Li Ying in Kowloon had been established long before Hong Kong was ceded to the British Government. However, at that time schools in all levels either served particular clans or were linked with monasteries.

Hong Kong may not have been an engaging proposition to missionaries, but its proximity to China attracted them to the island. Owing to the British presence, additional sorts of schools were quick to materialize. Christian missionaries opened the first western schools in the 1840s. Starting with the Morrison Education Society which arrived in 1842. The London Missionary Society, the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches, and the Baptist Board of Foreign Mission followed.⁽¹⁾

Those with even a smattering of the English language found opportunities to profit personally by acting as middlemen between foreign companies and Chinese merchants. It is not surprising, therefore, that most members of Hong Kong's emerging elite in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century were graduates of schools founded by western religious bodies like those mentioned above where they could learn English. It is ironic to note that the parents of Chinese schoolchildren wanted English education for their children. Their attitude towards English education was not common with those of an exploited 'lumpen-colonized' as seen in other British colonies.⁽²⁾ As early as the mid-nineteenth century children's education in Hong Kong had been equated with family advancement.

From the beginning of its existence as a British colony, Hong Kong had served as an escape route or a transit camp for people from the adjoining empire and its successor republics. Therefore, at least