

# 15

## Continuity and Change in Education

Mark BRAY

The title of this final chapter follows the wording in the subtitle of the whole book. The chapter focuses on the lessons of the book for the understanding of continuity and change in education. Building on the methodological points made in the previous chapter, this one benefits from both temporal and locational comparisons. Although focus on continuity and change is most obviously a matter of temporal comparison, locational comparisons assist analysis because, even when they are ‘snapshots’ of particular places at particular points in time, they may still contribute to understanding. For example, much can be learned about the implications of colonial transition in Hong Kong and Macao at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century by comparing it with patterns in other colonies at their stages of colonial transition in earlier decades.

The literature on change is much more voluminous than that on continuity. This is partly because change is more obvious and often more threatening. A parallel exists in history books which focus much more on war than on peace. In the education sector, in addition to many books and articles, whole journals focus on change. They are published in diverse parts of the world, and include:

- *Change: The Magazine of Higher Learning*, which is published in the USA on behalf of the American Association for Higher Education and has evolved from a publication launched in 1970;
- the *Journal of Education and Social Change*, published by the Indian Institute of Education and launched in 1987;
- *Change: Transformations in Education*, published in Australia by the University of Sydney and launched in 1998; and
- the *Journal of Educational Change*, published in the Netherlands by Kluwer and launched in 2000.

In addition, several journals focus on the related domain of reform. They include:

- the *International Journal of Educational Reform*, launched in 1992 and now published in the USA by Scarecrow Press; and
- *China Education Reform*, launched in 2003 and published (in Chinese) by the Hong Kong Education Publishing Company.

No counterpart journals focus explicitly on continuity in education.

However, within the literature on change and education, in practice much discussion does also focus on continuity. Thus, much of the literature on reform concerns the obstacles to reform; and the framework on which the first part of this chapter is based was

presented by Thomas and Postlethwaite (1983a) in a book which was subtitled *Forces of Change* but which in practice was also about continuity. The book by Thomas and Postlethwaite is especially relevant to the present discussion because it focused on East Asia and included separate chapters on Hong Kong and Macao.

### **The Thomas and Postlethwaite Framework**

Thomas and Postlethwaite began (1983b, p.7) by indicating that they used the terms ‘force’ and ‘cause’ synonymously. A force or a cause, they stated (p.7), is “a factor whose presence is necessary for an event to occur”. Without each of the forces that press against each other in a kind of dialectical exchange, they added, events cannot happen in the way that they do. Use of the phrase “each of the forces” reflected the authors’ commitment to the principal of multiple causation. According to this principle, an event is not simply the result of a single force but is always the result of many forces, some of which may be more powerful than others and therefore more worthy of note.

The principle of multiple causation, Thomas and Postlethwaite proceeded to observe (1983b, p.7), applies to both the horizontal and vertical dimensions of the timing of an event. By ‘horizontal’ they meant that several forces converge simultaneously to mould an event; and by ‘vertical’ they referred to the sequence or accumulation of causes over time. This, they pointed out, is the philosopher’s principle of infinite regress: the idea that behind each cause is an earlier cause which led to the later one. Thomas and Postlethwaite did not attempt the impossible task of identifying all forces that converge horizontally to cause an event. Nor did they endeavour to trace far back into the past to uncover all the links in a vertical web that recedes into ancient times. Instead they restricted their main focus to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and to the major causes of the events they analysed.

Thomas and Postlethwaite distinguished between enabling and direct forces for change. An enabling force was identified (1983b, p.10) as:

a causal condition that provides an opportunity for educational innovation but is not directly involved in the change. In other words, an enabling event can take place without affecting the schooling process.

A direct force, in contrast, was identified as one that applied specifically to the process of schooling. Such a force, Thomas and Postlethwaite added (1983b, p.10) was:

a characteristic – such as an attitude – or an act of a person that motivates others to promote a given educational change, that furnishes an alternative to current educational practice, or that provides resources for implementing the change.

The converse of an enabling force was described as a disabling one, i.e. a condition that obstructed change; and the possibility was noted that direct forces could be either positive or negative. For the present chapter, inclusion of disabling forces and direct negative forces is important because analysis here focuses on continuity as well as change.

For Thomas and Postlethwaite, however, the main focus was on change. With this in mind, they constructed an analytical framework with seven dimensions of change, namely: the magnitude of intended change; availability of alternatives; motivation or philosophical commitment; social and organisational stability; resource accessibility; organisational and technical efficiency; and adequacy of funding. Figure 15.1 gives examples of each category in the seven dimensions. These are of course not the only ways in which change

(and continuity) can be viewed and classified, as observed by Thomas and Postlethwaite themselves (1983b, p.6). However, the framework does promote understanding of patterns in Hong Kong and Macao, as well as in other parts of the world.

Figure 15.1: The Thomas & Postlethwaite Classification of Determinants of Change and Continuity

**Positive Forces that Hasten Change**

**Negative Forces that Retard Change**

**Dimension 1: Magnitude of Intended Change**

*1.1 Population Size and Accessibility*

*Enabling forces:* small population. Small territory, easily traversed terrain and waterways, mild climate. Advanced communication and transportation facilities – radio, telephone, television, electronic-computer systems, fast trains, ships, autos, aeroplanes.

*Disabling forces:* Large population. Large territory, rugged terrain and treacherous waterways, severe climate. Primitive communication and transportation facilities.

*1.2 Complexity of Intended Change*

*Direct-positive forces:* A few simple aspects of the education system to be changed.

*Direct-negative forces:* Many interrelated aspects of the education system to be changed.

**Dimension 2: Availability of Alternatives**

*Enabling forces:* A society with a high proportion of people holding modernisation views. A society that interacts freely with other societies and encourages new ideas.

*Disabling forces:* A society with a high proportion of people holding traditionalist views. A society isolated from interaction with other societies and that discourages innovation

*Direct-positive forces:* Educational leaders who seek new ideas and encourage varied opinions and proposals.

*Direct-negative forces:* Educational leaders who defend traditional practices, discourage differences of opinion and new proposals.

**Dimension 3: Motivation or Philosophical Commitment**

*Enabling forces:* A society with a high proportion of people holding modernisation views.

*Disabling forces:* A society with a high proportion of people holding conservative, traditionalist views.

*Direct-positive forces:* A high proportion of powerful educational leaders strongly committed to effecting the proposed change. Leaders have sanctions or propaganda techniques available for influencing educational personnel to support the change.

*Direct-negative forces:* A high proportion of powerful educational leaders who lack a strong commitment to the change or, more seriously, who choose to resist the change. Leaders have sanctions or propaganda available to influence educational personnel to resist the change.

**Dimension 4: Social and Organisational Stability**

*Enabling forces:* Peace and amity in the society, continuity of the ruling government, regular production of sufficient goods to meet people's needs.

*Disabling forces:* War, revolution, rioting, frequent changes of government, and such 'natural' disasters as floods, earthquakes, and crop failures.

*Direct-positive forces:* Amicable relations among the education-system's staff members, rewards to staff for efficient service, clear leadership direction, infrequent organisational change.

*Direct-negative forces:* Dissension among the education-system's staff members, jealousies, frequent organisational change, frequent displacement of existing projects with new projects, lack of rewards for efficient service.

Figure 15.1 (Continued)

**Positive Forces that Hasten Change**

**Negative Forces that Retard Change**

**Dimension 5: Resource Accessibility**

*Enabling forces:* A society with advanced industries and training systems.

*Disabling forces:* A society whose services for producing supplies and training personnel are few and inefficient.

*Direct-positive forces:* The use of efficient, nearby sources for producing the equipment and personnel required in the intended educational change.

*Direct-negative forces:* The lack of efficient, nearby facilities for producing the equipment and personnel required for the educational change.

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**Dimension 6: Organisational and Technical Efficiency**

*Enabling forces:* A society with efficient organisational structures and a high degree of specialisation, technical expertise and advanced equipment for producing objects, processing data, communicating, training people, and the like.

*Disabling forces:* A society with ineffective organisational structures, little technical expertise in performing specialised tasks, and little or no advanced equipment for producing objects, processing data, communicating, training people and the like.

*Direct-positive forces:* The application in the educational-change system of advanced organisational structure, efficient specialisation, a high level of skill in the specialised tasks, and advanced equipment to perform tasks that are more effectively done by machines than by people. An effective method for adapting these systems to the local culture.

*Direct-negative forces:* An educational change system that is inefficiently organised or poorly suited to the local culture, that involves little or no specialisation or expertise in performing specialised tasks, and that uses no equipment for performing tasks – that is, the system uses only people.

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**Dimension 7: Adequacy of Funding**

*Enabling forces:* A society with enough wealth to expend large sums for improving services, including educational services.

*Disabling forces:* A society marked by widespread poverty.

*Direct-positive forces:* Educational change advocates who present a convincing case for their project's receiving a high priority in obtaining available education funds.

*Direct-negative forces:* Other agencies or projects that make a more convincing case for deserving funds to support their projects than is made by advocates of the change-project under review.

**Application of the Thomas and Postlethwaite Framework**

The most sensible place to start the task of seeing how the Thomas and Postlethwaite framework can be applied to Hong Kong and Macao is with the relevant chapters of the Thomas and Postlethwaite book. The present work can go further, however. This book benefits from the passage of time, having been published 21 years after the volume edited by Thomas and Postlethwaite. The book also benefits from much greater depth, because it focuses on only two territories and draws on the considerably expanded base of scholarship within those two territories.

The individual country/territory chapters in the Thomas and Postlethwaite book began with Japan and then moved to Taiwan, mainland China, South Korea, North Korea, Hong Kong, and Macao. The Hong Kong chapter was written by Anthony Sweeting, whose subsequent work on the history of education in Hong Kong has been cited by several contributors to the present volume. The Macao chapter was written by R. Murray Thomas, the senior editor of the book. Thomas himself recognised that this was a second-best arrangement. In the Preface (p.vii), he wrote that:

When the leading education officials in the Portuguese colony ... were asked to suggest a suitable author, they explained that the limited size of their professional staff would not permit them to spare a member of it for such an assignment.

The University of East Asia was in its infancy, and could not furnish a suitable scholar. In the absence of an alternative, Thomas decided to write the chapter himself. However, he readily admitted (Thomas 1994) that he found the task challenging because he lacked the detailed knowledge necessary to conduct it thoroughly. As noted in Chapter 14, the subsequent growth of the number of scholars able to write in depth on education in Macao may be viewed with some satisfaction. Thomas would have much less difficulty today were he to prepare a revised edition and seek a knowledgeable author on the topic.

### *Magnitude of Intended Change*

Under the heading of magnitude of intended change, Thomas and Postlethwaite highlighted the importance of such enabling/disabling factors as population, area, physical features, and availability of facilities for communication. Direct forces, they suggested, included the complexity of intended change, being positive if a few simple aspects of the education system were to be changed but negative if many interrelated aspects were to be changed.

In the prologue to the section of their book which focused on Hong Kong and Macao, Thomas (1983b, pp.266-267) wrote:

Hong Kong and Macau are similar in the magnitude of their educational tasks and of the territory and populations they cover. Compared to the nations of East Asia around them, the two colonies are quite small. All schools in each colony can be reached by car within less than 1 hour, so that communication and the transport of supplies between the central headquarters and every unit of the school system is a simple matter.

This statement of similarity is important, because the people of Hong Kong and Macao sometimes perceive differences more than similarities when looking at each other. Hong Kong is of course much larger than Macao in both area and population; but both are very small when viewed in a regional context.

The point that educational reform may be easier to achieve in entities with smaller populations has also been made by other authors (e.g. Bray 1996, p.16; Randma 2001, p.169). The Commonwealth Secretariat (1985, p.2) has observed that:

success has a greater effect on a small system. Any successful achievement in any part of the system can shed its light over other parts so that all can share in the afterglow. This obviously helps morale, and strengthens the sense of corporate identity for all those working in the service. Success when it comes tends to come quickly in the smaller system and to be more clearly seen, and that in time acts as an encouragement and spur to further reform.

Brock and Parker (1985, pp.44-45) have added the observation that when allied with compactness, smallness in population size:

provides a degree of proximity and accessibility in respect of involvement and management that is simply not available to larger systems of education. The ability to communicate rapidly with (say), the Director of Education, the Minister of Education, Principal of the Teachers College, a Head Teacher and an individual

class teacher on the same day, perhaps even in the same street, obviously provides these compact systems with advantages in terms of responsiveness to the community's point of view. By the same token, it makes the community very much more aware of the realities of what is going on....

In Macao, until the late 1980s the authorities made little use of this enabling factor; and if communities were strongly aware of what was going on, they appeared to have little power to ensure that the various actors in the education sector operated in a coordinated way. Several contributors to this book have observed that Macao's schools evolved in a *laissez-faire* environment, and that the university was founded as a result of private rather than government initiative. During the 1990s, the Macao government adopted a more interventionist stance and was no doubt facilitated by the small population and area of the territory. However, the authorities were confronted during the 1990s by long traditions of school-level autonomy which continued to obstruct coordination. Thus although small size was enabling, the nature of educational change and non-change was shaped by many other factors.

The importance of other factors is illustrated by the fact that change in mainland China's schools during the decades after the publication of the Thomas and Postlethwaite book was perhaps even greater than in Macao. This was despite the fact that, in the opening words of Hawkins' chapter in the book (1983, p.136):

From the Tian Shan range in the extreme West to the port of Shanghai in the East, from the cold steppes of Mongolia in the North to the tropical rain forests of Yunnan in the South, China's 9½ million square kilometers of land contains almost one-fourth of the world's population.

Even in such a vast country, the administration of education, at least in the 1970s and 1980s and arguably even in the 1990s, was more centralised than in Macao. Rather more important were the macro-economic and macro-political contexts in China, which changed radically in the 1980s and 1990s and in turn altered the functioning of schools and universities (Y.M. Leung 1995; Mok 2003). The chief change in the environment which shaped schools was China's shift to a market economy and much greater freedom of personal expression. Specifically in the education sector, a set of reforms was launched in 1985 to universalise basic education, decentralise administration, restructure secondary education, promote technical and vocational education, and reshape the links between higher education and the labour market (Lewin et al. 1994). The pace and scale of change during the 1980s and 1990s were very dramatic despite the size of the population, the vastness of the country, its many geographic barriers arising from mountains, deserts and jungles, and the fact that the education and broader reforms had many interrelated components.

Hong Kong seems to provide a third model which was different from both Macao and mainland China. Over 50 sovereign states in the world have total populations which are smaller than that of Hong Kong, and on this scale Hong Kong might be considered relatively large. However, Hong Kong has a compact territory and excellent physical infrastructure. Moreover, during the 1980s and 1990s the government exercised centralised control over many aspects of Hong Kong's education system, which permitted both coordination and some reform. Hong Kong's schools did not change during these two decades as much as the schools in mainland China, but this was chiefly because the political and economic superstructures in Hong Kong were relatively stable, and because the authorities and the general population were content with incremental change rather than

fundamental overhaul.

It is also instructive to note a difference between the situations at the time that Thomas and Postlethwaite wrote and at the time of preparing this chapter. Page 309 of the Thomas and Postlethwaite book contained a table of population sizes in 1979. Hong Kong was listed as having a population of 4,622,000, and Macao as having a population of 320,000. Two decades later, one is struck by the growth. In 2002, Hong Kong had a population of 6,816,000 (Hong Kong, Information Services Department 2003, p.418), while Macao had a population of 441,600 (Macao, Department of Statistics & Census 2003, p.3). Postlethwaite and Thomas (1983, p.310) remarked that Hong Kong had succeeded in lowering its birth rate, and that “it is estimated that the colony’s population will grow by only about 20 percent or one million people over the next 20 years if the low birth rate can be maintained and immigration reduced”. The low birth rate was indeed maintained, but immigration was not reduced. As a result, within 20 years the population had increased by 2.2 million and nearly 50 per cent. In Macao the proportionate increase was lower but still considerable at 37 per cent.

While initial size of population may have been an enabling/disabling factor, growth of population was a major direct force of change. It required expansion of education in the two territories, and in some respects permitted diversification. Yung’s chapter in this book points out that in both Hong Kong and Macao, higher education was one area in which diversification was particularly marked. Some diversity is also evident at the school level, e.g. in the numbers and types of international schools in both Hong Kong and Macao. However, as noted by Adamson and Li, in both Hong Kong and Macao academic approaches are very dominant, and neither territory has strong technical or prevocational education at the school level. Indeed in Hong Kong, growth of population has been accompanied by reduction of diversity in this respect because the 1980s and 1990s brought a trend in which technical and prevocational schools became increasingly like grammar schools.

On a related tack, Thomas and Postlethwaite suggested that change of a few simple aspects of an education system may be considered a direct-positive force, while change of many interrelated aspects of education would be a direct-negative force. While this statement seems intuitively true, the experience in mainland China shows that the combined weight of multiple changes can in fact become a direct-positive force. In contrast, reforms which are small may in fact be obstructed because they are piecemeal and do not take full account of other components in education and society. Dalin (1978, pp.9-10) observed that in many cases single innovations make little difference when pitted against the inertia of traditional ways of operation. Such remarks seem applicable to Hong Kong and Macao as well as to other parts of the world.

#### *Availability of Alternatives*

Under the heading of availability of alternatives, Thomas and Postlethwaite suggested that enabling forces included the existence in society of a high proportion of people holding modernisation views, and encouragement of new ideas through free interaction with other societies. Disabling forces included a high proportion of people holding traditionalist views, and isolation from other societies.

Both Hong Kong and Macao are widely considered open societies. In the Thomas and Postlethwaite book, they were sharply contrasted with North Korea, for example, which continued through the 1980s and 1990s as a ‘hermit’ society dominated by a rigid political structure and with minimal interaction with other countries. For Hong Kong and

Macao, external interaction was assisted by the bilingual skills of large proportions of the population. The fact that most people in each place could speak, read and write in Chinese facilitated interaction with Taiwan and mainland China, in particular; and the fact that many people could also speak, read and write English facilitated interaction with many other parts of the world. Also, in Macao a significant proportion of the leadership rank was fluent in Portuguese.

In practice, however, rather few innovations in the education sector were adopted from Chinese-speaking societies. The influences of mainland China and Taiwan were perhaps stronger in Macao than Hong Kong, because many of Macao's private schools recruited teachers and had other links with mainland China and Taiwan. Hong Kong educators and policy-makers had access to mainland China and Taiwan, but tended to feel that they had little to learn from those places. Instead, innovations tended to be imported from such countries as the Australia, Canada, the UK and the USA. Examples include the School Management Initiative, which was heavily influenced by models in Australia and to some extent the UK and USA (O'Donoghue & Dimmock 1998, p.52), and the Target Oriented Curriculum, which was heavily influenced by models in the UK and Australia (Carless 1998, p.228). Lest this be oversimplified, however, it must be stressed that most imported models were adapted and even substantially changed in the local context. With reference to the social studies curriculum, for example, Morris, McClelland and Wong (1998, p.123) pointed out that:

There can be no dispute that the development of social studies in other countries, particularly the United Kingdom and the United States, influenced the curriculum in Hong Kong, especially at the policy and initiation stages. Nevertheless, the emergence of social studies in Hong Kong cannot be adequately explained simply by the influence of external models.

The authors added that although the external models provided exemplary materials, a rhetoric for change that enthused pioneers and policy-makers, and a means for justifying policies, the external models were modified beyond recognition in the design and adaptation to the local environment.

A related issue concerns the internationalisation of the leadership in Hong Kong and Macao. Colonial transition reduced the proportions of British and Portuguese administrators in the respective governments. However, in some respects, both Hong Kong and Macao became more internationalised because of the shortage of local higher education places during the 1980s. Shive (1992, p.216) reported that at the end of that decade, 35,000 Hong Kong students were enrolled in tertiary institutions outside the territory – a number far exceeding the 15,000 tertiary students within Hong Kong.

Academic staff in local institutions were also international in their outlook and experience. Data reported by Postiglione (1996a, p.196) indicated that in 1993, 33.0 per cent of academic staff in seven institutions funded by the University Grants Committee of Hong Kong were employed on non-local terms. Such academics brought with them perspectives from their home countries and elsewhere. Many local academics also had broad international experience. In 1993, 84.1 per cent of academic staff had obtained their highest qualifications outside Hong Kong (Postiglione 1996a, p.197). As observed by the chapters in this book by Yung and by Ma, Macao's tertiary education had been even more restricted in the 1980s; and Macao's institutions of higher education recruited external staff and local staff with non-local qualifications along the same lines as their counterparts in Hong Kong. Macao's institutions have had considerable proportions of Hong Kong staff



(compared with an almost insignificant number of Macao staff in Hong Kong's institutions), and have also been more open to recruitment from mainland China as well as other parts of the world (Bray et al. 2002).

A related factor, which has been the focus of comment throughout this book, is the extent to which Hong Kong and Macao have been role models for each other. Wong's chapter does point out that at some points in history, Hong Kong preschools gained staff and ideas from their counterparts in Macao; and Adamson and Li highlight the shift of some Macao schools to Hong Kong shortly after the commencement of the British colonial period. In general, however, the balance has been very much on the other side, i.e. Macao learning from Hong Kong. A major underlying factor has been the relative expertise of the two territories. Because Hong Kong is larger and has paid more attention to tertiary education, it has had greater pools of expertise. Educators in Hong Kong have not generally felt that they had much to learn from Macao; but educators in Macao have commonly scrutinised innovations in Hong Kong with care. Tang's chapter shows that in the domain of mathematics education, some Macao educators have paid heed not only to Hong Kong's innovations but have also retained some of the old Hong Kong models no longer in use in Hong Kong.

Stressing a point made in Chapter 14, it is also worth quoting a statement by Thomas (1983b, p.268) concerning research. He indicated that:

In contrast to Hong Kong, educators in Macau have conducted very little research, so that few if any local studies are available as sources of educational innovation.

This aspect changed markedly during the period following publication of the Thomas and Postlethwaite book. Research output greatly increased in Macao, as evidenced by the chapters in this book and the references to other research that the various contributors make. The fact that the volume of research also greatly increased in Hong Kong to some extent maintained the gap between the two societies. However, the increased volume of research in the two territories meant that in both Macao and Hong Kong, data on alternative models for educational administration and implementation had become increasingly plentiful. Some actors in the two territories felt that this contributed to excessive change – that teachers, in particular, were subjected to a constant barrage of innovations as a result of the increased access to information on models in other parts of the world.

#### *Motivation or Philosophical Commitment*

As indicated in Figure 15.1, Thomas and Postlethwaite considered the enabling and disabling forces for motivation or philosophical commitment to be very similar to those for availability of alternatives. Overlap also exists in the nature of direct-positive and direct-negative forces. However, motivation and commitment move beyond mere availability of information about the nature of alternatives.

Specifically referring to Hong Kong and Macao, Thomas (1983b, p.269) observed that, especially in comparison with mainland China, Taiwan, South Korea and North Korea, education policy-makers had had strong *laissez faire* stances. This book has shown that in general, the approach of the Macao government was much more *laissez faire* than that of the Hong Kong government; but it is instructive to place the two territories next to other parts of the region and see that both of them occupied one end of the spectrum. Thomas added (p.269) that in neither Hong Kong nor Macao did the schools foster the type of cohesive cultural commitment evident in Japan:

Instead, each of the colonies has permitted diverse socio-political and cultural purposes to be pursued in different schools – Christian and Buddhist versus communist, European language versus Chinese language, European culture versus Chinese culture. Apparently the dominant educational aim shared by the peoples of the two colonies is the pursuit of self-interest. Education is viewed not as a device for implementing a consciously designed socio-political program or a given set of cultural goals, but rather as an instrument for achieving personal success, for rising in the economic system and for gaining ... social prestige.

A similar observation has been made about Hong Kong by Luk (1992, p.117). In remarks which would also be applicable to Macao, Luk observed that:

Unlike most national governments with its own cultural agenda to follow and the interests of its domestic power-base to promote through its educational policies, the colonial government of Hong Kong has not tried to impose its own or any one group's core values on the populace; rather, it has allowed the various groups to 'do their own things', and to thrive, wither, or change in the evolving socio-economic environment.

However, the Hong Kong government was much more interventionist than the Macao government when faced by the threat of communism, especially in the 1950s and 1960s. Leung's chapter in this book notes the ways in which the colonial authorities allied with the Christian churches, using education as a tool to maintain existing political structures in the territory. In Macao, by contrast, the government collapsed in the face of leftist demonstrations, and for some years after 1966 social order and security were chiefly maintained by the pro-China neighbourhood associations and other influential social, religious and economic organisations rather than by the government. The 1966 riots in Macao also marked a turning point in education, with the rise of pro-China schools and the decline in Catholic ones.

By the 1980s, the era of colonial transition had begun and the governments of both Hong Kong and Macao became more interventionist. Most obvious were the changes in Macao, where the authorities embarked on reform initiatives which sought to coordinate institutions in a more coherent way. The Macao government purchased the University of East Asia, and launched a scheme for fee-free basic education. It also embarked on curriculum reform, and sought ways to upgrade the quality of teachers. Parallel moves of this type were less urgent in Hong Kong because the territory already had a strong public sector in tertiary education, fee-free basic education, and a strong teaching force. However, many curriculum changes were considered desirable. Among them, the thrust for civic education, documented in Tse's chapter, was particularly notable. In both Hong Kong and Macao, during the 1990s and in the postcolonial period education was seen by the respective governments much more strongly than before as an instrument for implementing socio-political programmes and for cultural goals. Thus, were Thomas to revisit his chapter two decades later, he would need to modify that paragraph.

#### *Social and Organisational Stability*

Under this heading, Thomas and Postlethwaite suggested that enabling forces included peace and amity in the society, continuity of the ruling government, and regular production of sufficient goods to meet people's needs. Disabling forces included war, revolution, rioting, frequent changes of government, and disasters such as floods, earthquakes and crop failures. Direct-positive forces included amicable relations among the education

system's staff members, rewards to staff for efficient service, clear leadership direction, and infrequent organisational change; and direct-negative forces included dissension among staff members, jealousies, frequent organisational change, frequent displacement of existing projects with new projects, and lack of rewards for efficient service.

As already noted, Macao and also to some extent Hong Kong experienced social dislocation in the mid-1960s as a result of overspill of the Cultural Revolution in mainland China. Also, during subsequent decades, at the level of top leadership Macao was much more directly affected by political changes in Portugal than Hong Kong was by political changes in the United Kingdom (S.H.S. Lo 1995, pp.41-44). However, during the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s both territories were characterised much more by stability than by change. Indeed this was a major policy goal not only of the Hong Kong and Macao governments but also of the British, Portuguese and mainland Chinese governments. This stability provided an environment for government-orchestrated and, particularly in Hong Kong, fairly cautious change. Even after Hong Kong's change of sovereignty, at least in the initial years the continuities were more striking than the discontinuities. Also, on one specific criterion identified by Thomas and Postlethwaite, neither Hong Kong nor Macao suffered significantly from serious natural disasters.

However, the lack of abrupt changes in broad social and organisational structures should not cause observers to overlook more 'silent' social changes. Luk (1992, pp.117-118) highlighted the significance of the processes of industrialisation which changed Hong Kong society from the 1950s onwards. These processes, he suggested, have "profoundly changed the occupational profile, appropriate knowledge, necessary skills, and general attitudes". Similar remarks would apply to Macao. In part, moreover, the broader changes have resulted from changes in the scale and nature of educational provision. Education and society have operated in relationships in which each has shaped the other. Supply of school places increased in both territories, and at the school level supply to a large extent kept up with demand. At the post-school level, supply of tertiary places was inadequate to meet demand in either Hong Kong or Macao during the period up to the late 1980s. However, during the 1990s this situation changed too. Yung's chapter in this book points out that Hong Kong entered an era of mass higher education during the 1990s, and that Macao was not far behind.

The fact that the social and organisational framework remained stable despite political changes deserves further comment. Thomas (1983b, p.270), writing before the Sino-British and Sino-Portuguese Joint Declarations, suggested that:

there is within both colonies the constant realization that the direction of life and schooling could be sharply diverted at any moment, should the People's Republic of China choose to take over the colonies. This realization casts over the colonies a sense of impermanence. If Hong Kong and Macau should become part of the People's Republic, the colonies' *laissez faire* approach to education and their great array of private schools would disappear.

Reviewing this paragraph two decades later, it certainly seems that the *laissez faire* approach to education has diminished, especially in Macao. However, little threat is posed to private schools, not least because they are now tolerated and even encouraged in the PRC itself (Mok 1997, 2003). Most of Macao's private schools have sacrificed some of their autonomy in return for financial and other support from the government, and to some extent a parallel development was evident when the Hong Kong government developed its Direct Subsidy Scheme in the early 1990s (Bray 1995b) and both revised and expanded it

a few years later (Hong Kong, Education & Manpower Bureau 2003b). However, in no sense have either Macao or Hong Kong been subjected to a wave of nationalisation of schools because of reunification with the socialist motherland. Even if mainland China were not itself moving in the direction of privatisation, private schools in Macao and Hong Kong would be protected by the concept of 'one country, two systems'.

This, moreover, is a domain in which colonial transition in Macao and Hong Kong, rather in contrast to dominant patterns in other parts of the world (Bray 1997a), has been characterised by continuity rather than change. Several chapters in this book point out that the long lead-times between the signature of the Joint Declarations and the actual change deserves particular mention, and one feature which comparative analysis helps to expose concerns official languages in the two territories. As noted in Chapter 9, in Hong Kong, the Basic Law (China 1990, Article 9) indicates that for at least 50 years in addition to the Chinese Language, English may also be used as an official language. By itself, that clause might not cause much remark, since many former British colonies have chosen to retain English as an official language because of its uses in the international arena. However, when a comparison is made with Macao, and when further comparisons are made with other former Portuguese colonies, the clause might appear deserving of further scrutiny. The Macao Basic Law was closely modelled on the Hong Kong one, and contained a clause which was exactly the same except that it gave place to Portuguese rather than English (China 1993, Article 9). Given that Portuguese has a much weaker international role, this might seem remarkable. These are among the dimensions of continuity rather than change which make the cases of Macao and Hong Kong so interesting within a broader comparative framework.

### *Resources*

Thomas and Postlethwaite (1983b) had three headings concerned with resources. The first was labelled resource accessibility, the second was labelled organisational and technical efficiency, and the third was labelled adequacy of funding.

In these categories, enabling forces included advanced industries, training services, technical expertise, and general prosperity; while disabling forces included widespread poverty, inadequate services for producing supplies and training personnel, and generally ineffective organisational structures. Direct-positive forces included educational change advocates who presented a convincing case for their projects to receive available funds, and efficient specialisation in the necessary tasks. Direct-negative forces included inability of innovations to attract the resources that were available, and inefficient organisation.

Specifically referring to Hong Kong and Macao, Thomas (1983b, p.270) stated that:

Hong Kong is stronger than Macau in resources and efficiency. Hong Kong has more highly trained personnel and is far ahead in the completeness and regularity of administrative reports on the condition of the educational enterprise.

While Macao had achieved considerable advances and had greatly narrowed the gap, most observers would consider that this statement retained some validity two decades later. Thomas proceeded (pp.270-271) to remark that both Hong Kong and Macao depended on similar sources of educational finance:

Each colony maintains a small number of government-operated schools supported by public funds, and subsidies are provided by the governments to aid certain private institutions, with Hong Kong furnishing more financial subsidies than Macau.... From the viewpoint of furnishing instructional facilities, Hong Kong's schools

appear more adequately funded than Macau's.

This remained the case during subsequent decades, though again the gap was considerably reduced by stronger expenditure by the Macao government.

On another dimension identified by Thomas (1983b), even greater change was achieved. Thomas had written (p.271) that:

In each of the colonies, the ability of the schools to attract apt, dedicated, and well-prepared teachers and administrators would apparently be enhanced if the schools paid salaries that competed more successfully with the income provided by other occupations in the colonies.

Macao's schools retained great diversity because the majority of them were private institutions. However, the reforms of the 1990s increased the government subsidies for private schools and generally raised teachers' salaries. By the mid-1990s, teachers were also considered well paid in Hong Kong – in comparison not only with other professions but also with teachers elsewhere. Brown (1997, pp.103-104) observed that a typical trained graduate with 10 years of experience earned HK\$348,000:

a figure that is well above the median for teachers in the United Kingdom and in all but a few of the United States. It is also far higher than the average income in business and industry.

Brown added (p.104) that the top point of the teachers' scale was equivalent to US\$75,900 a year in 1995: "an unheard of salary for classroom teachers nearly anywhere else in the world". Teachers salaries had increased more rapidly than general inflation. Conditions deteriorated in the initial years of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, but even after the salary adjustments of that period Hong Kong's teachers were relatively well paid.

However, while Thomas (1983b, p.271) seemed to consider low salaries an inhibiting factor on educational change, Brown (1997, p.104) pointed out that high salaries may also inhibit change:

One unexpected consequence of this relatively high level of income is that it substantially increases the recurrent costs of any educational reform that requires increasing the number of teachers.

Specifically, Brown referred to an estimate in Hong Kong's Education Commission Report No.5 (1992, p.7), which had observed that the cost of adding one non-graduate teacher to each primary and secondary school would be HK\$330 million a year; and the additional cost of a graduate teacher would of course have been higher still.

### **Other Models of Stability and Change in Education**

The Thomas and Postlethwaite framework for analysis of stability and change in education has been employed here because it is convenient, helpful, and easy to comprehend. Also, it was originally designed specifically for analysis of East Asia, including Hong Kong and Macao. As noted at the beginning of this chapter, however, it is certainly not the only model that could be used. Indeed some readers may not even consider it the most appropriate, perhaps feeling that important components of stability and change are not captured by the model. It is impossible here to review all the alternative models, but some core themes can be addressed on the structures of schooling, balances in power relations,

and the impact of globalisation.

*The Grammar of Schooling*

Concerning stability in education systems, it is useful to note the remarks by Tyack and Cuban (1995) about the “grammar of schooling” which focus on the USA but also have broader relevance. Tyack and Cuban observed (p.85) that:

The basic grammar of schooling like the shape of classrooms, has remained remarkably stable over the decades. Little has changed in the ways that schools divide time and space, classify students and allocate them to classrooms, splinter knowledge into “subjects,” and award grades and “credits” as evidence of learning.

Tyack and Cuban elaborated on their metaphor by explaining (p.85) that:

Practices such as age-graded classrooms structure schools in a manner analogous to the way that grammar organizes meaning in verbal communication. Neither the grammar of schooling nor the grammar of speech needs to be consciously understood to operate smoothly. Indeed, much of the grammar of schooling has become taken for granted as just the way schools are. It is the *departure* from customary school practice that attracts attention...

These remarks are certainly applicable to Hong Kong and Macao as much as to other parts of the world, and link back to the observation at the beginning of this chapter that change arguably gains undeserved attention when compared with continuity. The various chapters in this book show that schools and universities in Hong Kong and Macao have had great continuity over the decades despite the expansion and other changes in the education systems. Even over the period of political transition, the basic grammar of schooling remained constant. Reformers did address aspects of the system; but the reforms were not always successful and even the far-reaching reforms, such as Hong Kong’s linking of primary and secondary schools to create straight-through institutions or the shift towards Chinese as the medium of instruction in secondary schools, left many of the fundamentals untouched.

This phenomenon can be allied to the notion of “frozen ideologies”. As explained by Haug (1999, p.237), institutional history has a force of its own:

established attitudes, practices, matters of speech, knowledge, notions of good and bad, etc. do not simply disappear when they are replaced, or attempts are made to replace them, by new and more modern versions.

In many cases, a major reason for this continuity lies in the fact that the reforms are piecemeal, affecting only parts of the education systems; and even when they are broader in scope, they are commonly confined to the education system and do not interlock with the surrounding social, economic and political forces.

*Power Relations in Education Systems*

Related to these notions is the work of Archer (e.g. 1979, 1995), which deserves particular attention first because it has considerable significance in the evolving theoretical understanding of the subject, and second because it was an explicit basis for part of Tang's chapter in the present book.

Tang's chapter presented only a short commentary on the potential contribution of Archer's theory. However, Tang has developed this theme elsewhere with specific reference to Macao (K.C. Tang 1999, 2003). Tang's elaboration contributes also to an understanding of Hong Kong, as well as of other societies.

For some readers, Archer's framework, rather in contrast to the framework presented by Thomas and Postlethwaite, suffers from complexity and opaqueness. It was developed within the sociological domain, and uses both concepts and vocabulary which are not easy for non-sociologists to understand. Even K.C. Tang (1999), in a scholarly thesis of which the main text (i.e. excluding annexes) had 258 pages, felt (p.50) that he could not summarise the theory unmistakably within a few pages. The fact that even fewer pages are devoted to it here underlines the need for readers who wish to explore the topic thoroughly to go to Tang's more extended treatment and, more directly, to Archer's own books.

Nevertheless, for present purposes at least a few dimensions should be highlighted. First, for the present book which was conceived explicitly within the framework of comparative education, it is useful to note that Archer's own work arose from cross-national investigation. Her 1979 book drew particularly on analysis of Denmark, England, France and Russia. Second, referring back to the methodological observations of the previous chapter, Archer made explicit use of comparisons over time as well as over location. However, Archer also stressed (1984, p.14) that her analysis applied only to countries in which macroscopic change emerged autonomously; and not to settings where it can be attributed to external intervention via conquest, colonisation or territorial redistribution. Examination of the ways in which Archer's models do or do not apply to other settings is one way to develop her theories and to test the validity of some pro-positions.

The basic questions addressed by Archer (1984, p.1) were similar to those addressed by Thomas and Postlethwaite. First, she asked, why does education have the particular structure, relations to society and internal properties which characterise it at any given time? The basic answer was held to be very simple: education has the characteristics it does have because of the goals pursued by those who control it. The second question Archer asked was why these characteristics change. The basic answer was equally simple: change occurs because new goals are pursued by those who have the power to modify education's previous structural form, definition of instruction, and relationship to society. However, Archer then proceeded to show that these answers have deceptive simplicity. Yet although the real answers are more complex, she added, they supplement rather than contradict the simple answers. Archer emphasised (1984, p.2) that "to understand the nature of education at any one time, we need to know not only who won the struggle for control, but also how: not merely who lost, but also how badly they lost out". These remarks dovetail with those of Tyack and Cuban (1995, p.7).

Archer's overall concern, as highlighted in the title of her 1984 book, was not so much with educational processes as with educational systems. While many analysts now take the existence of systems for granted, Archer pointed out (1984, p.3) that educational systems were rare before the 18<sup>th</sup> century. They emerged within complex social structures

and cultures, which Archer set out to study. She identified two cycles of evolution in education systems in which the starting point of the first cycle was a collection of privately-owned schools which were gradually brought together into a relatively unified system. The second cycle commenced with the existence of state systems, and showed a range of patterns in which some moved towards centralisation while others moved towards decentralisation.

The focus on systems brings out, once more, the idiosyncratic nature of Macao, in particular. Despite the fact that few countries had educational systems before the 18<sup>th</sup> century, by the early and mid-20<sup>th</sup> century few countries and even colonial territories did not have them. As noted by Adamson and Li's chapter, a key date in the construction of Hong Kong's dominant education system was the passage of the 1913 Education Ordinance, which gave the government's Education Department power over, and some responsibility for, a large group of private schools which had previously operated independently (Sweeting 1990, pp.220-221, 284-288). Macao only reached what may be considered an equivalent stage in 1991 with the passage of a comparable law (Macao, Governo de 1991). As a result, even up to the late 1990s Macao's situation corresponded to a pattern which most other parts of the world had passed decades or even centuries previously. Changes in Hong Kong, by contrast, were more easily comparable to patterns in other relatively mature education systems, with significant (though not entirely linear or consistent) moves to reduce the role of the state.

In this connection, it is also useful to note the work of Green (1990), who explored relationships between education and state formation. Green considered Archer's descriptive typology of different educational structures to be "the most powerful comparative framework that has yet been produced" (p.73). However, he added, for all its sophistication and comparative insight, Archer's study was missing a crucial dimension. He observed (p.75) that in England and France, and also in countries which were not included in Archer's study, "it was not only the nature of group conflict which determined educational change, but also the nature of the state and the relation of classes in civil society to the state". While this statement emphasises change, it also has relevance to continuity.

In the present book, relationships between education and the state have been addressed directly and indirectly by several authors. Green's 1990 book was mainly concerned with England, France and the USA; and while a subsequent work (Green 1997) broadened his scope to consider other parts of the world including Asia, Green was necessarily constrained in the extent to which he could examine all dimensions that could be relevant to Macao and Hong Kong. One of the threads running through the present work has been the relationship between education and the colonial state in Macao and Hong Kong. The fact that both were colonies of European powers led to considerable commonalities, e.g. in the role of Christian churches and the introduction of European languages. On the other hand, differences in the orientations of the Portuguese and British colonial regimes were among the major reasons for differences in the nature of educational provision in Macao and Hong Kong.

At the same time, the prospect of reunification with China brought a third state actor to the fore. This affected both territories in comparable ways, creating pressures on the one hand to consolidate local identity during the years prior to the change of sovereignty, and on the other hand to find ways to promote values in the local populations which would be harmonious with dominant values espoused by leaders in the PRC. This must necessarily be seen as a long-term process, requiring decades rather than years; and much will depend



on how mainland China evolves as well as how Hong Kong and Macao evolve. In the meantime, some observers argued that mainland China was a recolonising force (Law 1997); and although the operation of 'one country, two systems' seemed to be working well, the shadow of Beijing was felt to be never far from policy-makers' minds.

### *The Impact of Globalisation*

Running alongside these developments have been forces of economic globalisation which have impacted on curricula and labour-market attributes (Spring 1998; Burbules & Torres 2000; Carnoy & Rhoten 2002). Globalisation has become what Ilon (1997, p.609) calls the "silent partner" in the process of educational planning:

While a global system of production may seem at first blush only vaguely linked to the classroom or educational policy, the distance between them is an illusion. The parameters established by this emerging system pervade every aspect of formal institutional, financial, and social systems. In fact, the global economic system directly influences the opportunities for employment, wage rates, the ability of governments to fund public services, and the returns individuals face when investing in schooling. As these very basic parameters change, so too do the systems by which education is organized.

Schools in Hong Kong and Macao have come to resemble each other in part because they also resemble schools in almost all other parts of the world. Williams (1997, p.119) points out that almost all over the world, schools are now basically similar in their functions and organisation. They house groups of students who sit in rows, holding books and facing a single teacher who stands in front of the class. As noted by Adamson and Li, the schools of Hong Kong and Macao do exhibit traditions derived from their Chinese cultural ancestry as well as from imported models; but in basic organisation and function, the schools fit closely to a model which has become globalised and which is affected by transnational economic forces as well as by local ones.

However, as shown by such authors as Green (1997), Gopinathan (2001), and Mok and Welch (2003), the power of globalisation does not always overwhelm that of the state. This is especially evident in mainland China, where the state remains strong and central policy-makers still feel able to manipulate variables within the borders of the nation. It is also evident in Hong Kong and Macao, where government policies certainly do have an effect on the nature of educational provision.

Law (2003) has remarked with reference to Hong Kong that globalisation may be both a threat and an opportunity to the teaching profession. The threat in part comes from the skills that teachers must retain or acquire, with competence in English language and Information & Communications Technology (ICT) being the chief foci of Law's analysis. Teachers are forced by globalisation to keep ahead in the competition in these and other domains. Yet Law also points out that the Hong Kong government has used the forces of globalisation to legitimate adjustments that it has wished to make. Law examines what he called calls (p.172) "the complicated dynamics of professionalization, reprofessionalization and deprofessionalization", in which the government has demanded certain skills from the teaching force and has been a positive actor in change rather than just a passive instrument of globalisation.

The chapter in this book on language policies has shown that in that domain the dynamics in Macao have been rather different. The authorities have been ambivalent about the role of English alongside Portuguese and Chinese, and have on the whole adopted

*laissez faire* stances. They have also been less aggressive in promoting ICT use. Thus the contrasts between the territories are again at least as obvious as the similarities.

Globalisation is also touched upon in other chapters, in some cases with conceptualisation which predates contemporary descriptions of the phenomenon. For example, several chapters refer to policies and practices across the British empire which was in many respects quasi-global in scope, or across the Portuguese empire which was less extensive but nevertheless spanned several continents. On another tack, Leung's chapter refers to the global work of the Roman Catholic church, and remarks on ways in which patterns in Hong Kong and Macao matched or differed from those elsewhere in the world. On a further dimension, Tang's chapter notes the global sweep of the Modern Mathematics movement, which had a major impact on Hong Kong though a lesser impact on Macao; and Yung refers to the global shift from fee-free higher education to fee-charging patterns in which institutions are also expected to become more managerial and enterprise-oriented.

In addition to currents and counter-currents at global and Special Administrative Region levels, some of these remarks also identified forces at the national level. Tse's chapter on civic and political education is particularly instructive in this respect. Tse observes (p.198) that in the postcolonial period in both Hong Kong and Macao:

the quest for nationalism was accompanied by focus on globalisation. In response to the accelerated pace of globalisation and international competition, there was a strange blend of nationalism and transnationalism in the representation of citizenship. For example, Hong Kong was eager both to find its niche in the globalised economy and to re-position itself as an international Chinese city. Hong Kong's image was strategically tailored for different audiences based on very different economic and political considerations. On the one hand, Hong Kong was presented to its 'homeland' as an inalienable part of China. On the other hand, Hong Kong was presented to the world as an 'East meets West' city, as 'Asia's world city', and as a gateway to mainland China. In Macao, similar efforts were devoted to the promotion of the territory's image as a tourist destination and the propagation of a historic city with multicultural heritage.

This set of comments captures well the complexity of situations and the changing emphases at different times for different audiences.

For reasons such as this, fascinating domains for continuing research will include the relationships between the local state as evidenced by the Hong Kong and Macao Special Administrative Regions, the nation state in the shape of the PRC, and the international forces of globalisation. In no case will the picture be either simple or static, and the multiple forces which will continue to operate will have the effect of promoting elements of continuity as well as change. Such a research agenda would fit well into the vision set out by Arnone (2003), who stressed the need to "reframe" comparative education with reference to the dialectic of the global and the local. Thus, the field of comparative education can itself respond to changing dynamics (Marginson & Mollis 2002; Bray 2003c); and analysis of patterns in such territories as Hong Kong and Macao can contribute to broader conceptual understanding as well as to more local debates.

## **Conclusion**

Throughout this book, analysis of continuity and change in education has been linked to patterns in the wider environments. This approach is among the strong traditions in the field of comparative education, and is among the contributions which the field can make to areas of educational studies which tend to be focused more narrowly. The importance of wider environments has been stressed by key figures in comparative education since the early history of the field. In the much-quoted words of Sadler (1900, reprinted 1964, p.310):

In studying foreign systems of education we should not forget that the things outside the schools matter even more than the things inside the schools, and govern and interpret the things inside.

And in the words of another pioneer in the field, Kandel (1933, p.xxi):

Educational systems are in fact colored far more by prevailing social and political concepts than by psychological theories or educational philosophies which attempt to deal with the individual as an isolated personality.

Taking two particular societies as its main focus, and juxtaposing developments in those societies over a period of time, this particular book has been able to analyse many of the determinants and outcomes of continuity and change. As indicated in the Introduction to the book, Hong Kong and Macao make a particularly good pair for such comparative analysis because they have so much in common as well as some significant differences. Parts of this book have taken Hong Kong and Macao as a pair for comparison and contrast with other parts of the world as well as for comparison and contrast with each other. The editors and authors hope that the book will stimulate more work of this kind, deepening the analysis and exploring further dimensions that could not be covered here.