A Period of Trial: Hong Kong Educational Development from 1960 to 1970

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A PERIOD OF TRIAL:
HONG KONG EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
FROM 1960 TO 1970

by

Grace Hing-yee Kwong

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts

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A PERIOD OF TRIAL: HONG KONG EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
1960 - 1970

Grace H. Y. Kwong
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INTRODUCTION
RATIONALE BEHIND THE STUDY

Aim

Nothing has been quite so trite as the oft-quoted exclamation that Hong Kong's education is beset with problems. Nor has anything been so true. "Population explosion", particularly in the child sector; shortage of school sites; the considerable amount of sacrifice and denial many a family suffer in getting their children to school; the existence of profit-making schools; the persistence of Chinese culture and social heritage versus Western (British) culture and industrialization; all these head but a much longer list. Indeed Hong Kong's education has reached a stage of development that is ripe for research.

Not enough research, however, has yet been done. Despite a number of distinct works that have been produced in the past few years, there are still gaps to be filled. One such gap is the understanding of the trend of educational development in the immediate past and its prediction for the future.

The object of the present study is to fill such a gap by piecing together a picture of Hong Kong's educational development in the decade between 1960 and 1970 at the three levels of education -- primary, secondary and higher. The goal is that, by highlighting the problems and the efforts for improvement, a fairly accurate assessment of progress can be secured. It is hoped that this study might lead to a better understanding of what has been going on in Hong Kong thereby opening up avenues for future research.
Hypotheses

The following hypotheses will be examined:

1. Most of the problems that had confronted the educationists in the 1840's still existed in this period with over-population and finance as the main causative factors.

2. Substantial progress was made in obtaining universal primary education, and in expanding secondary education.

3. There was a steady shift in emphasis from Chinese-oriented secondary education to English-oriented education.

4. The universities were not able to meet the demand for increasing enrolments.

5. Technical education has gained a better public understanding.

Review of literature

A review of the literature has shown that little research has been done in proportion to the realm of education. Early research seemed to have been either sporadic or too much concerned with one specific facet.

The literature relating to the topic falls into three groups:

1. Educational development in its general perspective in the pre-war period.

2. Governmental documents on education in the 1950's and 1960's.

3. More recent research done with the hope of examining and overcoming educational problems in Hong Kong.

Two works merit special attention.

*Hong Kong Chinese Education*, by Issaac Mah and Chun Ming Chan, gives the investigator a solid background understanding of the education system in Hong Kong. Towards the end of the book, the authors expound the ways whereby
some of the intransigent aspects can be dealt with. They deplore the paradox that while the government's policy is to allow a wide range of differences in curriculum, the public examinations unfailingly demand a high degree of coherence and uniformity. The authors dispute the idea that public examinations have great educational value and seek alternatives to patronizing professionalism, allowing selections of subjects to meet students' individual needs and interests, and stress the importance of "the education of ideals and attitudes" (through art and music, for instance).

The second source is The Background to Education Planning, by R. F. Simpson, Senior Lecturer in Education in the University of Hong Kong. Although the work bears an economic overtone, it is one of the rare researches which seeks to comprehend the plethora of education problems and to provide concrete and constructive treatment. After delineating the problems of educational planning, the methods to be used are discussed. To decide priorities for investment at each level, man-power needs and human resources are considered, and these are followed by inquiries into the probable developments in secondary, technical higher education, and teacher training. Attention is paid to the methods, contents, and selection procedures of the education process itself and to new techniques which may increase its productivity. Social factors are also examined leading to a study of the wage structure and methods of financing education.

Scope and limitation of the problem

This thesis is a historical treatment of the educational development in the decade 1960 to 1970. However, the investigator does not feel obliged to confine herself to pure descriptions. Making tentative comments
and suggestions, it is hoped, would not prejudice the objectivity of this work.

The main body of the study consists of two parts. Part I will deal with the development in the first, secondary, and tertiary education. Part II will act as a supplement which examines each of the factors that have an important repercussion on the three levels of education. By itself, however, Part II can be viewed as a separate scrutiny of the educational domains from which difficulties usually germinate.

"Educational development" is too comprehensive a term to be treated in toto especially when the period covered is long. For this reason, the term has been limited to the exclusion of adult education, special education, and education for English speaking children.¹

The investigator has included such sources of material as newspaper reports, journal articles and microfilms in addition to books and pamphlets in both English and Chinese languages. But inadequacies in sources so deeply felt by Berkowitz and Poon, is also shared by the investigator:

Even the materials listed (in the book), pruned as they are of fugitive and unavailable materials, cannot be found in Hong Kong, largely because no local library seems to have a policy of maintaining a complete collection of materials about Hong Kong.²

¹ English education is excluded under the considerations that Chinese form 98% of the population and that controversies concerning the provision of English education would justify a separate study.

² M. I. Berkowitz and E. Poon, ed., Hong Kong Studies: A Bibliography (Hong Kong: Department of Extramural Studies, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1969), pp. x, xi.
HONG KONG IN ITS GENERAL SETTING

Situated on the south-east coast of China, Hong Kong has been a British enclave ever since 1841. It comprises three hundred ninety-eight and a half square miles, including the island of Hong Kong, the Kowloon peninsula, the New Territories which is the suburban area and which is adjacent to mainland China, and two hundred and thirty-five islands.

Population growth

The population of Hong Kong has grown tremendously. The official census of 1931 gave the figure as 840,473 while the census of 1961 showed the number 3,129,648. Two times of refugee influx from China were largely responsible for the growth -- the first in 1937 during the Japanese invasion of China and the second in 1949 following the political vicissitude there. Natural increase after the Second World War also contributed to the growth.

As far as the present study is concerned, two aspects deserve special attention:

1. The influx of refugees brought with it intractable problems, especially in housing, education, water and public health. It became an important item in shaping the development of the colony in

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the past two decades or so.\(^4\)

2. The 1961 census indicated that nearly 49% of the total population were under fifteen years of age, and 16% were under five. By 1970, the figures was roughly 37% and 14% respectively.

**Economic conditions.**

Hong Kong has virtually no natural resource other than the deep-water harbor and the industriousness and ingenuity of its population. Only thirteen percent of the land is arable and practically all foodstuffs are imported.

Its geographical position once favored trade with China but with the change of regime there in 1949 and the international embargo in 1951 after the outbreak of the Korean War, its importance as an entrepot station rapidly declined.

The transformation of an economy based upon entrepot trade into one dependent on export of manufactures is characteristic of recent years. Considerable capital, technical and commercial skills brought by the refugees, foreign capital and managerial ability, relative freedom from restrictive regulations, and low rate of taxation have contributed significantly to the growth of manufacturing industries. Between 1955 and 1964, employment in the main industrial groups increased nearly three-fold. Recently forty percent of the population were in industries of one sort or another.

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\(^4\) Sir Robert B. Black, Governor of Hong Kong from 1958 to 1964, reported on the problem in his *Immigration and Social Planning in Hong Kong* (London: China Society, 1965)
Socio-cultural background

The social and cultural setting is largely shaped by three factors, namely, British influence, immigration and industrialization.

Culturally and educationally, Hong Kong is greatly influenced by the British. Family life seems to be turning more and more on the western type significance of the nuclear family and less on the Chinese type significance of the extended family and its strong ties. Many of the traditional family characteristics linger on, such as the respect paid to family elders, strict discipline, and the secondary importance of girls to sons. But by and large 'family authorities' are losing much of their grip on the young. Traditional religions -- Buddhism, Taoism -- too appear to be on their wane.

The whole structure of modern education in Hong Kong bears a close resemblance to that in the United Kingdom. This is particularly true in secondary and higher education as to staff, curriculum, discipline and organization. It is worthy to note, however, that a certain degree of traditional Chinese still intersperses the occidental educational system, the strongest being social respect for education and a lack of concern for technical training. Immigration has accounted largely for the overcrowding of Hong Kong.

From 1951 resettlement schemes were carried out to ease the housing problem, but even in the late sixties the housing shortage was still acute. A large part of the working class could not obtain any accommodation which was up to the minimum standards of living space and hygiene accepted in the west. In fact many of the Hong Kong school children live and

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5 A parallel of English and Chinese education has developed from the secondary level upwards. British influence is predominant in the English sector.
study under the circumstances described by Younghusband: 6

Overshadowing every effort for betterment, yet also acting as the spur, is this continually increasing mass of humanity, sucking down the individual into overcrowding, malnutrition, low earnings for long hours of work, and a life dominated by the fierce competitive struggle for survival.

The development of Hong Kong as an industrial city has led to great social diversification. The shift in values became more pronounced: people became more materialistic and less spiritual. Western ways for success in business and in the government were treasured, and traditional values in education per se grew dim: academic success rather was taken as the key to upward social mobility.

Political situation

The political future of Hong Kong is, up to the present moment, uncertain. Its political existence is to a very large extent at the mercy of China and the colonial policy of Britain. Both sides know it could be bad for the asking. "Other things being equal, so long as Hong Kong is more useful than embarrassing to China, it can be expected to stay." 7

The serene political scene was twice disquieted by two disturbances, one in 1966 and the other in 1967. The former was triggered off by a hunger strike in protest of fare increase on a cross harbor ferry, and the latter, which was related to political events in Hong Kong and on the mainland, was triggered off by the economic situation between factory management and

6 E. L. Younghusband, Training for Social Work in Hong Kong (Hong Kong Government Printer, 1960)

and workers.

The main effect of these disturbances on education is that from 1967 on, the Education Department has emphasized the recreational side of education. It has sponsored visits to government departments, swimming, picnics, and other activities under various schemes such as the Outdoor Training Scheme. Government, university and schools have kept in mind the idea of turning the countryside into a vast classroom for youth. This idea was inspired by two famous American naturalists and was developed by Philip Daley of the Agricultural and Fisheries Department.

Another impact, a rather immediate one, was the closing down of a number of schools for political reasons. This accentuated the acute shortage of school places particularly on the primary and secondary level.

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

From 1841 to 1857 educational development was largely voluntary and based on philanthropic efforts. Education was for the purpose of proselytizing. The first school was established by the Morrison Education Society in 1843. During this initial period the government's role was that of assistance. In 1850, a government sponsored Education Committee was set up to give financial help to other smaller schools which catered to the poorer

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8 The husband and wife team, Drs. Lee and Martha Talbot, who visited Hong Kong in 1965 reported to the government on countryside conservation.

9 Special Report, South China Morning Post, July 31, 1967, p. 6. (Microfilm).

sections of the Community. The custom then was for the wealthier parents
to send their sons to be educated in Canton, China.

Secularization of education characterized the second period from
1858 to 1900. In a Gazette published in 1858, the government informed
parents that schools had been established wherein elementary Chinese
subjects and the English language would be taught, at no fees save "Tong-
fai" (a very low subscription). A Board of Education was established in
1860. (This was the forerunner of the Education Department). The signifi-
cance was that this placed the direction of government schools in the hands
of a civil department directly responsible to the Governor. By 1871,
the Government Central School had considerably increased its enrolment,
and the question was asked whether instruction should be elementary for
the many or higher education for the few. This was a problem to be faced
frequently in later years as government sought to meet the educational need
of the community.

In 1872, by the government grants, Government not only recognized
the value of missionary schools but also encouraged a far greater expansion
in education. The amended Grant Code of 1878 was a stimulus to renewed
and increased activity under the Grant School system. At this time, the
number of Kaifong^11 schools also increased.

The third phase, from 1901 to Hong Kong's centenary in 1941, saw the
development of higher education as a growing awareness of the value of
education. By 1908, the plans for uniting two projects, the founding of a

^11"Kaifong" is a term in Cantonese meaning street, area, or more
correctly, neighborhood.
university and enlarging the scope of the Hong Kong College of Medicine, had begun to take shape. The University of Hong Kong came into being in 1911 and lectures began in the following year.

In 1909 education in Hong Kong came under the control of a Director of Education. He was later assisted by the Board of Education which was set up in 1920.

The first Education Ordinance was introduced in 1913 whereby all private schools now came under the supervision of government which accepted responsibility for the control of primary and secondary education. A Junior Technical School was opened in 1933 and was followed in 1936 by the opening of the Technical College.

The Burney Report was published after Mr. E. Burney's visit to Hong Kong in 1935. It drew the government's attention to Chinese primary education, teaching methods and revision of the existing curricula. An immediate result of the report was the establishment of the first teachers' training college in 1940.

From World War II to 1959

The period of Japanese occupation from 1941 to 1945 saw the destruction of practically all that had been built. Though laborious it was, the process of rehabilitation was gradually accomplished and efforts were continuously made on all levels of education.

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12 The College had been founded in 1887 by some local doctors and assisted by the London Missionary Society. One of the first students was Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the great Chinese national leader.

13 This Board is not to be confused with the one set up in 1960. This is an advisory body with the main job to assist the Director and to advise the governor in all matters pertaining to the development of education.
Primary Education

The problem of finance was picked up by Mr. N. G. Fisher, Chief Education Officer of Manchester in 1950. His report recommended the expansion of primary education as a separate and complete stage in the process of education. The expansion of primary education then became the paramount objective of Government's educational policy. In 1951 Government gave approval to a five-year plan the result of which was an increase of school enrolment by four fold. However population growth remained to be a challenge. In 1954 Government accepted a seven-year plan to create 26,000 additional school places a year or a total of 182,000 additional places.

Teacher training

The Fisher Report urged that first priority should be given to promote teacher training facilities. This need became exigent as a result of expansion at primary level. A second teachers' training college came into being in 1952. While the first one devoted to training of teachers in English medium, this new college was the chief institute for the training of Chinese primary school teachers who would instruct in their own language.

Secondary Education

The process of reconstruction was steady but no major significant event was recorded. The development, moreover, lagged behind that in the primary sector. By 1954, the ratio of primary school enrolment to high school enrolment was about 1:33. One interesting aspect was the growing number of girls attending high schools.
Higher Education

It was decided in 1948 that the University of Hong Kong should be re-established on modern lines. This was made possible by capital grants from the Treasury and Colonial and Welfare Funds, and a capital grant from Japanese assets in Hong Kong.

The need for the provision of higher education in the medium of Chinese became imminent after 1949: the route to college education in the mainland was cut and a great wave of Chinese scholars thronged the place. In 1951 the government set up a committee headed by Mr. J. Keswick. One of the main solutions proposed was that many of the University's courses should be duplicated in the medium of Chinese, but the University council decided that this change was too radical and should not be undertaken.

The shelving of this plan stimulated the setting up of private post-secondary colleges by private bodies. In 1960 the Post-Secondary Colleges Ordinance was enacted to give statutory recognition and greater freedom to those colleges which achieved certain standards and fulfilled the requirements of the ordinance.

Technical Education

A growing public awareness, no matter how slight in the general perspective, was reflected in the 1950's in a generous sum given by the Chinese Manufacturers' Association towards the cost of a technical college on condition that Government should add a like sum and provide the land. The offer was accepted. In 1957 the Technical College moved from its former premises to a new building much better equipped. The College has continued to expand over the year.
Summary

Education in form of a proselytization had but a short history. Soon the missionary effort was shared by Government and voluntary private bodies. Since 1913, Government has played the role of leader and supervisor of education in Hong Kong.

The Second World War had caused greater havoc to education than the first one, simply because it had more to destroy. But it turned out to be a blessing as reconstruction began to reinvigorate the educational foundation. Experts from the United Kingdom provided guidelines for further development.

Government took care of the well-being of both primary and secondary education, but its chief concern was with the former. To wipe out illiteracy in a community threatened by serious population growth was the immediate goal.

The attention to teacher training came quite late, but the establishment of two teacher training institutes within a period of seven difficult years was a credit in itself.

The education system was complete where English was used as the teaching medium. The inadequacy of higher education in the Chinese language was instrumental in the losing of faith in Chinese education among the parent generation.

Although a technical college was established in the 1930's and had been very much improved, there was still a long way before technical education could meet public understanding and advocacy.
PART I
Chapter I

PRIMARY EDUCATION: EXPANSION AND EXTENSION

The System

Like most countries in Asia, the development of primary education in Hong Kong is largely a Government responsibility. Initiative, direction, supervision and control reside in the Education Department of the government.

Primary education extends over a period of six years (Primary I to Primary VI). Most children are admitted to Primary I at the age of six and finish Primary VI at twelve. Most schools use Chinese as the medium of instruction. In government schools, children do not start learning English until they reach Primary III. A selective examination is held at the end of the sixth year whereby students were allotted to different types of schools.

Education is neither free nor compulsory. Generally government schools charge the lowest, private schools the highest, with subsidized schools in between. On the whole the standard of education is the highest in government and government-aided schools. But places in these schools are so limited that about half the provision for primary education is in private schools.

Repercussion of the Seven Years Plan (1954 - 1971)

In October 1954, to meet the challenge of the phenomenal population growth and the shortage of primary school places, Government embarked upon
an ambitious program of primary school expansion. Expansion was by means of building more schools and providing more government-assisted places in private schools.

The primary school enrolment in September 1954 was 160,000. The target of the plan was 215,000 by 1961.

The program turned out to be a great success. The total increase in primary school places achieved was 313,000, which means some 98,000 places beyond the target.

The undoubted merit of the program, however, lay in the spread of zeal and the spirit of expansion. The effort to provide primary education was a continuous one ever since 1961. Its value can be seen against the following facts:

1. In the 1961 census, an alarmingly high percentage (49%) of the population was under the age of fifteen. This group awaited schooling.

2. One effect of the flow of immigration was the growth in child birth. This plus the increase in birth rate since the post war years created an excess of birth over death every year.¹

3. The child population (here it means the six to eleven age group) increased dramatically from 494,600 in 1961 to 648,700 in 1970.

And the need is not only numerical. The social equalitarian idea found gradually louder vocal expression. More people began to talk about "equal opportunity."

However, the success must be acclaimed with reservation. The program

¹According to official figures, there was 100,000 excess of birth over death in 1964, and the number became 63,226 in 1969.
still faced several major problems yet unsolved.

Due to the general shortage of places in the past, a large number of children who had not the chance of schooling now started primary school at seven, eight, nine or even ten years of age. These children, coupled with those who repeated a class more than once and so took longer than the normal six years to complete the course, led to the tragic fact that more than 100,000 children of ages outside the primary range occupied places, thus keeping out perhaps an equal number of children of the proper age.

By 1963, still half of the primary school children were in private schools. This meant more than just higher fees. A large proportion of teachers were unqualified; some premises were unfit for educational purpose; and very limited security of tenure of rented premises often led to the sudden closing down of a school. Some of the problems in connection with private schools could only be solved as more places were provided in government and aided schools. It would seem that this and this alone would reduce the number of profit-making schools.

The New Primary Education Policy (1963 - 1965)

In September 1963, a new reorganizational policy began which embodied the following:

1. The normal age of entry into government and aided primary schools was raised from six to seven years;

2. These problems also apply to private secondary schools.
2. A new five-year course replaced the six-year course;
3. At least one year of secondary education was made available in order that pupils might continue their schooling up to age fourteen which is the statutory minimum age for industrial employment;
4. During the transitional period (1963 - 1968), those who failed to gain admission to a full secondary course was provided a seventh year of education in Special Form I, provided that they were under fourteen years of age;
5. The selective examination was to be held at the end of Special Form I.

The motivation was both social and economic. The deficiency of secondary education had all the time been acute. The undoubted success of the Seven Years Plan for primary education made even more pressing the demand for a planned program in the secondary sector. The government's move to set up the secondary modern schools in 1960 could be interpreted as the first attempt to make up for the dearth. These schools, where practical subjects were taught throughout the three-years course, were intended to furnish those who failed to attend regular schools with more working opportunities. Unfortunately, the device fell short of its intention. Most parents were unwilling to send their children to these schools for fear they would end up with minor "dead-end" jobs. By the present reorganization policy, the so called "Special Form I" was provided also for this group but hoped that, since the period was shorter and the curriculum closer to that in regular secondary schools, the parents would welcome this form of secondary education.

While easing the problem of shortage of secondary school places, this policy, had it worked, was hoped to assist the local industries by
turning out more workers. Once the students finished the Special Form I, they would reach fourteen and thus could be legally employed.

But as soon as 1965, two years after the policy was enforced, Government had to acknowledge the unpopularity of the Special Form, and the policy failed.

Let us examine the causes for its failure.

The Special Form I was meant for those who failed to "make the grade." But this group actually consisted of those who were not interested in study and those who failed in the Joint Primary Six Examination (later Secondary School Entrance Examination) "accidentally" such as falling ill. For the first group, they were not attracted by the opportunity of such a course of general education which after all, did not lead to a definite qualification. The fear of Marsh and Simpson that this would appear as a one-year extension of the primary course was not misplaced. As for the second group who might want to switch back to regular secondary education, the Special Form provided no alternative.

The policy met with cogent opposition from parents. Hong Kong parents in the main wanted their children to go to school at an age earlier than seven because of social or economic reasons or both. Unlike some other places, such as Scandinavian countries, there was no community life for the very young and by the time they reached seven they could be badly conditioned for school discipline.

Not only did the parents want their children to get schooling early,

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but also they wanted their children to get as much education as they could afford. Firstly, because the Chinese tradition attached great value to learning and, secondly, because they believed that education alone could bring their children good prospects. After all, the last thing they wanted for their children was a low-paying job in industry. If the economic situation of the family needed their children to go to work, they would send them immediately after primary education or earlier if they were forced to. The law for child labor was not strictly complied with. Employers did employ children so long as their guardians agreed. For instance, many children, especially girls, helped their families by being "dim-sum carriers" in tea houses or restaurants.

But the blame was not on the parents and children alone. Curriculum was itself a problem. However carefully it was drawn up, the course of study in the Special Form during what was described as the transitional period was bound to be unsatisfactory in character. It could not replace the normal secondary curriculum. The shortening of the primary course by one year also needed a thorough and provident replanning.

To those concerned with education, to raise the age of entry was a retrograde step, since, they pointed out, the age of entry to primary school in England was five. To the teachers, it meant that his pupils might be of a lower standard at a given age.

Let us stop for a moment and reflect on the question: should the policy be adopted at all?

From the utilitarian point of view, the policy might have solved the problem of shortage of secondary school places and shortage of low categories of industrial workers. It might have been an economical solution since the
cost for provision of the Special Form I was lower than that for a full course of secondary education, and those who worked on completing the shorter course would give a monetary return to society earlier. Optimistically speaking, the extension of general education in this form might mark the beginning of universal secondary education. Speaking sociologically, the new Form I occupied the children between twelve and fourteen, thus helping to curb the development of juvenile delinquency. The failure, in a sense, meant a conflict between individual interests and common good. 

The policy could have been a success had social pressure been taken into consideration. Perhaps if the student, after finishing the short secondary course, could get acceptance from the employers or if the secondary course were vocational instead of general education in nature, more pupils would have found it worth taking.

Some Other Problems of Primary Education

Some of the problems that are serious but are rarely discussed in the literature include the following:

1. Individualization of instruction was seldom practised in Hong Kong if at all. The average number of pupils per class was forty-five in government schools though there was a wide range of differences in private schools. Almost in all cases, the class was too large for the teacher to devote attention to individual pupils. Any consideration for individual needs and interests was sacrificed to the pressure for attainment in the examination. The lessons were conducted in the form of lectures where the ratio of pupil talk to teacher talk was extremely small. There was hardly any time for the pupils to reflect
2. Professor Henderson of the Hong Kong University once remarked that no primary age child learned at a mythical or theoretically 'average' pace; every child had personal problems and his own particular set of learning circumstances and difficulties. In government primary schools, however, a child finishing a year's work would be automatically promoted to the next year, in view of the large number of students and the limited number of school places. Although promotion or non-promotion is highly disputable, automatic promotion inescapably led slow students into trouble. For them it meant insufficient groundwork and overpromotion. Since there was no special remedial classes for these children, they received little extra help. (Private tuition created a 'heat' in recent years but most of the pupils in the government schools came from comparatively poorer families.) Each year they were taught the same syllabus as their successful counter-part. This moving through the grades with what Goldin called "specific blind spots in mechanics and comprehension"\(^5\) not only would prevent the pupils from passing the selective public examination but also would lead to ineffectiveness in learning in the long run.

Indeed Hong Kong primary (and all stages of) education is too examination-oriented. Limiting attention to the three subjects on which the public examination was held (Chinese, English and Arithmetic) had the effect of channeling a child's mental development to a narrow passage which led to the

no-more-widened secondary curriculum. Perhaps it is time for us to think more on what Unesco experts once suggested: 6

Any system of primary education which is mainly general and non-vocational should include some means of giving children a liking and respect for manual work, accustoming them to observation and creative effort and encouraging in them an intelligent approach to the practical problem arising at home and in the community.

Conclusion

The Primary Education Expansion Program and the Primary Reorganization Policy represented Government's effort of educational provision during these ten years. While the former directly concerned primary schooling, the latter actually had secondary education as its target.

Problems confronting the provision of free primary education are usually social, administrative, financial, linguistic and religious. 8 Among these, financial heads the others in Hong Kong. Hong Kong has the same good fortune of spending low defence costs as Singapore, but building sites, roads, housing and other social services, exaggerated by refugee problems, limit the proportion of government expenditure for education. Moreover, after examining the relationship of fee income to school expenditure, Marsh and Sampson observed that "the proportion of expenditure in primary and secondary schools which is recovered by way of fees is quite low." Since raising of fees will agitate the parents and the raising of taxation would hamper local economy, 9 a reconsideration (and planning) of class size and teachers

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9 Opinions expressed during the budget debate following a speech by the Financial Secretary, reported in the South China Morning Post, February 25, 1965, p. 1 (Microfilm).
salaries seem to be the only way open to the solution of the problem. With the financial problem solved, the realization of free universal education should only be a matter of time.

But we must not be too concerned with education expansion to a degree that other problems are neglected. Primary education needs, so to speak, improvements in width and depth.
CHAPTER II

CHARACTERISTICS OF SECONDARY EDUCATION AND ITS PROBLEMS

The System

Secondary schools in Hong Kong could be sub-divided into two types by the language of instruction. Chinese was used in all Chinese Middle schools with English as a second language. The condition was reversed in Anglo-Chinese schools.

Financially, schools could be classified into four groups, Government schools, Grant-in-aid schools, Subsidized schools, and Private schools. Government schools were directed, financed, operated, and staffed by the government. These schools included both secondary grammar schools and secondary technical schools. Grant-in-aid schools were run by missionary bodies and Government paid the difference between approved expenditure and income from school fees. Secondary subsidised schools were most being operated on the primary level. The size of each subsidy was determined by the school's deficit and its capacity to meet it from other sources, and in any case not less than half the difference between approved expenditure and income. Private schools included profit-making and non-profit-making types, both must be registered with the government and must meet certain safety, health and financial standards. However, government exercised little control over teaching standards or teacher credentials. There was great diversity...
in quality among private schools ranging from excellent to third rate. School fees were usually the highest among all types of schools.

Characteristics of secondary education in this period

1. About three-quarters of Hong Kong's children completed the full primary school course and three-quarters of those entered secondary schools. A statistical survey of this decade based on official records renders the following figures:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School year</th>
<th>Number of Pupils in Primary VI</th>
<th>Number Entering Form I</th>
<th>Number Entering Middle I</th>
<th>Number Entering Vocational First Year</th>
<th>Percentage Seeking Employment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1962-1963</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>25,331</td>
<td>13,081</td>
<td>1,220</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963-1964</td>
<td>70,008</td>
<td>27,144</td>
<td>13,496</td>
<td>1,198</td>
<td>40.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964-1965</td>
<td>69,930</td>
<td>28,023</td>
<td>13,774</td>
<td>1,447</td>
<td>38.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965-1966</td>
<td>72,144</td>
<td>31,876</td>
<td>13,950</td>
<td>1,435</td>
<td>34.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-1967</td>
<td>75,436</td>
<td>34,571</td>
<td>14,054</td>
<td>1,468</td>
<td>33.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967-1968</td>
<td>79,493</td>
<td>37,692</td>
<td>14,780</td>
<td>1,428</td>
<td>32.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968-1969</td>
<td>74,305</td>
<td>37,645</td>
<td>13,687</td>
<td>1,547</td>
<td>28.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969-1970</td>
<td>86,318</td>
<td>47,026</td>
<td>14,309</td>
<td>2,226</td>
<td>28.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: All figures represent a grand total; number include day and night, government and private school students.
* Information prior to 1962 is not available.
2. There was a substantial increase in the percentage attending Anglo-Chinese schools while the increase in Chinese middle schools was almost negligible. A comparison is as follows:

**TABLE 1.2**

**COMPARISON BETWEEN ENGLISH AND CHINESE ENROLMENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Anglo-Chinese</th>
<th></th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number of schools</td>
<td>Enrolment</td>
<td>Number of schools</td>
<td>Enrolment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>42,494</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>27,104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>84,826</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>42,394*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>126,196</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>47,362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>156,361</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>47,829</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The sudden increase was most probably due to the establishment of the Chinese University in 1963.

3. Education in secondary schools placed a reliance on rote memorisation and prevented a real understanding of the subjects taught.

4. Technical education was still thought of as a second best, and courses, whether in secondary modern schools or technical schools, that did not lead to the school certificate, were not popular.

**Implications**

These characteristics were actually what educationists had to worry about. When restated, each of them would appear as knots to be untied.
Increasing the Provision of Secondary Education

The first characteristic implies that the demand for high school education was well beyond the present stage of provision. According to Education Policy April 1965, Government's goal had been to provide for fifteen percent of all primary school leavers secondary education in government, aided and selected private schools. Even later, when government raised the goal to twenty percent, it was still inadequate. Statistics confirmed that the increase of the twelve to sixteen age group during this decade had been very rapid. Moreover while the average annual percentage increase of the primary school age group was 3.5 (which was looked upon by many with alarm,) that of the secondary school age group was 8.6!

This was the situation: while only half of the age group had the chance to get into a secondary school, no more than twenty percent of the secondary school pupils were in schools that received a government subsidy.

The obstacle that inhibited the growth of subsidized secondary education was limited financial resources. Secondary education was more expensive. This was especially so with the Anglo-Chinese schools. Simpson calculated the recurrent cost to be as follows:

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1 Education Department, Triennial Survey 1967-1970 (Hong Kong: Government Printer), p. 93.

TABLE 1.3

AVERAGE RECURRENT COST PER PUPIL 1961-62

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All Schools</th>
<th>Govt. Schools Only</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>HK $ 230 p.a.**</td>
<td>HK $ 480 p.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>HK $ 470 p.a.</td>
<td>HK $ 1250 p.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary*</td>
<td>HK $ 3200 p.a.</td>
<td>HK $ 4300 p.a.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** When dollars are quoted in this study, they are Hong Kong dollars. The average rate for conversion to U.S. dollars is H.K. $6 = U.S. $1.

N.B. These figures include fees paid by parents.

* Including Hong Kong University, Teacher Training and Technical Colleges but excluding all post-secondary colleges.

In more recent years, the gross cost per pupil per year in government schools was about $452 in Chinese primary and $1,461 in Anglo-Chinese secondary.

This high cost per pupil in Anglo-Chinese secondary schools was due to inflated teacher salaries. A graduate teacher got the highest pay within the British Commonwealth. This inflation of teacher salaries in turn was attributed to the high market value of English and to the high respect the Hong Kong populace paid to "paper qualification." The adverse effect of high teacher salaries could be seen by contrast with Japan. In Japan, where the income per capita was not greatly in excess of Hong Kong, a widespread provision of secondary education was achieved but the salaries of teachers were only comparable to those offered in the Chinese private schools of
Hong Kong.

If the financial situation of the government remains unchanged, private schools will continue to have a significant part to play. Steps should be taken to enable them to function properly.

Under a scheme which came into operation in 1961, allowance of $100 per month for each approved classroom or laboratory was made to a limited number of selected non-profit-making private schools. An extension of this type of assistance to further non-profit-making secondary would enable more schools to provide adequate facilities for a full secondary course. Another scheme which began a year earlier offered financial awards to selected pupils (whose order of merit came after those who were allocated places in government/aided schools) in private schools. Such a scheme too would be helpful if it is extended within the greatest financial limits. Fundamentally the process of registration of private schools should be strengthened to the effect of paying greater attention to general equipment and academic standard in addition to security and sanitation.

Simpson has suggested a complete re-organization of the secondary school system as a solution. He envisaged a two-tier form of secondary education. Succinctly, it was as follows:

1. The lower secondary education was to be comprehensive and was made available to all. The cost of provision could be cut by using Chinese as the medium of instruction with English as a second language. This course was to produce youth who would seek occupation upon graduation.

2. The upper secondary education was a privilege won by special merit -- pupils were to be selected by ability. This stage catered for traditional subjects as well as technical and vocational fields with teaching in both
English and Chinese. Students were also prepared for higher education.

This is a sound financial solution to the problem and needs and deserves deliberations in great details. One main value is that comprehensive education is accessible to all and is to be community subsidized. However there are a number of points that need further consideration.

The short lower secondary education might meet disapproval from parents who have objected to the modern schools and the Special Form I for the same reason. They might show reluctance to financially contribute to the form of education which is short and through which their children, unless they score high in the selective examination, cannot climb to the top. This examination too might bear the resemblance to the existing public examinations the value of which has not been established. The dichotomy of the system would also result in a society with two groups of youths, one being regarded (or afraid to be regarded) as incapable of receiving higher education, and another group who seems to have every promise of a good prospect.

Overemphasis on English Education

The second characteristic appeared as a misfit into a Chinese community. Chinese education had continuously lost its attractiveness and was almost regarded with slight.

It was partly a result of the cultural change in 1949. With the industrial and commercial boom since the turn of 1950 there began a new

interest in material prosperity. Economic success became a dominant motive and social position began to depend more on wealth. Thus the Chinese traditional values in education -- ethical and spiritual -- had given way to acquiring utilitarian skills. This attitude was reflected in the increasing number of parents who wished their children to study law or medicine, the most prosperous professions. English became a "must" if a student was to look beyond a future of a low-paying job.

The most immediate and important effect of the British administration was that the key to the best job and the most influential position was a command of fluent English. Working with the government meant a guaranteed job for life. This plus the benefit of gradual promotion somehow justified the Chinese term for a job in the public service, "chin fan wan" or "golden rice bowl."

Opportunities opened to Chinese secondary school students were limited. With the political change in China, the route to further studies there was cut. Before 1963, the University of Hong Kong using English text and language was the only university. Those Chinese-educated found that they had a close-end education. Moreover, their counterparts in Anglo-Chinese schools, having had a western education which favored foreign recognition, could easily study abroad even if they did not score high enough in the local matriculation examination.

Effect of bilingualism in Anglo-Chinese schools

A child in Hong Kong had already the task of coping with language learning since he was in primary school. The daily language was Cantonese, a dialect in southern China. It was very different from Mandarin (kuoyu) in
which all Chinese texts were written. When he entered an Anglo-Chinese school, he had yet another language to manage which in structure as well as pronunciation was so alien to his own.

Experienced educators generally had the impression that the pupils in the Chinese-medium classes were more responsive and were more varied in interests. In one of his series of studies, Kvan verified this belief. Through the examination of two sets of essays from university students who had come up from the Anglo-Chinese system and the Chinese system respectively, he found this:

I asked several competent judges to assess the (anonymous) essays with regard to maturity... It seems clear that the students who had used Chinese as a medium of instruction but had studied English as a subject, were showing greater originality of thought and greater maturity in general than whose who had used English as a medium and had Chinese as a subject only.4

In nine cases out of ten, those who thought that they had only a precarious hold on English depended more on rote-learning rather than on reasoning. This sheer memorization in his learning process blunted his curiosity and creativity. Education hence meant not purposeful learning but cramming-in and regurgitation of facts. Another effect was that it impeded oral discussion which very often contributed to organization of facts and reasoning.

That English education contributed to high educational cost has been argued. Its adverse effect on learning also greatly suggested a reconsideration of using English as a teaching medium. A lot of suggestions were made,

which included using Chinese in early secondary, then eventually moving
to English in upper classes. But the root of the problem seemed to be in
the fact that English was the official language of Hong Kong and a language
that had high utilitarian and market value. The movement for legalizing
Chinese as the official language has just begun late in this decade. With
its success, one may hope that students in Hong Kong would be in an easier
position to learn.

Unbalanced Technical Education

Sir Sik-nin Chau reported that domestically manufactured products
contributed nearly 77% of the total export trade in 1963 (this being an
increase of 15% over the previous year). This expansion has brought forth
three problems that dominated the thinking of industrialists:

The first, the present severe shortage of labor, both skilled and
unskilled; the second, the rising cost of production resulting princi­
pally from high labor costs, and the third, the continued difficulty
in obtaining land ....

ITAC (Industrial Technical Advisory Committee) estimated around 1970
that Hong Kong was currently failing to train a necessary 2,600 technicians
and 9,660 craftsmen each year.

The shortage of labor was obvious but technical education has never
succeeded in attracting those with primary or lower secondary school qualifi­
cations. It is reported that in 1963, out of 131,000 students, only little
more than 6% were in technical, vocational and modern schools. This compared
unfavorably with Brazil for instance, where academic school students only

5 Address by Sir Sik-nin Chau, Chairman, Federation of Hong Kong
occupied 71% or Argentina where the percentage was only forty-eight.

It is interesting (but should be regarded with regret) that in 1966, when secondary school Form IV boys were given the chance of attachment to various industries during the summer vacation, only six pupils took the advantage of the opportunity.

As recently as the summer of 1968, the secondary technical schools were found to have 400 empty desks.

Let us examine the attitudes of students (and their parents), school owners, and the manufacture industrialists towards technical education. Hong Kong education did not attempt to cultivate in the students an interest towards practical work. The primary education was largely formal, verbal and devoted to the three R's. Although the standards of music and art work were high there was little science or creative practical work. Students on the whole had the socially induced ideas that literal work was better than manual work, white-collar job was of a higher social standing than work "that would soil the hands." There were many cases where when a pupil was allocated to a secondary technical school at the end of the Secondary School Entrance Examination, his parents rather switched him to a private academic school. 7

Their financial consideration is justified in that the emolument in industrial jobs were really not attractive when compared with commencing salaries and prospects offered by government, banks, and commerce to promising

7A survey in 1969 at a Resettlement Estate quoted a high percentage of those interviewed as preferring to learn industrial skills. But by and large the middle and lower middle classes still have partiality for white collar work.
students with evidence of academic ability. Even a position as high as technologist would get as little as $700 to $900 a month, whereas a Hong Kong University Arts student could usually get $1,300 a month as a teacher.

The modern schools were established in 1960 aiming at leading young people to apprenticeship and industrial employment after the three-year course. In the main, these schools proved to be a bit ahead of their time and many were turned into technical schools in 1964. Pupils who reached Form III had advanced too far up the education ladder and have been unwilling to enter apprenticeship or artizan training preferring instead to seek places in Form IV in some other schools.

Part of the fault lay in the government technical secondary schools in that the curriculum was too academic. The only technical elements of the syllabus were metalwork and woodwork for boys, and secretariat skills and handicraft for girls. These practical classes provided instruction in useful hobbies rather than qualifying students for any sort of industrial work.

The nature of the curriculum in fact accounted partly for the slow development of such schools. Since the intake was made up of those who had not been able to get into secondary grammar schools, dropouts were those who failed to keep pace with the dominant academic part of the syllabus.

Finance was the reason for technical secondary education not developing in the private sector as general secondary education did. Industrial training was expensive: a lathe engaging only two students at a time, was said to cost up to $10,000. Consequently, private schools could usually afford only the non-industrial subjects of the technical syllabus like domestic science, shorthand, accountancy, and allied office and commercial skills.
Manufacturers’ attitude towards trained craftsmen has not been favorable. Since the war they have taken the advantage of cheap, unskilled labor. Now they were often too cost-conscious and short-sighted to release employees for a day or two of industrial training. This was supported by the fact that the part-time-day-release courses in mechanical engineering were started early in the decade at the Technical College, but there had been practically no expansion since then.

The remedy

The Morrison Hill Institute, opening classes in September 1969, helped in solving the problem of shortage of industrial labor at lower levels. It was intended primarily to provide industrial instruction at the craftsmen level and below to children of secondary school age. Its significance was that it ensured the supply of trainees without white-collar School Certificate preferences. It siphoned off the Technical College's intake of technical training.

In a developing region like Hong Kong, economic viability depended heavily on this level of technical training, which we think is best to be 'blended' with academic subjects in high schools. The system adopted in Malaysia in 1965 furnished a good example. During the three years of comprehensive education pupils study a group of common subjects which included industrial arts or home science or agricultural science or business practice. In the third year were introduced workshop practice, housecraft and practical agriculture. Upon completion, it was proposed to offer three choices for the next two years, two in the academic stream and one in technical and vocational. Pupils who wished to enter higher education continued their
studies for two more years at a deeper level or specialization. It might be in the academic area or in technical education.

Curriculum Being Too Academic

The last characteristics pointed to the problem that the high school curriculum was contributing little to the well-being and improvement of the society. It was true in both English and Chinese systems. During a symposium on the teaching of the Chinese language, one of the speakers pointed out that the syllabus in Chinese was not suitable for an industrial community. For example, it was reported, of the forty-nine lessons selected for the 1970 Chinese School Leaving Examination, only one was written in "Pei-Hua" (the conventional language).

This had close correlation with the problem we have just discussed - pupils opted for traditional types of schooling and shunned industrial training.

But knowledge imparted in too academic a manner was likely to be inert rather than functional and resulted in frequent retardation and premature leaving of school. Unrealistic school courses not closely connected with the atmosphere and needs of children, their parents and the community as a whole have had a similar detrimental effect. It is time Hong Kong should reform the curriculum so that it is society-oriented in content, problem-solving in nature and more meaningful to the learners.

Hong Kong does not have to borrow an example from afar. In Taiwan the revised high school curriculum brought into force in 1962 made a distinct-

8As reported in South China Morning Post, July 8, 1970.
tion between the function of junior high grades (VII, VIII, and IX) and senior high grades (X, XI, XII). The program was based on the principle that junior high school should emphasize 'life education' for the purpose of educating complete citizens. While senior high schools should stress academic education to lay a good foundation for their future studies.

Conclusion

During the past ten years, secondary education in Hong Kong developed from a tripartite system to a dual system with the absorption of secondary modern schools into technical education system. Those with academic ability, having been selected by the Secondary School Entrance Examination, found their way into grammar schools. The other group went into technical schools, but the ultimate goal of many of the entrants was admission either to the universities or to teacher training colleges. As a consequence, the curriculum for both groups was alike and was primarily academic. Steps need to be taken to reform the curriculum so as to be more liberal and practical.

The demand for secondary school education was high and will continue to be so because a considerable rise in the high school age group is anticipated and unfavorable comparison with the more developed countries will encourage demands for a universal provision of secondary education before it becomes essential from the manpower point of view.

Hong Kong with its thriving and developing industry and its growing population is going to need an increasing numbers of craftsmen and manual workers just as it will need its technologists and technicians. Apprenticeship training combined with school training (as now being practiced in Belgium and Holland) will make a valuable contribution to the future of Hong
Kong. Starting separate schools for technical/vocational education at the lower secondary level might have been a mistake.

It might not be too optimistic to argue that if technical education is expanded, industry will expand correspondingly with its feedback of promoted technology and manpower, and the increased prosperity would, in turn, enable secondary education to expand. But all these will not be possible unless the social bias against technical education is done away with.
CHAPTER III

HIGHER EDUCATION: DEMAND

VERSUS SUPPLY

Higher Education Scene in Hong Kong

The Institutions

The University of Hong Kong was the first and the only English speaking university and it followed the English tradition very closely. Substantial grants were made by the government towards the university's annual recurrent and non-recurrent expenditure.

From 1911 to 1950 the enrolment never exceeded five hundred. As a result of the Jennings-Logan Report¹ and painstaking investigations based on the estimates made by Government, a seven-year plan was carried out in 1959. The fruit was borne in 1966 with the undergraduate body expanded to 1,800. Enrolment has continued to enlarge ever since.

With the establishment of the Faculty of Social Science in 1967, the university had five faculties in total. The others were the Faculty of Arts, the Faculty of Science, the Faculty of Medicine and the Faculty of Engineering and Architecture. All, except Medicine and Architecture, offered three year courses.

¹Sir Ivor Jennings and Dr. D. W. Logan, A Report on the University of Hong Kong (Cathay Press, 1953).
The Department of Extra-mural Studies provided over a hundred evening and day-time courses for adult students. It also organized public lectures, seminars and conferences.

The Chinese University of Hong Kong was inaugurated in 1963 as a federal university. It had its origin in three private post-secondary colleges -- New Asia, Chung Chi, and United Colleges. The three colleges were separately located but physical planning to bring them together has began as soon as 1963. Title to the site was conveyed to the university in 1970.

The university offered a four-year program leading to bachelor's degree in arts, science, commerce and social sciences. Some courses were taught in English (especially science subjects), some in Cantonese and some in Mandarin. All graduates, however, were expected to be bilingual.

The Department of Extra-mural Studies offered, by 1970, more than four hundred courses. The majority of them were conducted in Cantonese or Mandarin. The department also offered several correspondence courses.

The Technical College was established in 1957 and was the only institute to provide higher technical education. It offered courses for technicians, technologists and for those entering for professional examinations. Departments of the college included Building, Surveying and Structural Engineering; Mechanical, Production and Marine Engineering; Electrical Engineering; Commerce and Management Studies; Textile Industries; Nautical Studies; Industrial and Commercial Design; and Mathematics and Science. In addition to full time courses, part-time day and evening courses were also available. Nearly all diploma courses were divided into a three-year Higher Diploma and a two-year Ordinary Diploma courses, the latter at the technician level. Both
courses had a common Year I which was diagnostic in nature.

The decade saw improvement both pedagogically and in physical facilities. For example many lecturers had been sent abroad to undertake special training, and a workshop was built with a donation of U.S. $250,000 from the United States Government in 1967.

Entrance Examinations

Both universities conducted their own matriculation examinations and competition was keen. It has been estimated that in a given year, only about 30% of those who sat for the Certificate of Education Examination had the chance to continue in the sixth forms (matriculation classes). Potentially there were many more students capable of profiting from a university education than were able to attend. A contrast can be found when comparing those who took part in the examinations and those who were admitted.
TABLE 3.1

MATRICULATION FIGURES OF THE
TWO UNIVERSITIES (1963 - 1970)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Hong Kong University</th>
<th>Chinese University</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>number of candidates</td>
<td>number admitted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>1,795</td>
<td>515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>1,782</td>
<td>535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>2,001</td>
<td>585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>2,446</td>
<td>555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>2,235</td>
<td>740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>2,664</td>
<td>751</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>3,257</td>
<td>781</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>3,625</td>
<td>820</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was questionable whether the rigid procedure of selection as employed in Hong Kong could really encourage the qualities of mind and character that was desirable for higher education. As far as content and method of study were concerned, the matriculation examination was of the same type as the SSEE or the Certificate of Education. An anecdote ran
as follows:

... a couple of years ago all Faculties and Departments (in Hong Kong University) were at one in their report on the Matriculation examination: 'The candidates rely by far too much on learning by heart instead of working in an independent and original way with the questions.' In such a way, a higher mark in Advanced Level did not necessarily show that the student was more suited to a university education. The defects of the examination system, furthermore were that the way in which questions were asked seldom required the students' wide reading around the subjects and that the selection dwelled too heavily on academic attainment. Personal qualities and social service ability were largely neglected.

Getting into the Technical College was less competitive. Those who had a genuine desire to take up a technical career were few and the entrance requirement was relatively low. For the High Diploma course it needed a general education to the Hong Kong English or Chinese School Certificate level. Completion of a five year secondary school course would entitle one to the Ordinary Diploma course.

Students

Cansdale explored Chinese student life in a western type university. Among his many discussions, two points were of special interest.

One was that students on the whole experienced a conflict of ideas and attitudes. A student learned an ideal kind of western liberal individualism

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but could not find it much appraised in his own society. If he came into contact with Christianity that claimed to be exclusive, he would find that claim was not made by any of the traditional faiths of his own people.

Students usually clung to the authority of the printed word, were unwilling to discuss academic problems and seemed to be afflicted by an overpowering lack of curiosity which might cripple their studies. It was not that they did not feel the threat of nuclear weapons, population control and other contemporary problems but they were also cautious and hesitate to commit themselves publically.

However, the first characteristic he brought out was absent from students whose parents had themselves received a western type of education though it was most prominent in those whose parents had steadfast points of view. As for the lack of curiosity and diffidence among most university students, this could be explained partly by the lack of self-identification prevalent in a place void of any national claim, and partly by their study habits, since secondary school. The tendency towards the end of the decade, nevertheless, was for students to be more out-spoken and exhibit more social-consciousness. One example was the reform movement carried out by the Hong Kong University students beginning in 1968. The Students' Union demanded total reforms which included students' participation in university administration, improving instruction standards and promoting student welfare.

Curriculum

Critics have suggested that the traditional type of British university

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Ibid., p. 345.
set up abroad produced graduates who were not only economically separated since they demanded and received salaries similar to Europeans, but also culturally divorced from the community.

It is true that the goal of education is "for the application of creative imagination and trained intelligence to the solution of social problems and to the administration of public affairs". The relevance of degree courses for solving Hong Kong's own problems should be re-examined and qualifications geared to local needs should stand at the first priority in future planning. The reason for western type of curriculum is the eagerness for overseas recognition. For those people who seek this, conversion courses should be separately provided for.

The Demand on Higher Education

It can be shown that development was the slowest on the university level. Prior to 1963 only one university existed and only one more was added within a long period of fifty-two years.

Before the establishment of the Chinese University, those whose aspiration for further education was not met in Hong Kong had to go to overseas universities. Most went to Taiwan. Japanese universities started Chinese courses once more in the nineteen fifties. Those remaining in Hong Kong had few alternatives. There was a Department of Chinese Studies in the Hong Kong University, but a candidate had to reach the matriculation standard of English before he was admitted. When he was ultimately admitted, he found

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that Chinese was only one of several subjects he had to take in the degree course; and even in these there was an emphasis on translation for which a good knowledge of English was essential. In fact, there was no place at the University for any but the most exceptional students from the Chinese Middle schools. (Most students from China entered the Evening School of Higher Chinese Studies started by the Education Department in 1951). Some other entered the post-secondary colleges which, however, were considered below university rank.

The establishment of the Chinese University in this decade therefore solved the serious problem of deficiency in Chinese higher education. It also provided the soil in which the seeds of Chinese and western culture could come to full flowering side by side.

Inadequacy Despite a Second University

It is calculated that in the United States, one in three has the chance of a full-time higher education; in Britain, if sandwich courses are included, the figure is one in twelve. But in Hong Kong only about one in a hundred is at a university. The two universities together could accommodate 4,000 to 5,000, but the number of those who want a university education far exceeds this figure. This is reflected in the gigantic number who have received some kind of a higher education. Those who took courses in the extra-mural departments rose to 14,700 (1969 figure), and those who were at private post-secondary colleges were around 2,000 to 3,000.

\(^6\)It is an innovation in Britain. Under this scheme, students attend the technical college for periods (usually of several months) and then return to the factories.
In addition, Hong Kong has been experiencing a serious problem of "brain-drain". Every year an extraordinarily large number of students have sought to further their education abroad. The figures are shown in the following table.

**TABLE 3.2**

**HIGHER EDUCATION (OVERSEAS)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>U.S.A.</th>
<th>U.K.</th>
<th>Canada</th>
<th>Australia</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>1,060</td>
<td>326</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>711</td>
<td>2,277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>1,004</td>
<td>479</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>766</td>
<td>2,459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>816</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>2,029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>1,031</td>
<td>1,161</td>
<td>539</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>2,998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>1,966</td>
<td>1,176</td>
<td>1,118</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>4,484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>2,871</td>
<td>551</td>
<td>1,600</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>5,050</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It must be further pointed out that of those who studied abroad, over sixty percent were after the first degree. In general those who went abroad were from wealthier families or with more initiative. These students, unfortunately, seldom returned to Hong Kong. This represented not only insufficiency of university education provisions but also a realistic loss in productivity.

Where fees are concerned, the University of Hong Kong was an expensive university. An Arts student had to pay $1,200 (U.S. $200) while a science
student paid $1500 (U.S. $250). Residential fees ranged from $1,800 to $2,400. In 1961, as a means to celebrate the university's golden jubilee, Radio Hong Kong in conjunction with the university produced a broadcast series in August. One topic of discussion was whether the university was "a rich man's university". Some held positive views, explaining for example, that the fees were higher than in Malaya. Some denied that it was. The discussion was inconclusive but in retrospect, we are able to view the issue from two angles other than that of fees. Firstly, selection of candidates had been so vigorous owing to the fierce competition created by mere numbers that there could hardly been questions of wealth buying places that had not been earned by application. Secondly, in 1969 financial awards to outstanding students were replaced by outright grants and interest-free loans. The large sum of money formerly used as scholarship (which rich students actually did not need) benefited more students so that "no student who was offered an undergraduate place should be unable to accept it for financial reasons".

The University of Hong Kong is near the central city and is bounded by residential areas. During the decade, new buildings were erected on campus, but in the foreseeable future it is difficult for the university to stretch beyond the present site.

In this respect, the Chinese University has a better prospect. The big new campus in the suburban area can easily accommodate ten thousand to fifteen thousand when fully developed. The university, however, suffers from certain drawbacks. It employs Chinese as a medium of teaching, but most

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7 "Town and Gown--the University and the People," Radio Hong Kong, broadcast series, August, 1961.

students with a sound knowledge of English would still prefer to go to the English university. It is away from the urban area thus requiring students to spend more time and money on transportation. But in due course, when Chinese acquires a better standing than what it has now and when greater improvement is made on transportation facilities, the traditional to higher education should be eased.

The Ways to Meet the Demand

In Hong Kong the private post-secondary colleges were serving as alternative avenues to higher education. In the Philippines and in a number of other Asian countries private post-secondary colleges might already be awarding their own degrees. But in Hong Kong these colleges were neither receiving funds from Government nor were recognized by the university.

In matters concerning accommodations, equipment, academic reputation and administration, these colleges were said to be below standard. The general impression was that the graduates from these colleges often found themselves attaining unrealistic employment goal since the majority taught in private schools rather than following the career for which they were trained. Their return to society was thus of less importance.

It must be remembered, however, that some very capable students were attending these colleges and that there were a few colleges which were continuously making an effort to better themselves. The members of the Chinese University were once private post-secondary colleges. If these three

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9 The Baptist College was a good example. It was well-equipped and was recognized by Government in 1970 to have acquired a status approaching that of a university institution.
could gradually move towards a university standing, there is every hope that eventually the rest should sustain better qualities. Since most of these colleges have had their origins in China, it is expected that their standard in Chinese language and literature is high. After a thorough investigation, full use should be made of these colleges as centres for Chinese learning, thus relieving the present universities to concentrate on other and more specialized fields.

Likewise a part-time university is highly desirable. It has been put into practice in a number of countries. It has several advantages when applied to Hong Kong. It will enable the full-time institutions to remain at a high academic standard though at a small size. It will have the function of encouraging and co-ordinating higher education to meet student demand at a lower cost than at the present full-time institution. It will also prevent the rising of "wastage rate". A part-time university facilitates people of high intellect, but who are unable to take a full-time degree course. Moreover, it would provide qualifications which are relevant to employment opportunities. Students could be benefited if retired and capable university graduates, who have been in different occupations, could be invited to give first-hand, personal advice.

One realistic remedy is making full use of present facilities. The use of university buildings and laboratories should be extended. The writing up of experiments, for example, might be done outside the laboratory.

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10 In the Soviet Union, approximately forty-five percent of all students are following higher education while working. In Japan and the Philippines, a large number are taking evening courses. In New Zealand, about fifty-eight percent are part-time students.

and long and detailed experiments eliminated unless they make up a special contribution to the understanding of the subject. The possibility of a second evening session for practical work must be fully explored. Consideration must be also given to the use of student time during vacations and to the possibility of completing a university course in a shorter time. One method is that a student can complete the course in two academic years and two vacations of assigned study. Staff time can be better used by means of the "double-shift" system or teaching in large classes.

A Different Demand on Higher Technical Education

Unlike university education, the demand for technical education came from the industrialization of Hong Kong rather than from students. The students on the whole remained indifferent to technical careers. According to Hong Kong Government Education Department Annual Returns, in 1964-65, only 2.8% of all secondary school leavers were enrolled in Technical College -- against 4.9% in the two universities. A persistent reason was that social and economic incentives were not encouraging.

Chinese society has traditionally placed great weight on academic scholarship. The more academically-able children tended to seek admission to one of the two universities, or for those who could not, they would at least save enough to go abroad. The expatriate-based government pay scales enabled university graduates to command salaries that most business firms were not prepared to pay. Although some large western firms paid high salaries, Chinese owned factories in the main offered only half that which the graduated would get from a government teaching post. Furthermore the limited promotion prospects were as discouraging as inferior status and pay.
It is easy to defend that Hong Kong was still in its developing stage and as such, its greatest need was personnel on the technical rather than on the technological level.

However, almost too often the lack of technical expertise was the reason for non-investment given to the Commerce and Industry Department by overseas businessmen as they left to look elsewhere, such as Japan and Taiwan. For example, in 1969 the director of Heuristic Concepts Incorporated withdrew from setting up a plant for the manufacture of computer parts in Hong Kong. His reason was the shortage of industrial engineers.

The fact is that situations have changed since the Second World War. The post-war period was a blessing to manufacturers because they enjoyed both cheap labor and an injection of skills from mainland China. Small factories were able to maintain the pace of growth. The pace of development, however, was getting more rapid, especially since Hong Kong's entrepot trades were dwarfed by international political conditions. Competition in oversea markets was intensified. Local industries could only survive if more high quality goods were produced.

**Immediate Actions Must Be Taken**

To foster an interest in technical studies among the youth of Hong Kong is a fundamental solution to the problem. Government's intention in 1969, of setting up a polytechnic, dawns a hopeful beginning. But it is essential that this new establishment be given university status and be allowed to grant their own degrees. It should be on equal footing with the present two universities and graduates from these three institutions should receive similar financial rewards.
Professor Mackey of the University of Hong Kong was of the opinion that the ways to expand technical education were to offer more full-time engineering student places at a lower cost-per-place; and to introduce for the first time certificated extra-mural course in technology, to be integrated in later days with post-graduate diploma courses and made for a flexible teaching programme which could vary with the needs of industry. He also proposed the use of closed circuit television in an experimental "Student Study Center" using "juke-box" units where students would draw on instructive material controlled and selected by computer, with all these linked to whatever programs might be televised publicly on local channels.\textsuperscript{12}

Whether provided in the traditional university or in the anticipated polytechnic, it is important in the future to emphasize practical experience. Technical education must not be limited to theoretical learning. The practice at the University of Waterloo, Canada, and with slight variation at the Brunel College of Advanced Technology, England, is worthy of serious consideration. Students were to divide their time between the university for academic studies and industry for their practical training. In case of the Canadian example, students spent alternating terms of four months on campus and four months in industry on a year-round basis throughout their course, with half the student body on campus while the other half in industry. Industry provided one job for each pair of students. As one student came off the job for his next term at the university, his counterpart on the campus took his place on the job.\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{12}Professor S. Mackey, Annual Presidential Address, Engineering Society of Hong Kong, 1964.

\textsuperscript{13}Staff members also alternate on the basis of one term off for study and research, for every two terms of teaching duties.
The advantages of this scheme are several. The technical institution can make maximum use of its facilities while supporting an increase in enrolment. On the other hand, the students gain actual experience in the industry and can pay at least partially his fees through his earning. Moreover, industry can offer a balanced training program at reasonable cost.

Conclusion

Two main characteristics prevailed in higher education in this decade: the overall inadequate provision of higher education, and the imbalance between technical and academic education.

Large anticipated increase of the university age group, growth of secondary education and rising aspirations, insufficient middle-level employment opportunities and expected growth of community affluency all pointed to the increasing demand on provision of tertiary education in the foreseeable future. Every effort should be made to expand the university accommodation. The Chinese University, when completely moved into its new rural site, is more liable to expand. Distention of the Hong Kong University is somewhat restricted by its urban location but ways can be sought internally such as making full use of the existing facilities.

Among the many suggestions to meet the demand, the establishment of a part-time university would strike the public and at first stage might even be unpopular since Hong Kong parents always are skeptical about second-best institutions. But in the case of persistent shortage of provision, a part-time university should be an effective means to solve the problem.

To arouse more young people to turn to technical careers something must be done to provide more socio-economic incentives—the lack of which so
far has been the root of trouble. The polytechnic when established would command more prestige and status. But in the meantime, employers must be encouraged to set up industries that need highly skilled workers and technologists and which produce financial returns sufficient to provide salaries that will compete with Government. Social status should, justifiably, be attached to industrial occupations.

To spur more interest in technical education is a matter of changing fundamental ideas and concepts. Indeed, a beginning of change should be effected in secondary technical education.
PART II
Lack of Basic Data

As pointed out by Berkowitz and Poon, serious investigation into social welfare related topics is lacking. One such topic is the relation between poverty and educational attainment. Information on income, family budget and standard of living is hard to obtain and no reliable up-to-date statistics are available: the 1961 census did not ask questions concerning money income or expenditures.

There is...at present no material by which one can get a picture of the distribution of income, that is, of the proportions of the community falling within different income ranges nor of the occupational structure of the working population and the directions taken in the relative emphasis of different occupation.²

However, what we are certain of is that home influence is a determining factor in a child's success in school. Schonell, speaking in 1942, related the greater amount of scholastic backwardness amongst normally intelligent pupils to unfortunate environmental and emotional experiences. Klausmeier and Goodwin in 1966 acknowledged that out-of-school forces often affected a

¹M. I. Berkowitz and E. Poon, ed., Hong Kong Studies: A Bibliography (Hong Kong: Department of Extramural Studies, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1969).

child's attitude towards learning in school. The home, neighborhood, and broader cultural influences were reflected in his personal characteristics and behavior in the classroom.

In Hong Kong society, aside from financial factors, two elements particularly affected scholastic performance in school: poor material conditions of the home and parental guidance. The former was important because considerable proportion of the Hong Kong population still lived in miserable accommodation but such families were seldom discouraged from sending their children to school. The latter carried weight in a Chinese society where parent's importance perhaps loomed larger than in the west.

Home Environment

Housing was one of the most daunting problems. Since 1954 many people from the squatter area have been resettled in government multi-storey low-cost buildings known as Resettlement Estates. The area occupied by each household when it first moved in was in direct proportion to the number of members. A family of four or five adults would be housed in a room of one hundred twenty to one hundred and fifty square feet. The living condition was much better than in squatter areas but the presence of cocklofts and the fact that some people had to sleep out in the corridor suggested that there was still a lack of space.

In 1965 a report was published by the Hong Kong Institute of Social Research. It was on the investigation which aimed at about two hundred households of the low socio-economic class. One observation was that most of the households consisted of either a cubicle or a bunk space. Cubicles were usually sixty square feet in area. Rooms were separated by mere wooden
partitions six feet high. A piece of cotton cloth fixed over the entrance provided the doorway. Bunk spaces usually measured seven feet times four feet. A two-tier bunk of this size was the total accommodation available to the household. Privacy was non-existent. It could be imagined that children studying in such home environment must be experiencing great disturbances brought in by the shortage of space.3

Parental Influence

In an experiment4 carried out by Rowe et al, a number of valuable findings was made:
1. The mothers of the bottom group5 tended to be slightly older (within forty to forty-nine years old range.)
2. More mothers in the bottom group were away from home for a greater part of the day.
3. Slightly more parents of the top group were in business and 4% of the top group as against 21% of the bottom group were either retired, unemployed or deceased.
4. The bottom group had clearly a greater percentage of parents with no schooling.
5. The Parents from the bottom group were more rigid and conservative in

3Journal of the Hong Kong Institute of Social Research Vol. 1, 1965 (Hong Kong: South China Morning Post Ltd.), pp. 6-7.
5Their sample consisted of four "top students"
outlook and not so ready to absorb new ideas and modern conditions.

Perhaps one could expect that the contact between mother and child, rather than that between father and child, exerted a greater influence since almost all fathers need to go out to work. In cases where the mother had little schooling and little time, it might be inferred that the child was deprived of the proper intellectual environment and maternal supervision.

Financial Situation

Although no definite income distribution could be made, it is apparent that wide differences in income existed: the Hong Kong society was one where the extreme rich and extreme poor coexisted. (Westerners as a group were rich and a number of businessmen were fabulously wealthy.) On the other hand many unskilled workers were still paid a wage insufficient for the support of a family. An unpublished survey made in the late 1950's revealed that 55.6% of those questioned had a monthly income of $300 (U.S. $50) or less.

Wages have risen steadily since then. According to the Annual Report 1966, the usual daily wage-rates in Hong Kong dollars were as follows:

- skilled: $8.50-28.00
- semi-skilled: $5.50-21.00
- unskilled: $4.80-12.00

This meant families that had one bread-winner let us say as a relatively well-paid skilled industrial worker could only have a monthly income of around $400, or an unskilled worker could have only $270 or less.

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6 W. F. Maunder and E. F. Szczepanik, University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong Housing Survey, 1957, (mimeograph).
An understanding of the financial burden of an average-paid worker can be constructed by comparing expenditure on basic commodities with labor time required to afford each.

TABLE 4.1

LABOR-EQUIVALENTS OF BASIC COMMODITIES,
1966 AT $9 PER DAY OF TEN HOURS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEMS</th>
<th>HOURS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catty of rice, 60 cents</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lb. of white bread, 50 cents</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catty of pork, ordinary cut, $4.00</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catty of vegetables, 50 cents</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catty of peanut oil, $1.85</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catty of fresh fish, common, $2.50</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lb. of refined sugar, 50 cents</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lb. of tea, medium grade, $4.00</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar of toilet soap, 60 cents</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pair of leather shoes, local, $25.00</td>
<td>27.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suit, ready-made, local, $100.00</td>
<td>111.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallon of kerosene, $2.00</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hair cut, $3.00</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yard of cotton cloth, $3.00</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pkt. of cigarettes, $1.00</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation fare, ferry, 10 cents</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation, mini-bus, 50 cents</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Financial Conditions and Education

It was very possible that most of the families of the lower-middle class were sending their children to secondary schools at great sacrifice. According to the Journal of the Hong Kong Institute of Social Research, many households spent as much as $70 a month on education out of a total income of $250.

The Commissioners in 1963 suggested a raise of school fees in government/aided secondary and primary schools. They believed that many parents could actually pay more than the minimum fees, and they concluded from their study that the school fees covered only a small portion of Government's expenditure on education. The Working Party which worked on the proposals, however, endorsed only part of them. As a result, fees were raised only on the secondary level. In addition, a suburban fee was created.

### TABLE 4.2

**READJUSTED SCHOOL FEES, 1965**

(FEES PER ANNUM)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ORIGINAL FEES</th>
<th>NEW FEES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>$</td>
<td>$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Forms I-V</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form VI</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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7 Ibid., p. 44.
TABLE 4.2 - Continued.

READJUSTED SCHOOL FEES, 1965

(FEES PER ANNUM)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suburban</th>
<th>ORIGINAL FEES</th>
<th>NEW FEES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>$160</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Forms I-V</td>
<td>$112</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Public comment during this period was still against the increase of fees. Most spoke for the lower-middle class who might take the twenty-five percent increase as something disastrous. In spite of this, however, secondary (day) school enrolment indicated a steady rise. This might be due to the extended fee remission scheme, or rather, to the unchanged earnestness of Hong Kong parents to send their children to secondary schools.

In many families, education was made possible by government financial aid and public funds. The Grantham Scholarship fund, for example, provided scholarships and maintenance-grants.

A number of voluntary agencies undertook scholarship and school fees schemes for needy children. Some of these agencies were the Foster Parents' Plan Inc., Royal Hong Kong Jockey Club and the American University Club. In addition, a number of local newspapers provided loans and grants to students with funds raised by overseas donations and local appeals. One such news-
paper was the Wah Kiu Yat Po. The scheme began in 1957 and up to 1970 it has helped over 57,533 students.

Conclusion

Material conditions and parental influence are correlated with the financial situation of a home. Children in poor families may have no desk nor even a quiet corner at home to do their home-work or relax. If their mothers are working away from the home to supplement income, they suffer also from want of parental attention. Children from well-to-do families enjoy better housing, better nutrition and probably more reading material, more social opportunities and better parental guidance.

But this is far from being absolute. Where motivation and strong self-will persist, evidence points to social up-grading despite disadvantageous home conditions. Charitable organizations and scholarship schemes, both public and private, have played a significant role in making many bright students dream of education come true. Every encouragement should be given to keep this up. Extending financial aid, and building more public libraries and reading areas especially in low-cost housing districts should be practical methods to help the young.
CHAPTER V

PUBLIC EXAMINATION SYSTEMS

Hong Kong students moving up the grades are expected to undergo, besides tests, mid-terms and finals, two public examinations: the Secondary School Entrance and the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examinations.

The Secondary School Entrance Examination was held at the end of Primary VI. It was conducted by the Education Department with the aim to select pupils for places in government and aid secondary schools and also assist places in private schools. Before 1962, it was called Joint Primary Six Examination.

The Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination (English/Chinese) was the modified Hong Kong English/Chinese School Certificate Examination. The examination was held at the end of the final grade of high school (Form V and Middle V respectively). It was conducted by a syndicate of representatives of participating schools and the Education Department.

Prior to 1968, candidates had to obtain passes in a prescribed number of subjects in order to obtain a certificate --- passes in English, plus at least four other subjects, including one foreign language, one social science, one science or mathematics subjects. From 1968 onward, all candidates received a certificate on which were recorded the grades in each subject taken.
Effect of the Examination System

Since the allocation of pupils to secondary schools was correlated with their performance in the SSEE, and since only with a school certificate with high passes could a student proceed to higher education or had access to a well-paying job, Hong Kong students in the main worked hard under the pressure of "the fittest survive." The degree of diligence and assiduousness often surpassed that reached in the western world.

But the fact that questions were to be on fixed syllabuses turned the virtue of diligence into a vice. Teachers tended to adopt their teaching methods to the demand of the examination; teachers and students alike devoted their effort on every part of the curriculum within the syllabus -- anything outside it would likely be ignored. Throughout a large part of their educational careers students were engaged in preparation for the examination through rote memorization of required information.

A number of unusual phenomena indicated that Hong Kong education was running down an eccentric road. Approaching the time of examinations, many schools required students to go back to classes on weekends or even during vacations for "extra-lessons". In many cases, these extra classes were for the purpose of "hurrying to finish the syllabus". Many students, especially those less intelligent or less self-confident, came to reckon more on "revision notes" prepared particularly for public examinations. The authors of these books either picked up past examination questions or fabricated similar ones and provided them with "model answers". Although they meant only to furnish the students with the correct approach to questions, these answers were often learnt by heart to be reproduced on the examination paper.

Private-tuition had become so very popular. Parents tended to think that
forcing the child to work hard in school, plenty of homework, and a tutor after school would get their child to improve his chances in the examination. It was not uncommon to find children as young as eight or nine years old sparing much of their play-time studying under a private teacher. (In older children, it often led to limited hobbies and neglect of sports.)

It is dubious that these examinations were a dependable diagnosis since they decided the students' standard of achievement once and for all. Allowances were not made for those who had a fairly high standard of attainment but failed in a certain subject because of accidents like sudden illness or nervous break-down. In the English School Certificate Examination, failing in English was equivalent to not qualifying for the examination. Allowances were neither made to errors in marking which was quite possible since all the papers were "man-marked". Fortunately this phase of the problem was solved from 1969 or when government computer was used to process certain parts of the examination papers.

It is equally doubtful whether selection at an early age is wise. Even if the validity of the selection procedure was assured, Vernon concluded that at least ten to twelve percent might be wrongly allocated by a secondary school entrance examination. ¹ Furthermore, early selection was inevitably associated with an early sense of failure. For the portion of children who failed in the SSEE, their reaction to learning as a whole was affected. It had been found that the unmotivated student who was ineffective in learning was most probably the one who identified himself as failure. Children who could seek emotional outlets through sports or art were usually better off.

but for the rest who could not, the feeling of inadequacy and despondency often led to lethargy. They would find secondary school education as a whole loathsome.

The sense of failure must have been a lot stronger with those who sat for the Certificate of Education Examination. In the English Certificate of Education Examination, average passes occupied only 55% to 65%, although on the Chinese side, the percentage was higher. (See the graph).

Every year the gigantic number of students who could not obtain a school certificate were barred from getting into the universities or experienced considerable difficulty in getting into most types of local employments, commercial or otherwise. Those who really saw no way out even attempted suicide. The Samaritans, a local welfare society, was set up to prevent such cases. This was a serious aspect of Hong Kong education.

In this light we must acclaim the 1968 reform which put the examination on a subject basis rather than on a group basis as before, and which removed the rigidity between pass and failure.

But the fact remained that the examination system in execution affected a great decline in educational opportunities from primary school to the secondary school level, and from the secondary school to the higher education level. Many were deprived of the chance of a better education. This deprivation often created ignorant youths who were especially prone to crime.

Perhaps one must not see the system alone as the source of all evils. Two more factors at least must be taken into consideration.

The first one was the over-dependence on the public examination system. This was an objective factor of the problem. The number of passes was often meant to be a reflection on a school's academic standard. Parents held it as
PASS PERCENTAGES OF HONG KONG ENGLISH/CHINESE SCHOOL CERTIFICATE EXAMINATIONS
a yardstick when choosing schools for their children, and government used it as a criterion to determine whether or not to assist a private school. Employers used examination result as guidelines to choose their men. It brought upon social pressure as friends and relatives too accepted it as a standard of achievement. This was man-made importance. The second factor was the general uniformity of Hong Kong society which must also be instrumental in making learning stereotyped. One example of uniformity was the rareness of left-handedness among two thousand schoolchildren and several hundred university students.² It seemed that considerable force must have been exerted on Chinese children to conform to the social norm of using the right hand because an earlier experimental survey³ had revealed that inherent left-handedness occurred as often in the Chinese population as in a western European one.

Examinations and Social Mobility

Education was undoubtedly the greatest factor for social mobility. Through hard work, innate abilities, sufficient motivation and good luck in the examinations, a student could climb to the very top of the educational ladder, and in turn gain access to the more highly prized occupations.

That is, if a child from a poor family managed to go through his primary course and scored high enough in the SSEE, he would most probably be allotted to a government secondary school where the fees were minimum. Or if his


³Ibid., p. 337.
performance was outstanding he would be granted a scholarship and would have his high school education free. Again if he kept up his standard and excelled in the Certificate of Education examination he would get into matriculation class and ultimately would get into one of the two universities with some form of financial assistance. Upon graduation he had the potential of gaining as much as over one thousand dollars per month. He would then not only promote his own social status but also act as a family financial life insurance.

A life example could be found in a student from the New Territories. His father was a farmer and he had led a hard life as a student. He said, "... I have to get up particularly early to water all the vegetables before going to school. ... I'm lucky to have a father who always insisted that I should get a better education than he." After completing high school, he studied economics and upon receiving a fellowship award, was able to further his study in the United States.

But the function of social mobility was predetermined by the purpose of education. To give a child a chance to develop his potentialities to an optimum was very different from cultivating talent diagnosed at an early age by singling out academic talented children. The examination system in Hong Kong was concerned too much with marks and reliability. Its business seemed only to cream off the best, not to give every child a chance to develop his potentialities to the full. And the elite was composed largely of those who conformed to the demand of the examination, who honored the syllabus disregarding how irrelevant it might be to the socio-economic needs of their

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4 South China Morning Post, July 12, 1970, p. 10.
community.

Conclusion

Both the Secondary School Entrance and the Certificate of Education examinations were outgrowth of conditions particular to Hong Kong. Their function was that of streaming. Too early a streaming usually kept a child in the group which he originally belonged, and the very effect of streaming per se was often the impediment of a child's development, mentally as well as physically.

School curriculum was largely dictated by the examination requirements which were brought into line with those in the United Kingdom for the sake of international recognition. Excessive emphasis has been put on examinations because it was the channel towards social betterment.

It might be difficult to effect drastic changes in the examination system at this stage because it was so closely linked up with the political, social and economic setting in Hong Kong. In all these years in fact a lot of argument has been going on, particularly in the local press, as to the pros and cons of the system. So long as we could not totally abolish it, efforts must be made to modify it to bring out the true value of an examination, which includes facilitating student progress, assessing student progress, understanding the individual student, facilitating self-understanding, and evaluating instructional programs. 6

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CHAPTER VI

TEACHER TRAINING, EMPLOYMENT AND ROLE

In the 1950's there was a great deficiency in the provision for teacher training, particularly for English teachers because of the serious shortage of oversea-trained teachers since the war and the greater material rewards offered by the commercial world. The decade under discussion witnessed improvement. Financial inducements in the form of scholarships, grants and interest-free loans drew the attention of many high school graduates to teacher-training. The number of school certificate candidates had also increased rapidly. As a result the teacher training colleges were extended to accommodate more students.

Development of Teacher Training Institutes

Training for non-graduate teachers was carried out at the three colleges wholly maintained and run by government. A school certificate was the basic qualification for admission. Students of one-year courses would teach in primary schools, those of two-year courses in lower forms in secondary schools.

These colleges also organized in-service courses of training for unqualified teachers and continuation courses for teachers on probation. These part-time courses were of two-years' duration and successful students were awarded a certificate granting qualified teacher status. No fees were charged.
During this decade, three major changes took place.

The first was the extension in 1965 of the minimum period of training from one-year to two-years for full-time students in these colleges. The change aimed at an all-round development and professional education. The original one-year course has been planned with a minimum of academic studies in order to counteract the influence of a traditional over formal education to which many of the students have been accustomed in their middle schools. But it was found\(^1\) that this goal was hard to achieve within just one year's time.

The second was the introduction of a tuition fee beginning in the same year. A fee of $400 (U.S. $66) a year was to be collected but financial assistance was available in the form of interest-free loans. Previously the students at the colleges not only paid nothing but received maintenance allowance each month. The new policy ended this privilege.

The third reform was that in 1963, third-year specialist courses -- art, domestic science, mathematics and music -- were introduced for the first time. Students for these courses were selected from serving teachers in government and aided schools and from second-year students of the two-year courses. They were not charged tuition fees.

Comment on the New Policy

The prolongation of basic training period was a step towards improving quality of teachers-to-be. It would continue to raise the standard of quali-

fication for admission in the time to come. When the anticipated expansion in secondary education is visualized in the next decade, these two-year trained teachers will become a useful source of manpower.

The cost of training colleges has been considerable. For example, in the 1962-63 school year the cost was four and a half million dollars (or nearly 3% of the total net recurrent expenditure on education). The collection of fees had the effect of easing the situation. The new policy too, observed the principle that no profession had a right to an especially privileged treatment. But it reaped an immediate effect on enrolment. From 1,005 in 1964 it dropped to 931 in 1965 and further to 861 in 1966. Although it could be the counter-attraction of admission to the newly established Chinese University, the fact remained that generally speaking those who entered teacher training colleges were not from very wealthy families, and some students needed to earn their living as soon as they could.

The new third-year specialist courses contributed significantly in regard to the shortage of specialist teachers (particularly in science and mathematics) that Hong Kong hitherto suffered. As more teachers were trained in music and art teaching, it was hoped that more students would develop their interest outside their bookish subjects.

Post-graduate Teacher Training

The University of Hong Kong offered graduates a one-year full-time course leading to a diploma in education and a two-year part-time certificate.

These figures concern the full-time programs only, and the enrolment was back to normal again after 1967.
course. It also provided a one-year part-time qualifying course for students who sought to enrol for the M.A. (Education) degree, but the enrolment only ranged from zero to three per year.

The Chinese University offered a one-year diploma course of professional training to graduates and a two-year part-time evening course for serving teachers.

Since graduate teachers taking diploma course was not obligatory, the only means to produce more qualified teachers with university degrees seemed to be a flexible degree pattern by which outstanding graduates from the colleges of education could take a university course leading to a recognized degree. The memorandum prepared by the Association of Teachers in Colleges and Department of Education early in this decade advocated a new type.

(It will be) a degree pattern with three subjects, two of them corresponding with those of a general degree in a university, and the third being 'Education' or a similar subject of a professional kind. This would, of course, mean recognising Education as a subject for a degree study along with Divinity, Law, Medicine, Engineering, etc. which combine academic and professional aspects, and which accept practical experience as an integral part of the studies.

This proposal was not materialized but given a chance, it would provide the benefit of supplying more 'approved' teachers with professional training; making the best use of human endeavors by upgrading college non-graduate teachers; and supplying proper incentive for students to do well during their course of study in the teacher training colleges.

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Employment Situation

Each year the number of applicants to teacher training colleges far exceeded the number of available places. But the number who actually got in was not as big: many high school graduates applied only as an insurance policy in case of failure to enter other educational institutions or professions. Despite the sizeable withdrawal, however, the total need for school teachers was reasonably covered.

Hong Kong teachers were extremely well-paid. Salaries of teachers compared favorably with those of nurses, welfare officers and almoners. They were, in fact, substantially higher than those paid in most places throughout the Commonwealth or even in the United Kingdom. When compared with Asian countries, Hong Kong teachers were still very well paid. While the primary teacher in Japan received a starting salary of 1.3 times the income per capita, in Hong Kong he received six times the average salary.

For appointment to government/aided schools, a teaching qualification or university degree was required and unqualified teachers were not normally appointed. In government schools teachers were civil servants whose conditions of service were very favorable.

The supervisors or heads of private schools made their own appointments, and with limited financial resources, could only afford unqualified teachers. Roughly there was a yearly forty percent of untrained teachers in primary sector and sixty percent in high school sector. Private schools always had to face the problem of teacher mobility. Untrained teachers who joined the part-time in-service training courses at the training colleges usually did.

4 Appointment Overseas, British Secretary of States for the Colonies, 1960.
not return to teach in private schools once they got the diploma. In fact many teachers were teaching in private schools while their names were on the waiting list for a government job. Once they were offered a government position, almost without thinking they would grab at it. That was also why some private schools were even unwilling to employ qualified teachers.

Wide Differences in Teacher's Salaries

The conditions of service under which teachers were employed in Hong Kong varied considerably and there was no one salary structure applicable to all members of the teaching staff.

There was a wide difference between the pay of a government school teacher and a private school teacher. It was well nigh possible, for example, for a government Form IV teacher to earn $2,000 per month while his counterpart in a private school in a poor district to earn only one-sixth of this sum.

Enquiries among employers confirmed that holders of the English "O" Level, G.C.E. having come up through Anglo-Chinese school could command an initial salary of $500 to $600 a month whereas a student judged to be of similar intellectual quality but having come up through Chinese middle school was unlikely to command more than half of that.

A study of the salary structure will bring out several reasons for the disparity. The Hong Kong government salary scales at the upper level were decided not in relation to local open market, but to scales in more developed countries. This expatriate-oriented scale was too high for private schools to catch up. The scarcity value of those who had acquired good English or Western-recognised qualifications has also contributed to the inflation of
their salaries. Moreover, scales were linked more closely with the paper qualification of the teacher rather than with the appointment which he held. Those graduated from universities outside Hong Kong, especially in non-Commonwealth countries, were apt to receive lower pay.

The effect of wide variations in salary were unfavorable. It undermined professional unity. The resourcefulness and techniques of an excellent but unqualified teacher was wasted. This was a fundamental cause of inefficiency. Moreover, salary scales that encouraged a high proportion of first class people to enter teaching meant also that they were attracting capable men away from commerce and industry. This impaired the economic development of Hong Kong.

The Role and Position of Teachers

On the whole, the teaching profession was held in high esteem by the people of Hong Kong. No matter at what level he taught, the teacher was a respected member of the community.

He was especially so in the classroom. It was generally accepted that the teacher was the complete authority in the classroom. His students had a deep trust in whatever he said. Only those especially argumentative or with exceptional inquisitive mind would force issues of disagreement. He would spend a considerable proportion of his time presenting factual materials in the textbooks. Most of class time would be spent on lecturing and copying notes on the blackboard. The ratio of pupil talk to teacher talk was extremely small often only in form of question-answering or oral tests. Divergent and evaluative thinking solicitations were not encouraged. Individualization, either in the sense of a tutorial program on a one-to-one basis
or in the sense of tailoring of instruction to the particular needs of the
students, was not practised.

Brembeck's description of a teaching-learning process was largely applicable to Hong Kong:

The teacher is dominant, the possessor and surveyor of knowledge. The student is submissive, dutifully taking notes and carefully remembering all that is said. The accent is on rote memory and the ability to give back exactly as it is given. The external examination is supreme and the end of education is to pass the examination in the first class.

Summary

The phenomenal increase in the population of school age in Hong Kong has led to a rapid growth of schools, many of which were forced to employ untrained teachers. About half of the whole teacher population was untrained.

On the whole, teachers were not properly distributed. Usually the college-trained worked in government and aided schools, teaching primary or lower secondary. Private schools, on the other hand, employed most of the untrained. A substantial proportion of graduate teachers taught in secondary level (64% at secondary and 14% at primary level).

Nor were teachers equally paid. Wide differentials existed between government and private schools, English-speaking and non-English-speaking teachers or even between government teachers on various scales.

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6 This was a familiar situation in Asia, except the Philippines.

7 Compare with Britain where the percentages were forty and five.
A teacher's time was not efficiently utilized. In many cases, he was doing the work of a clerk. In the classroom his role was a provider of factual knowledge rather than a guide in a problem-solving self-learning process built on the individual experience and need of the pupils. Steps must be taken to revise what real learning is.
CONCLUSION
Review of the Hypotheses

Let us re-examine the six hypotheses we have made at the beginning of the study:

H.1. Most of the problems that have confronted the educationists in the 1840's still existed in this period with over-population and finance as the main causative factors. --The finding of this study adduces this hypothesis. In the decade under discussion, problems that could be traced back to ten or twenty years ago continued to put Government and lay effort to test. In fact if we may divide Hong Kong educational development into periods, we can call the initial period, 1841-48, a creative one; the second period, 1849-60, a momentous one; and the third period, 1960-70, a period of trial. Massive improvement plans and expansion schemes had been put to work but there still existed problems that were either overlooked, such as socially irrelevant curricula, or were failed to be tackled, such as disfavor with technical education.

H.2 & H.4. Substantial progress was made in obtaining universal primary education and in expanding secondary education. The universities were not able to meet the demand for increasing enrolments. --We deliberately put these two hypotheses together because they both concern the question of provision. Only the first part of Hypothesis No. 2 is true. The realization of the goal of universal primary education has been brought well in sight, but the failure of meeting demands persisted on the secondary and tertiary levels. One of our major findings is that the shortage of school places is not merely a numerical one. Its wake of problems was social and psychological besides educational. The
keen competition resulting from inadequate provision turned education into a foot race and examinations into hurdles. The great drop-off in educational opportunities from one level to another cut down productivity and encouraged juvenile delinquency. Suicide attempts made every year around the time when public examination results were out was an unhealthy sign of the whole educational system.

H.3. There was a steady shift in emphasis from Chinese-oriented secondary education to English-oriented education. --This phenomenon was typical of Hong Kong where English was given exaggerated market value. Chinese schools suffered from unpopularity. The Chinese language, and Chinese culture too for that matter, were unfaithfully turned aside. The establishment of the Chinese University and the movement of making Chinese an official language are hopes we can cling to to see a more parallel development of English-oriented and Chinese-oriented education.

H.5. Technical education has gained a better public understanding.

As our findings reveal, academic education still was much more preferred. The lack of social and economic incentive is the basic reason. A change of attitude would involve the change of the total ideological outlook.

Characteristics of Hong Kong Education

Another aspects of our finding is the characteristic features of the education system in Hong Kong, an understanding of which is essential for any attempt for future planning and innovations. The main characteristics were:

1. Education to a very large extent was government-controlled. Parent-teacher associations functioned more in the field of general welfare
than in the education system itself, and the teacher association was not as vocal as expected.

2. There was a high agreement between academic and socio-economic position of the individual. The tremendous growth of the school-age population in the past decade combined with the general drive for education, resulted in a highly competitive, highly selective educational system characterized by great pressures on the students.

3. The highly competitive pattern was found not only in education but in all aspects of the community, with education as the prime means for betterment.

4. The education system was one heavily - perhaps over heavily - dependent on examinations.

5. Lectures were conducted in a self-contained classroom. Class discussion or individual conference were hardly found except in colleges. The custom still remained not to criticize the teacher or to force issues of disagreement in public.

6. Great pressures from examinations and lack of park facilities made students on a whole lead a sheltered life. There was little time or opportunities for sports or other extracurricular activities.

The emphasis on academic and bookish subjects and the stress put on examinations are condemned in most of the literature reviewed, and in many instances, the blame is put on the Chinese tradition. To a certain extent, the blame is justified. The Chinese have for a long time a deep respect for book learning and for the scholar. However, for thousands of years the Chinese have believed that the ultimate goal of learning is to lead a good life. Much emphasis has been put on the "success of being a man," which accentuates
the humanistic value of learning. The Chinese do not rely on book learning alone. A Chinese proverb goes like this: "To travel ten thousand miles is much better than to read ten thousand books." These undesirable characteristics are more outgrowths of the local situations in Hong Kong.

Problems That Still Await Solutions

Throughout this study, problems have been carefully picked out and discussed, and tenable solutions have been provided. However, the author still feels the need to bring up these problems once more, believing that the manner in which they are solved will have profound and far-reaching effects on the future role of education in Hong Kong.

1. Problems pertaining to private schools -- Private schools provide education to a greater number of students than government and aided schools put together and they offer a great relief to a government pressed by shortage of school places. However, there are some private schools which are organized in a commercial manner and these schools are doing much harm. They give little more than formal attention to the ethics of the profession, and teacher quality is usually poor, for example. Unregistered schools pose still a greater problem. Their continuation of schooling is precarious, and when discovered by the government they frequently have to close.

2. Problem of deficiency of secondary school places -- Since early in this decade Government has been on the horns of a dilemma. "Do we continue to concentrate on the provision of primary places, or do we switch all or a part of our effort to secondary education?" asked the Hon.
Colonial Secretary in 1962. The point of struggle was "the present structure of economy" and the right to secondary education. Finance seems also to be the obstacle to expansion on the college level. The dealing of this problem should be given the highest priority in future educational planning.

3. Problem of unpopularity of technical education -- This has led to inadequate supply of industrial manpower from elementary skilled and semi-skilled operative level to technologist level. This is a serious problem since except a good harbor Hong Kong has no other natural resources. Export trade and industries must be encouraged. Hong Kong's future development, indeed, will largely depend on her human resources. As late as in 1969 a survey at a resettlement estate quoted sixty-two percent of the people interviewed as preferring their children to learn practical industrial skills rather than to take academic secondary schooling. This might be a significant indication that the poorer section of the community is not too negative about technical education. This might also be out of financial pressure. A genuine interest and an understanding of the need of industrial training attained by all is a prerequisite of solving the problem.

4. Problem of irrelevant curriculum -- The curriculum is too academic. It has little relevance to the interest and the need of the child or to the complex problems of modern society. This is true of both

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1 The Honorable Colonial Secretary's speech in the Legislative Council Budget Debate, March 30, 1962.

English-oriented and Chinese-oriented systems. In a symposium on the teaching of the Chinese language, for example, it has been concluded that the syllabus in Chinese was not suitable for an industrial community. Of the forty-nine lessons selected for the 1970 Chinese School Leaving Examination, it was pointed out, only one was written in "Pei Hua", or conventional language. Because of the delicate situation of Hong Kong, active political discussion or commitment is not encouraged. The preponderance of examination is also responsible for a restricted curriculum.

5. Problem of population increase -- This problem has not been treated singly in this study but has been pointed out as the root cause for many troubles. The desirability of a large family generally stands near the top of the Chinese traditional value, but this aspect of the tradition no longer fits into the present society.

Podmore, a sociologist, set out the fact the years between 1956 and 1968 had witnessed a dramatic fall in Hong Kong's birthrate from 39.7 births per 1,000 to 21.1. According to Freedman and Adlakha of the University of Michigan Population Studies Centre, the slump in the birthrate in the 1961-65 period was due to the fact that there was a smaller proportion of women of child bearing age. An attributable cause was the Pacific War. During the years of Japanese Occupation in Hong Kong and Kwantung, China, not only were fewer children born but the infant/child mortality rates were higher. The result, two decades after, was therefore a reduction in the

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4Ibid., p. 72.
number of women reaching the age of motherhood.

The significance of this finding is that the spectacular fall in the sixties in the birthrate obviously will not continue in the near future. As more women born in the post-war years come into marriage group an increase in the birthrate will be expected. The 1966 by-census showed 730,000 women in the fifteen to forty-four age group. A considerable increase is certain to occur because the women and girls who will bring it about already are part of Hong Kong's population.

The Family Planning Association has in this decade successfully influenced a big part of the female population on birth control. A survey\(^5\) carried out by some members of the Sociology Department of the Hong Kong University in 1968, however, revealed that women most likely to know about the association were those living in government housing scheme. In the future, more efforts should be made to get the message across the less accessible sections of the married population -- this include both people in private tenements buildings and the squatter areas.

Two More Recommendations

In addition to those recommendations made throughout this study, the investigator feels the need of making two more which are believed to be helpful to the particular conditions in Hong Kong, namely, team-teaching and use of mass media.

To improve the efficiency of teaching in Hong Kong, it is necessary to

\(^5\)The study was primarily concerned with housing conditions in Hong Kong but it included questions on the impact of the FPA among married women.
revise the role of the classroom teacher and his method of teaching. Improvement should be pointing to better use of teaching time, maximum use of the highly gifted teacher, and the encouragement of self-study and creative thinking. These are the very essence of team teaching. Let us examine briefly what team teaching is.

Organizationwise, according to Dr. J. Lloyd Trump (in *Images of the Future*, 1959), teaching is organized into: (1) "Large group instruction" carried out with groups of a hundred or more students which would occupy about 40% of the time; (2) "Small group discussion" with groups of twelve to fifteen students which would occupy another 40%; and (3) "Individual study" (which includes library research, written or laboratory work, and work with audio-visual aids) which would take the remaining 20%.

There is no fixed staff pattern in a school but normally the staff consists of a principal who plays the role with enhanced prestige and responsibility, somehow akin to the present role of a director of instruction; a group of professional teachers; and another group of assistants. Professional teachers include teacher specialists who would oversee the instruction in one subject and take care of the large instruction groups; and general teachers, certified teachers with less experience who would deal with small discussion groups. The assistants include such personnels as instruction assistants who would read and mark assignments, may do some teaching and also would serve as laboratory/library assistants; clerks who would type, duplicate materials, keep files and the like; and general aids who would control and supervise students on school grounds and cafeteria.

In Hong Kong about 60% of secondary school teachers are untrained and only about half of the secondary age group is in school. If team teaching
is applied to schools, greater utilization can be made of the ablest teachers and a greater number of students can be taught by them. Much of the teaching in Hong Kong is still of the formal lecturing variety and for this purpose a large class does not result in a great loss of efficiency. Lectures given by the superb teachers can also benefit university graduate teachers who have received no professional training and young teachers who have virtually no guidance after leaving the training college.

Hong Kong teachers, especially those teaching in private schools, are burdened with many chores. A redistribution of responsibilities to various staff members allows teachers to concentrate on their classroom teaching. Welfare and disciplinary problems will be dealt with by the general teachers while arrangements for film shows, laboratory experiments and the like might be passed to the instruction assistants.

Team teaching involves individual work and small group discussion. This would become valuable remedies for the present system in which students spent most part of their class-time listening and taking notes. The new system stimulates their original thinking and allows them to learn within their own capacity.

The practice of team-teaching is, of course, not without drawbacks. Group instruction, for instance, does not and cannot reap students' feedback, and it does not reduce the range of individual differences in student achievement. Olson warns us to keep away from the various pitfalls. When applied to Hong Kong it might also create an additional need of architectural

redesign since classrooms are usually built to a standard size that just accommodates forty-five pupils. The construction of large halls, small cells and flexible classrooms might curtail larger expenses than some schools can afford.

Although the possibility of School broadcasting has been under consideration since early nineteen fifties and was unanimously supported by a committee set up in 1959, there is still no government-backed schools broadcasting service in Hong Kong. By 1965, (when an average of ninety-six percent of all Japanese schools had had television receivers in full use), the Education Policy Report advocated the starting of radio and television services.

But it was not until late in 1969 that Government gave approval for the establishment of an Educational Television Service within the Education Department. Seminars for preparation work were not held until in the summer of 1970.

High cost and largely dispersed doubts about the value of television must be the causes of delay.

Television medium might not be indispensable but it would make a valuable contribution to education in Hong Kong both quantitatively and qualitatively. Since universal education has not been achieved, education television which has the advantage of being able to reach enormous numbers, is most desirable in educating a far greater number of youth than that now studying in schools.

7 J. Weltman, Education Officer to the Independent Television Authority, Report of a paper read to the Television Society in Education Today (July, 1965), 5-7.
Experimenting with new techniques can be useful pedagogically. Experimental endeavors can be said to have been neglected in day-to-day teaching in Hong Kong schools. With the pressure of examinations, no teacher could risk using class time for new methods. Television enables the teacher appearing on screen to try out new methods on their own pupils. They serve the purpose of assessing the new techniques. Television programs will serve the purpose of providing enrichment. Topics like visits to the factory, air-port control tower and so on have practical value but have been left out in the curriculum. A socially relevant curriculum would awaken a student's understanding of the world he lives in. Like team teaching, educational television also helps improve the qualities of a large number of teachers. The mediocre teacher and the new teacher can watch the master-teacher in action. It saves some of the time of the classroom teacher on regular daily instruction and his portion of the time can be used for other purposes such as work with small group or individual discussions.

In conclusion, we must say that other such changes as flexible teacher salary scales, the uses of bilingualism in teaching, employment of individual instruction, and wider use of teaching aids and equipment, must be gradually introduced -- although they would conjure up large expenses -- to operate in a way whereby, in the words of Comenius, "teachers teach less and learners learn more."
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The thesis submitted by Grace Hing-yee Kwong has been read and approved by members of the Department of Education. The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content and form. The thesis is therefore accepted in-partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

April 4, 1973

Signature of Advisor