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Using Habermas's Theory of Communicative Action
to analyze the Changing Nature of School Education
in Hong Kong (1945-2008)

by

Si Wai CHAN

A thesis submitted

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for

the Degree of Doctor of Education

in

Durham University

(2010)

Abstract

Based on Habermas's theory of communicative action, a study of school education in Hong Kong was conducted, with a span more than sixty years from 1945 to 2008. It focused on how social reproduction was possible in school education, how school education was worked in general, and how school education was developed. Moreover, it employed a three-scale analysis of situational analysis and a historical analysis to analyze the above three research foci. In situational analysis, at classroom scale, a symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of students was depicted, whereas at school scale, an uncoupling of the system from the lifeworld was seen, and finally, at regional scale, a colonization of the lifeworld by the system was concluded. Moreover, its historical development depicted a phenomenon of a colonization of the lifeworld by the system. In sum, the above, other than at classroom scale, showed mainly an undesired and distorted way of development of school education. However, educators and the public sphere strove for the desired or logic development, and resisted the undesired or dynamic one conducted by the government administration.

Based on the summary and conclusions drawn from the analysis of school education in Hong Kong, the study elucidated a new and critical approach in sociology of education. This approach was set out in two dimensions. The first dimension was a three-level analysis of education, with meta-theoretical level concerned learning and teaching action as communicative action, with methodological level concerned interpretive understanding, and with empirical level concerned development of education as a process of rationalization. The second

dimension was three concerns in the study of school education, with communicative rationality as the rationality problematic in inquiry, with the integration of the perspectives of action and the system, and with the logic development of education. This approach, based on the theory of communicative action, did provide a conceptual framework for a fuller picture of education, and for a pathway to further development in education.

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CHAPTER ONE SCHOOL EDUCATION AND SOCIETY

1.1 The rationale of the study

In the 1980's, the Chinese government adopted an open door policy, and attempted to develop its economy after the turmoil in the period of the Cultural Revolution. Thus, there was a huge demand on the education sector to provide large numbers of suitable graduates to the economy. In view of this, there was a fast development in adult education sector in many parts of China. In this political and economic context, I examined the provision of higher adult education in Guangzhou, China, in my MA(Ed) study in 1986 (Chan, 1988). In this study, I investigated the learning and teaching strategies in the classroom setting through adopting the perspective of two sociologies. Dawe (1970, 1978) argued that there were the two separate and unrelated perspectives of action and system in the field of sociology. Followed this path, Jarvis (1985) devised two separated perspectives in investigating the sociology of adult and continuing education, especially of the learning and teaching strategies in classroom setting. In Jarvis's study, these two perspectives were: education from above, seeing adult and continuing education from the perspective of system, and catering for contributing to the needs of society, and education for equals, seeing that from the perspective of action, and catering for nurturing growth of students.

In my study, I followed Jarvis's lead, and articulated these two distinctive learning and teaching strategies in examining the higher adult education in Guangzhou. Furthermore, Silverman (1970) developed his theory of education

organization based on two sociologies, and from this, he devised a research framework with two different perspectives in examining education organization. These two perspectives were: one was action reference framework, gearing to nurturing growth of students, and the other was system reference framework, gearing to contributing to the needs of society. In my study, I adopted this framework in examining the education organization in the higher adult education in Guangzhou.

In my study, there were two interested points in the summary section. One was that both the learning and teaching strategies and education organization were geared to contribute to the needs of society, and nurturing the growth of students was neglected. The other one was that most of students came from the families of government officials, engineers, teachers, and other professionals. Moreover, in the conclusion chapter, there were two significant conclusions worthy to be noted in related to the phenomena of social reproduction. One was that the higher adult education was established mainly for the needs of society. The other one was that education, from a Marxist perspective, performed the function of social reproduction, reproducing the class with higher social-economic status. Moreover, in my personal experience as a secondary school teacher in Hong Kong, I observed that many of my students with little family support were not admitted into higher education. They entered into the job world after completing their secondary studies. I wondered whether, in my own professional work, I had helped, to some extent, performed such social reproduction. I saw a clear relation between education and society. Furthermore, in the very final stage of writing up my thesis, I attempted to search for a theory integrating the seeming separated perspectives of action and system. After finished my study, I continued to search for a new and viable theory to explaining the

phenomena in my MA conclusion. Later, I became inspired by Habermas's theory of communicative action, which seemed to offer me a way forward. His theory of communicative action proposes, not separated approaches, but the integration of action and system perspectives in examining society. Excited by this, I began to study Habermas's theory of communicative action, and studied how it might be applied to the study of the relation between school education and society in Hong Kong, especially in explaining how social reproduction is achieved.

In view of the relation between school education and society, there is a basic question asked by sociology of education: how does school education perform the dual functions of socialization and selection? Socialization is related to nurturing youngsters entering the adult world whereas selection is related to incorporating youngsters with differentiated contributions into society as a whole. Moreover, from the perspective of students, they are introduced to or socialized into the adult world, whereas from the perspective of government administration, students are selected so as to contribute appropriately to society. Through the differentiated contributions of youngsters, society is maintained and continued, that is, society is reproduced or social reproduction occurs, with the help of school education. This shows the relation between school education and society.

Moreover, these two functions of education provide a germ to delineate two different perspectives; one is the perspective of internal participants in seeing the socialization of students, and the other is of external observers in seeing the selection of students to society. Education, particularly school education, is a subsystem of

society. Firstly, from the perspective of action or internal participants such as teachers, students learn and grow in schools. From this perspective, students, based on what they learn in school, get jobs, make a living and contribute to their employers, to the economy and to society, indirectly and implicitly. Secondly, from the perspective of the system or external observers, such as government administration, students' or graduates' efforts contribute to various subsystems of society, such as the economy, and by functionally maintaining the continuation of society.

In view of the above, if the perspective of action or internal participants and the perspective of system or external observers are combined, a clearer picture of the relation between school education and society can be achieved. From the perspective of teachers, they nurture generations of students and see them going into different sectors of the job world. Moreover, from the perspective of government administration, school education provides human resources for the economy and conceives youngsters who adapt willingly to the adult world of employment and to society as a whole. Through this, government administration performs the functions of capital accumulation and legitimacy of the capitalist mode of production, and serves the maintenance and preservation of capitalist society (Dale, 1997). Maintenance and preservation of capitalist society depict a social phenomenon of social reproduction.

This study aims at examining how social reproduction is possible through school education, based on combining the perspectives of internal participants and external observers, or the perspectives of action and systems simultaneously.

1.2 The rationale of using Habermas's perspective in the study

Habermas develops a theory of society based on his theory of communicative action. He succeeds in integrating the two competitive, yet complementary, perspectives in sociology, the action perspective and the systems perspective, and conceives society from these two perspectives simultaneously (Brand, 1990: xiv).

Social reproduction is a Marxist concept, and is related to economy (Morrow and Torres, 1995). Why is social reproduction important in the debates among sociological theories? Social reproduction provides “a synthetic reference point” or common theme for different sociological theories to examine the relation between education and society (Morrow and Torres, 1995:6).

Morrow and Torres (1995) recognize five paradigms of theories of social reproduction. The five paradigms are: systems and functionalist theories, economic-reproductive theories, class-cultural reproductive theories, class-bureaucratic theories and integrative-reproductive models consisting of transformative-resistance theories and state-hegemonic theories. In this study, these paradigms are classified into two groups, either from an action-theoretical analysis, or from a system-theoretical analysis, that is, from either the perspective of action or the perspective of systems. However, can these paradigms give a clear picture of social reproduction by themselves? From the perspective of Habermas, they are one-sided ones. Each of them only examine society from either the perspective of action or the perspective of systems, and they cannot fully explain what social reproduction is. This study tends to articulate these paradigms of theories of social reproduction under Habermas's theory

of communicative action, and tries to show a fuller picture of how social reproduction is possible.

1.3 Interpreting the relation between school education and society in Hong Kong

Hong Kong has developed from a small fishing village, to an entrepot of South China, then to an industrial city, and finally, at present, into a commercial and financial centre in Asia. Moreover, Hong Kong has made the transition from a British colony to a Special Administration Region of the People's Republic of China.

Before the 1970s, the Hong Kong Government was the state apparatus of, and fully controlled by, the British Government. With Hong Kong's rapid development into an industrial, commercial and financial centre, and its associated decolonization, control from the British Government decreased. Thus the Hong Kong government was provided with more room to respond to the needs of the local people in relation to various aspects of their lives, including education. However, the officials of the government did retain a strong British tradition. With fading control from the British government, the government administration of Hong Kong becomes a state of a capitalist society. Thus, the state of the government of Hong Kong is changed from a state apparatus to a state of a capitalist society (Pun, 1996).

Hence, school education in Hong Kong does provide a case study for exploring the relation between society and school education. This study will apply Habermas's theory of communicative action in examining the relation between school education and society.

Habermas develops his theory of society through ontological or meta-

theoretical, epistemological or methodological, and empirical analysis of communicative action. Moreover, Denzin and Lincoln (2000: 18) support this three-level analysis of theoretical, methodological and empirical levels in qualitative research work. Thus, this study follows this line of inquiry and devises a three-level analysis in narrating or describing the relation between school education and society, namely, the theoretical level, methodological level, and empirical level.

Firstly, at the theoretical level of analysis, six paradigms of theories of social reproduction, which include Habermas's and the five proposed by Morrow and Torres, are depicted. However, Habermas's theory of communicative action is intended to answer the questions asked by those of Morrow and Torres, and articulates them within its own constructs. Secondly, at the methodological level of analysis, an approach of interpretive understanding based on empirical materials or data collected is illustrated to interpret the relation depicted between school education and society. Thirdly, at the empirical level of analysis, two dimensions of discussion will be shown. The first dimension is a latitudinal or situational analysis across school education. It attempts to answer how social reproduction is possible, and how school education is worked in general. The second dimension is a longitudinal or temporal or historical analysis, and it attempts to answer how school education is developed.

This study attempts to show a relation between school education and society in Hong Kong and thus falls on the empirical level of analysis. In the dimension of situational analysis, this study devises a three-scale analysis, namely, classroom scale, school scale, and regional scale, of school education. Moreover, two aspects of three-scale analysis of school education are envisaged. The first aspect analyzes basic

communicative interaction at classroom scale attempting to show how social reproduction is possible in Hong Kong. The second aspect analyzes a growing complexity of networks of communicative interaction from classroom scale, to school scale, and up to regional scale, so as to examine how school education is worked in general in Hong Kong. Furthermore, in the dimension of historical analysis, this study appropriates Habermas's working model of analyzing advanced capitalist society to examine the historical development of school education in Hong Kong.

Through applying the theory of communicative action, this study conducts the situational and historical analyses of school education in Hong Kong. Moreover, the purpose of the study is to illustrate the possibility and utility of applying the theory of communicative action in exploring the relation between school education and society in Hong Kong. However, the materials and data collected, such as those from government and school websites, documents, books, as well as workshop materials, are secondary ones. In the situational analysis, this study also attempts to use vignettes showing hypothetical cases so as to illustrate ideal-typical accounts of intended process and outcomes of the situations of school education concerned. However, in practice, the intended outcome may not occur. Furthermore, materials and data from government and websites may accentuate their positive aspects and not report the negative aspects of implemented policies and programmes. By the same token, in the historical analysis of the development of school education in Hong Kong, the study may likely be biased when choosing secondary sources of materials and data. Thus, the study will take these critical concerns into consideration from time to time, try to move away from these biases, and stick to an appropriate selection of materials and data as far as possible.

Other than the concerns related to the secondary sources of materials, the study takes an optimistic assumption of undistorted communicative interaction at the classroom scale of the three-scale analysis of school education in Hong Kong. The study takes a working normative assumption of undistorted communicative interaction based on communicative rationality among teachers and students. The progressive movement of education in the United States provides a clue to the assumption. The concept of open classrooms emphasizes on the warmth, acceptance and cooperation in teacher-child interaction (Ballantine, 1997: 348). Thus, it provides a clue to the concept of shared understanding in communicative interaction at classroom scale of analysis, and it will be discussed in detail later. Moreover, UNESCO proposes a conception of four pillars of learning and attempts to answer what school education should be and does provide another clue to the working normative assumption of undistorted communicative interaction. The pillars of learning are learning to live together, learning to know, learning to do, and learning to be; these are paradigms of school education in the twenty-first century (Delors & et al, 1998). These four pillars of learning will be discussed in detail later. This conception does depict an ideal, typical model of educational rationality. Moreover, it provides a base for the working normative assumption of undistorted communicative interaction among teachers and students, under which learning and teaching programmes, such as project learning, can be carried out in a harmonious way. However, this is a working normative assumption, and depicts, in principle, the possibility of fully rational and undistorted communicative interaction at classroom level in some not-yet-existing society.

1.4 Research questions or foci of this study

The research foci of this study fall on the empirical level of the study. Three research foci are envisaged based on the theory of communicative action:

1. How is social reproduction possible?
2. How is school education worked in general?
3. How is historical development of school education depicted?

Moreover, the first and the second foci fall on the situational analysis of school education whereas the third one falls on the historical analysis of school education.

1.5 Organization of this study

This study attempts to examine the relationship between school education and society as in the case of Hong Kong. Chapter one provides an introduction to this study and sets out how the research will be done. This study takes the three-level analysis, namely, theoretical, methodological, and empirical levels of analysis, as its guideline in conducting research. Thus, chapter two provides the theoretical base of the study, discussing the two complementary yet competitive perspectives of sociology of education, examining briefly how Habermas's theory of communicative action articulates the five paradigms of theories of social reproduction proposed by Morrow and Torres. Chapter three takes the methodological level of analysis into consideration. At the empirical level of analysis, chapter four conducts situational analysis of school education, whereas chapter five is a historical analysis of development of school education in Hong Kong. Chapter six is a summary chapter showing results based on the research foci. Chapter seven is a concluding chapter showing what conclusion could be drawn in the study related to the two chapters at the empirical level of analysis. In addition, chapter eight attempts to propose a new approach in sociology of education based on clues drawn from the summary and conclusion chapters.

CHAPTER TWO LITERATURE REVIEW

The study takes a literature review of the following. It attempts to show two competitive, and yet complementary perspectives of action and the system in current approaches in sociology of education, so as to get a fuller picture of education. Moreover, the study also depicts brief accounts of Habermas' theory of communicative action, and of the five paradigms of theories of social reproduction proposed by Morrow and Torres. Furthermore, it tries to show how the theory of communicative action articulates these five paradigms, with the purpose of showing a fuller picture of the relation between school education and society.

Moreover, this study attempts to devise a three-scale analysis of school education, showing how social reproduction through school education is possible. Furthermore, it also provides a brief account of recent research works on school education in Hong Kong.

2.1 The current approach in sociology of education

Meighan (1997) sees some sociological theories that explain education phenomena and examine the relation between society and education based on the perspectives of external observers. Moreover, some other sociological theories, for example, symbolic interactionism, interpret what actors do and how they interact in an educational context. Meighan (1997) conceives symbolic interactionism a possibility in seeing what happens in education, or what actors do and how they interact, from the perspective of internal participants. From what Meighan examined in the sociological theories, there is a change or shift in the paradigm of object domain of sociology of education, from seeing a relation between education and society from a perspective of external observer or systems, to seeing what happens in education from a perspective of internal participants or action. He suggests a change in the name of 'sociology of education' to 'sociology of educating', with a view to seeing a change in the paradigm of object domain. Thus, sociological theories, whichever schools of thought they belong to, do see education either from a perspective of internal participants or from that of external observers. However, a fuller picture can be got if both perspectives are adopted in the inquiry of sociology of education.

As a conviction, the course of development of education is influenced by the dynamics of political, economic and social environments. Dale (2001) scrutinizes the development of sociology of education in the UK from 1950 to 1995 in different periods of political context. In the period from 1950 to 1975, under the political context of social democratic state, sociology of education started to examine the relation between education and the wider social structure, aiming at improving social

structure. However, in the beginning of 1970s, it switched to new sociology of education focusing on examining process and content of school education. There was a trend to change from system perspective to action perspective in analyzing education. Moreover, the Ruskin College speech in 1976 signaled a linking of education with economic development in government policy. This showed an increase in the role of the government administration in the development of education aiming at fostering economy. However, in between 1975 and 1985, sociology of education co-opted a neo-Marxist perspective and was marginalized in research work (Dale, 2001: 20). Later, it was linked to uncritical analysis of education policy, and was degraded to sociology for education. Furthermore, from 1985 to 1997, sociology of education, under the shifts in perspective to public sector management, focused on “the possibility of agency rather than structure as a key to change” (Dale, 2001: 26), signaling a rise of New Right. The above description provides a nutshell of development in sociology of education in the English speaking world. In short, the development in sociology of education shows a change of paradigms of object domain in sociology of education, from examining the relation between society and education, that is, from a perspective of external observers or systems, to emphasizing on what happened in education, or, what happened in the interaction between students and teachers, that is, from the perspective of internal participants or action. However, a fuller picture can be got if both perspectives are adopted.

The research works of Meighan and Dale do point out that a fuller picture of relation between society and education can be got if both perspectives of action and the systems are employed in the inquiry. Moreover, Habermas employs both perspective of internal participants and perspective of external observers

simultaneously in constructing a theory of society, and does get a fuller picture of society, a fuller picture of the relation between society and education.

2.2 A brief account of Habermas's theory of society based on his theory of communicative action

2.2.1 Introduction

The philosophers of the Enlightenment put absolute confidence in reason (Brand, 1990: x). For them, reason unfolded itself in human history, in a direction of progressive advancement. Moreover, they believed modernization of society was indeed a process of rationalization, not only in the dimension of intellectual progress, but also in that of the moral one. Since then, intellectual progress, accompanied by scientific and technological progress, did provide people with gradual economic, medical and transport development, etc. However, through sociological analyses of the process of modernization, Weber did put pessimistic conclusion on the process of modernization, seeing it as a process of bureaucracy with losses of meaning and freedom and dominated by purposive or goal rationality, whereas Marx agreed with him in the other aspects, seeing it as a process of class struggle, with the capitalist class dominating the working class, and society is dominated by system rationality. The scholars of the Frankfurt School supported the analyses and conceived society as one dominated by instrumental reason, stripping off any humanistic concerns. (Brand, 1990: ix-xi) They lose faith in Enlightenment.

In order to continue the tradition, belief and faith in Enlightenment, Habermas proposes a shift in the paradigm of examining reason, from a paradigm of subject-object relation to a paradigm of subject-subject relation, in analyzing the process of modernization. (Brand, 1990:6) The paradigm of subject-object relation, also known

as a philosophy based on a paradigm of consciousness, presupposes that a subject, as a solitary actor, treats the outside world, whether a physical object or another subject, as an object. The solitary actor encounters or faces the object with cognition and takes action based on instrumental rationality with a purpose of manipulating the object. Instrumental reason is the matching of cognition and the goal of manipulation. Oppositely, the paradigm of subject-subject relation, also known as a philosophy based on a paradigm of communication, presupposes that at least two subjects interact with each other through language, and they aim at achieving shared understanding of objects based on communicative reason and coordinate their plans of action subsequently. (Brand, 1990:6) Subjects communicate among each other, and get shared understanding among themselves on the objects concerned based on reason, and thus communicative reason is situated among themselves. Then, reason is defined within the intersubjectivity of actors, and does not need to have any metaphysical support.

Based on his theory of communicative action, Habermas reconstructs theories proposed by the founding fathers of sociology. In his theory, communicative action is the basic unit of sociological inquiry. He envisages actors participating in communicative interaction via language, aiming at shared understanding with each other based on reason and coordinating their plan of action accordingly. Equipped with the concept of communicative action, Habermas (1986:140-141) starts to reconstruct the theories of founding fathers of sociology. Seeing Weber's concept of social action as a one-sided rational action, Habermas reconstructs and replaces social action with the concept of communicative action. Moreover, from Mead, Habermas appropriates the conception of communication, strengthening communicative action

as the basic unit of social inquiry. From the speech act theory of Austin, Habermas conceives a possibility of linguistic turn in sociology and sees speech act performs an action. Durkheim provides a clue to him in conceiving society from both the perspectives of social integration and system integration, whereas Parsons provides him with insights into combining both action perspective and system perspective in examining society. Thus, Habermas envisages a two-level concept of society derived from combining action and system perspectives in examining society.

Analyzing simultaneously from both the perspectives of external observers or system and internal participants or action, he proposes a two-level concept of society based on his theory of communicative action. Habermas (1987: 151-152) conceives society, from the perspective of internal participants, as a “systemically stabilized nexus of action of socially integrated groups”, that is, society is viewed as the interconnected action of the participants, or from the perspective of external observers, a “system that has to satisfy the conditions of maintenance of socio-cultural lifeworld”, that is, society is viewed as satisfying the maintaining needs of society. How is the two-level concept of society possible? The important point is “methodological objectification of the lifeworld” as a boundary-maintaining system (Habermas, 1987: 374), that is, external observers or social scientists objectivate the lifeworld as the boundary maintaining system, that is, treat the lifeworld as an object so as to satisfy the needs of society.

After the virtual dialogues with the founding fathers of sociology, Habermas starts to elucidate his theory of communicative action. With the help of communicative action, Habermas attempts to show how symbolic reproduction of the

lifeworld of the actors is reproduced in a simple network of communicative interaction, that is, in the everyday communicative interaction. When the network becomes complex, and extremely complex, then different pictures of social reproduction are seen. Moreover, he sees that social evolution is a temporal development of society with increasing complexity of network of communicative interaction, through which social reproduction is depicted. Habermas (1987: 153-154) conceives social evolution as a process of rationalization in the historical development of society. The sequences of the processes of rationalization are, based on two-level concept of society, as follows: an increasing rationalization of the lifeworld, the coming about of the system on the basis of the rationalization of the lifeworld, the increasing complexity of the system and rationality of the lifeworld and the disjunction between these two, and finally, the invasion of core lifeworld areas by systemic mechanisms. The different stages of social evolution depict different pictures of social evolution. He views the last phase as 'the colonization of the lifeworld', and it is the phase depicted in the late capitalist society. Moreover, he distinguishes logic and dynamic developments of social evolution. The former is the development of society without distortion in the communicative interaction, while the latter is a distorted one in the communicative interaction, which is the colonization or domination of the lifeworld by the system. From this, Habermas (1987: 326-331) develops his philosophy of history, seeing the logic of development of history disturbed by historical contingent factors such as instrumental rationality geared to the benefit of sole interest in society. He conceives the dynamic development of history as the one disturbed by historical factors.

Furthermore, in the discussion on social evolution, sociologists are concerned how social solidarity or societal integration is possible, for it is the corner stone of the continuation of society. Based on a two-level concept of society, societal integration or integration of society consists of two dimensions, social integration and system integration. Social integration (Habermas, 1987: 117) is “the mechanisms for coordinating action that harmonize the action orientations of participants” or the mechanisms for coordinating action through which the actors coordinate or harmonize their plans of action based on shared understanding among them. Moreover, system integration (Habermas, 1987: 117) is “the mechanisms that stabilizes nonintended interconnections of actions by way of functionally intermeshing action consequences” or the mechanisms for stabilizing non-intended interconnecting actions performed by the actors through the functionally interconnectedness of action consequences. From the viewpoint of Habermas (1987: 117), social integration is part of the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld, whereas system integration is the material reproduction of the lifeworld that can be seen as maintenance of the system.

In order to examine the late capitalist society sociologically, Habermas (1987: 319) devises a working model, depicting interchange relations between institutional orders of the lifeworld and media-steered subsystems of society from the perspective of the system. The institutional orders consist of the private sphere, mainly the family household, and the public sphere, mainly the mass media, whereas as the media-steered systems consist of the economic subsystem steered by money as medium, and the government administration subsystem steered by power as medium. The model shows sets of interchange relations between the private sphere and the public sphere

on one hand, and the economic subsystem and the government administration on the other.

Furthermore, Habermas (1987: 138) conceives social or societal reproduction as both symbolic and material reproduction of the lifeworld. Symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld concerns the reproduction of the three structural components of the lifeworld, that is, cultural reproduction, social integration, and socialization, whereas material reproduction is the maintenance of the material substratum of the lifeworld. Socialized actors, through purposive action or activity, intervene in the objective world so as to realize their own goals of action. However, there are differences in the interaction, whether it is based on a paradigm of subject-subject, or on a paradigm of subject-object. The former aims at shared understanding and coordination of subsequent action based on communicative rationality, whereas the latter aims at solitary cognition and manipulation based on instrumental rationality.

Through participating in the material reproduction of the lifeworld, that is, participating in a world of jobs in society, the individual actors connect to collectivities of society. Thus, a relation between individual and society can be seen. The individual actors acquire their own competency through symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld through school education. Then, they acquire competency as medium of performing purposive activities and take part in the material reproduction of society or the material substratum of the lifeworld.

Education performs a dual function in society, socialization and selection. From the perspective of action or internal participants, education performs

socialization of students, preparing for students to the adult world especially the world of work, whereas from the perspective of systems or external observers, education performs selection of students to society, preparing for the continuation and maintenance of society. Moreover, socialization is related to the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld, whereas selection helps in the material reproduction of the lifeworld. Thus, education is related to social or societal reproduction.

Habermas envisages that sociology is a theory of society (1986: 7).

Habermas envisages that “any sociology that claims to be a theory of society has to face the problem of rationality simultaneously on the *metatheoretical*, *methodological*, and *empirical* levels.” (Habermas, 1986, 7) Habermas attempts to appropriate a three-level analysis in constructing his theory of communicative action, namely at meta-theoretical, methodological and empirical levels, and from it, he develops his theory of society. He envisages that, at meta-theoretical level, the theory of communicative action “chose basic concepts that were tailored to the growth of rationality in the modern lifeworld” (1986:6). Thus, the actors acquire cultural, social, and personal identities out of the communicative action through language world relation. Moreover, at methodological level, he envisages “the problem of gaining access to the object domain of symbolic object through ‘interpretive understanding’ was dealt with accordingly”. (1986:6) Thus, the actors take up formal pragmatics as cognitive reference framework through interpretive understanding. Furthermore, at empirical level, Habermas sees “ the modernization can be described from the standpoint of cultural and social rationalization” (1986:6). Thus, this level examines how the actors reproduce

their symbolic lifeworld through joining the current action situation with the new one.

2.2.2 A meta-theoretical level of analysis of communicative action

Social action is the basic unit of inquiry in sociology. Habermas replaces it with communicative action, and from it, he develops a general theory of society. Communicative action (Habermas, 1986: 101) is the linguistically mediated interaction between at least two actors. In the communicative interaction, the actors adopt communicative attitudes aiming at mutual or shared understanding among each other and coordinating their plans of action situation, that is, they make cognition and take action with communicative attitude based on a paradigm of subject-subject relation.

From research in anthropology, Habermas (1986: 100) proposes that the actors are equipped with an understanding of the world with three actor-world relations, that is, the actors relate themselves to an external objective world, an external social world, and an internal subjective world. From these, Habermas develops three formal world concepts, that is, the objective world, the social world, and the subjective world. Thus, the actors, in their communicative interaction, presuppose a lay concept of world as a framework articulating events and stories they tell in communicative interaction. Then, they make cognition of a lay concept of world as their cognitive reference system on which communicative interaction among actors is possible.

In everyday communicative interaction, the actors make use of language as the medium of interaction, whereas language is referred to language in use, the pragmatics, not to language in content, the semantics. In the field of pragmatics, Austin proposes a speech act theory that speech act performs an action, i.e., saying something and at the same time performing an action. Austin envisages that illocutionary speech act is inbuilt or presupposed with communicative attitude, that is, the actors interact communicatively with each other aimed at mutual understanding.

Moreover, Habermas (1987: 136) appropriates everyday or narrative concept of lifeworld as complementary concept of communicative action in developing his theory. Lifeworld is the culturally organized and linguistically transmitted stock of interpretive patterns, and is intersubjectively generated among actors. Then, the objectivity of the three components of the everyday lifeworld appears in the intersubjectivity of the actors. In the process of communicative interaction, the actors encounter the three pragmatic actor-world relations at the same time. Here is an example. When John talks to Mary, he says Mary is a beautiful girl. In their objective world, Mary is a beautiful girl indeed. In their social world, they are lovers and love each other. In John's subjective world, he appreciates Mary sincerely. Thus, in the communicative interaction between John and Mary, the three pragmatic actor-world relations appear at the same time.

Furthermore, the actors present narrations, that is, they present what they want to say through statements, with pragmatic actor-world relation in action situation. They adopt communicative attitude so that they opt for mutual understanding, use the reference system of the three worlds as an interpretive framework, and negotiate their

common situation definitions. Thus, through situation of action, they project among themselves a reality that is intersubjectively recognized.

In the communicative interaction, the actors may perform both the role of internal participants and that of external observers. From the perspective of internal participants, they perform different aspects of speech acts related to the three actor-worlds, recognize and mutually understand each other. Moreover, from the role of external observers, they objectivate their belongings of what they belong, or, they present themselves as concrete selves, to the lifeworld, that is, they identify themselves in the objective, social, and subjective worlds. (Habermas, 1987: 137-138) These are illustrated as follows.

In the communicative interaction of the objective world, they recognize that their cultural ideas of the lifeworld are in common and crystallize in intersubjectively recognized and accepted cultural interpretive patterns. Through this, the actors objectivate their belongings, develop and recognize their cultural identities in the cultural components of the lifeworld.

Moreover, in the communicative interaction of the social world, they recognize that their memberships are maintained in social groups through their participation, and thus they are members of the narratively presentable histories of the social group. Through this, the actors develop and recognize their social identities in the social component of the lifeworld.

Furthermore, in the communicative interaction of the subjective world, they recognize that the successive lines of narrative presentation make possible their narratively presentable life histories. Through this, the actors develop and recognize their personal identities in the personal component of the lifeworld.

In the communicative interaction, the actors participate in narrative practice based on actor-world relation, and objectivate their identities in the lifeworld. The actors share their cultural tradition, and recognize their cultural identities in dealing with their culture. Moreover, the actors participate in social groups, and recognize their social identity in society. Furthermore, they recognize their personal identities in the process of socialization. Thus, the identity formation of the actors in the respective components of the lifeworld is established, and is the foundation for further communicative interaction.

Through meta-theoretical analysis of communicative action, Habermas envisages that the actors communicate with each other through language, relate with each other via objective, social and subjective components of the lifeworld based on actor-world relations and recognize their cultural, social, and personal identities in furthering their communicative interaction.

2.2.3 An epistemological, or methodological level of analysis of communicative action

In communicative interaction, the actors do adopt two different but complementary attitudes. Firstly, as internal participants, they adopt performative attitude, and locate and date their utterances, the basic unit of speech act, in social spaces and historical times. Secondly, as external observers, they adopt objectivating attitude and delineate the object domains of different social inquiries or social sciences.

Moreover, Habermas envisages (1986: 327) that in everyday communicative interaction, after reaching shared understanding in their action situation, the actors pursue their individual plans of action cooperatively. Then, they exchange their validity claims related to the three components of the lifeworld through managing narrative practice and reach a common definition of action situation. This is illustrated as follows.

In communicative interaction, through the narrative practice, the actors adopt illocutionary speech acts with constative speech acts, report events and objects of their objective world in true stories. Then, through recognition of something in the objective world in their constative speech acts, they are able to master or manage the action situation of the objective components of the lifeworld.

Moreover, in the narrative practice, the actors adopt regulative speech acts, connect and organize sequentially the interactions of their social members in social

spaces and historical times, and establish recognized legitimate interpersonal relations. Thus, through recognition of something in the social world in the regulative speech acts, they are able to manage the action situation of the social components of the lifeworld.

Furthermore, in the narrative practice, the actors adopt expressive speech acts, explain their own individual events and actions, the actions of collectivities they participated in and the fates they meet with, and thus reveal to a public experience to which they individually have privileged access. Thus, through recognition of something in the personal world, they are able to manage the action situation of the personal components of the lifeworld.

Thus, in the narrative practice, the actors exchange their validity claims, reach and manage common definition of situation related to objective, social, and subjective worlds. Through this, the actors develop a cognitive reference framework related to language world relation or pragmatic world relation, the formal pragmatics (Habermas, 1986: 328). The object domain of the symbolic lifeworld is symbolically and linguistically pre-structured interpretations. Formal pragmatics is an interpretive framework, on which articulation of structural components of the symbolic lifeworld is related to language in use or pragmatics. The actors master the action situation through using formal pragmatics.

Through an epistemological analysis of communicative action, Habermas envisages that the actors establish formal pragmatics as shown in Figure 2.1, or cognitive reference framework based on language in use or pragmatics through

managing or mastering action situation base on pragmatic world relation.

Figure 2.1 Formal pragmatics

Types of action/formal pragmatic features	Character-istic speech acts	Functions of speech	Action orientations	Basic attitudes	Validity claims	World relation
Strategic action	Perlocution-s imperatives	Influencing one's opposite number	Oriented to success	Objectivating	(effectiveness)	Objective world
Conversation	Constatives	Representation of states of affairs	Oriented to reaching understanding	Objectivating	Truth	Objective world
Normatively regulated action	Regulatives	Establishment of interpersonal relations	Oriented to reaching understanding	Norm-conformative	Rightness-s	Social world

Dramaturgic- al action	Expressive- s	Self- represent ation	Oriented to reaching under- standing	Expressi- ve	Truthful ness	Subjectiv -e world
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2.2.4 *An empirical level of analysis of communicative action*

How is the symbolic lifeworld of the actors maintained or reproduced if each situation of action forms only one of its segments?

Through narrative presentation, the individual actor presents individual occurrences of the lifeworld. Habermas (1987: 137) argues that, through narrative practice, the actors relate and join their existing action situation with the new ones in the communicative interaction based on the working or the function of formal pragmatics. This is illustrated as follows.

Culture is the stock of knowledge from which the actors elucidate interpretive patterns when they reach mutual understanding about something in the objective component of the lifeworld. In communicative interaction, the actors, via constative speech act, reach mutual understanding, take action, join new situations with the existing ones in the objective world, and renew or learn the semantic aspects of meanings or the contents of cultural tradition. Then, the individual narrative presentation is transformed into collective theoretical presentation of the cultural tradition. Thus, the actors, as members of collectivities, maintain and reproduce their

cultural component of the symbolic lifeworld through the continuation of valid knowledge.

Society is the legitimate order through which actors regulate their interpersonal relations in social groups. In communicative interaction, the actors, via regulative speech act aiming at shared understanding, coordinate their action of situation, join the new situation with the existing ones in the social world, and integrate the dimension of social spaces of socially integrated groups. The individual narrative presentation is transformed into collective theoretical presentation of the dimension of social space of socially integrated group. Thus, the actors maintain and reproduce their social component of the lifeworld through social integration and the establishment of social solidarity.

Personality is the competence through which the actors are capable of speaking and acting in situations, taking part in the process of mutual understanding among actors. In communicative interaction, the actors, via expressive speech act aiming at self-understanding, take action, join the new situation with the existing ones in the subjective world, internalize the value orientations of his social group, that is, socialized, and acquire generalized capacities for action. The individual narrative presentation is transformed into collective theoretical presentation in the historical time of successive generations. Thus, the actors maintain and reproduce their personal component of the lifeworld through socialization of responsible actors.

Habermas (1987: 138) argues that “ [t]he dimensions in which communicative action extends comprise the semantic field of symbolic contents, social space, and

historical time. The interactions woven into the fabric of everyday communicative practice constitute the medium through which culture, society, and person get reproduced. These reproduction processes cover the symbolic structure of the lifeworld". Therefore, in the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld, the semantic aspect of meaning of the cultural tradition, the aspect of social space of socially integrated actors, as well as the historical aspect of successive generations of actors are maintained, continued and reproduced accordingly. Thus the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld covers the three structural components of the lifeworld (Figure 2.2).

Social reproduction consists of both the reproduction of the symbolic and material lifeworld. Habermas (1987: 138) argues "[m]aterial reproduction takes place through medium of the purposive activity with which sociated individuals intervene in the world to realize their aims." The individual actor acquires competency needed from the symbolic lifeworld so as to fulfill the requirements of the medium of the purposive activity or labour. The actors work or intervene purposively in the material or objective world and realize their aims of producing useful materials for the lifeworld. This is a reproduction of the material lifeworld through the purposive activity or labour of the actors.

At the empirical level of analysis of communicative action, Habermas envisages a symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld through connecting existing to new situation of action based on the function of language, of formal pragmatics.

Figure 2.2 The symbolic reproduction processes of the lifeworld cover the symbolic structures of the lifeworld.

Dimensions of semantic fields renewed or maintained	Processes of symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld	Structural components of the lifeworld
Symbolic contents	Cultural reproduction	Culture
Social spaces	Social integration	Society
Historical time	Socialization	Person

2.2.5 *An increase in complexity of network of communicative interaction*

A picture of symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld is depicted in simple networks of communicative action. However, when simple networks of communicative interaction grow in number and join together, the network becomes more and more complex. What is the picture of communicative interaction? Habermas (1987: 179-185) attempts to answer as follows.

Habermas (1987: 179) argues that “[N]aturally, even the simplest interaction systems cannot function without a certain amount of *generalized* action orientations. Every society has to face the basic problem of coordinating action: how does ego get alter to continue interaction in the desired way? How does he avoid conflict that interrupts the sequence of action?” Then, it is illustrated as follows.

In the simple network of communicative interaction, there is a basic problem for the continuation of communicative interaction based on coordinating action among actors: how does ego motivate alter to continue the interaction in the way ego desires. The problem appears when there is increase in number of actor and differentiated roles.

In the simple network of communicative interaction, there are presuppositions on attributes of and roles of egos and alter. Ego, enjoying prestige and exercising influence, makes an offer or a claim, and alter, taking up with generalized motives of advanced trust or confidence, accepts the offer or the claim from ego. Thus, prestige and influence are generalized value orientation, or primitive generators of a

willingness to follow, whereas trust and confidence are generalized motive or action orientation. Both ego and alter are now ready to reach consensus beyond individual situations of action. Prestige, influence, trust and confidence are the condensed shared understanding in the communicative interaction among actors.

Then, ego, based on his prestige and influence, motivates alter to accept his offer. Alter, based on his advanced trust and confidence on ego, accepts the offer. Ego and alter, taking the perspective of internal participants, see the consensus reached through generalized value and action orientations as the consequence of reducing the expenditure of communication and the risk of disagreement. Moreover, ego would be willing to follow not only in concrete and individual situation, but also in similar, abstract and general ones. Alter takes up trust and confidence on ego, not only in concrete and individual situation, but also in similar, abstract and general ones.

As more simple networks of communicative interaction join together, denser and more complex network appears. Then there is a shift of analysis from simple network to complex network of communicative interaction.

When complex network of communicative interactions continue, there is an increasing need for coordinating action base on shared understanding among actors. However, the coordinating action based on shared understanding is shifted to one based on media of communication. In the growing need of coordinating action in the communicative interaction, either explicit communication or relief mechanism emerges so as to reduce the expenditure of communicative interaction and the risk of disagreement.

Thus, value and motive generalization in the communicative interaction is necessary for the ongoing process and is a relief of immanent potential rationality of the communicative interaction. However, explicit communication is not possible, for the expenditure of energy is too much. Thus, two forms of communicative media or relief mechanisms appear, that is, condensation and replacement.

Moreover, the formation of communicative media start from the prestige enjoyed and the influence exercised by ego. Prestige is the attribute enjoyed by ego and influence is the disposition of resources by ego.

In complex network of communicative interaction, the prestige of individual egos enjoyed becomes less important in the interaction. However, the influence of egos exercised come into play. In the interaction, egos exercise their influence in motivating alter to accept their offers. Moreover, the sources of influence can be differentiated along two paths, one is along rationally motivated trust based on agreement through reason, and the other is along empirically motivated ties based on inducement and intimidation.

Firstly, along the path of rationally motivated trust, generalized media of communication such as reputation and moral authority are differentiated. Moreover, in the complex network of communicative interaction, these media, based on formation of consensus, attach to the context of the lifeworld. Thus, these media act as the relief mechanisms of condensation, condensing communicative interaction based on shared understanding.

Secondly, along the path of empirically motivated ties, generalized media of communicative interaction gearing to coordinate action strategically, such as reward, punishment, money and power, are differentiated. Moreover, in the complex network of communicative interaction, these media neglect the process of forming consensus among actors, and are independent of the context of the lifeworld. Thus, these media act as the relief mechanisms of replacement, replacing communicative interaction based on consensus.

In view of these, therefore, there are two different directions for the ongoing interaction among actors. Moreover, these directions are differentiation of action orientation based on the two different principles of action coordination.

One is based on mutual understanding among actors, whereas the other is based on the functional interconnectedness of action consequences among actors. The first one is a continuation in the context of the lifeworld of the actors based on the mutual understanding through language, whereas the other drops out shared understanding based on language, makes media as empirically steering mechanism, and emphasizes the functional contribution of the formally organized action system to the maintenance of the lifeworld.

Then, from these, there are two types of relief mechanisms distinguished. One mechanism is based on the mutual understanding among actors and aims at coordinating action of actors. The egos rationally motivate the alters to continue the interaction. The other mechanism is based on the functionally interconnectedness of

action consequences and aims at stabilizing non-intended interconnections of actions. The egos empirically motivate the alters to continue the interaction.

From the perspective of internal participants, in the communicative interaction, the relief mechanisms based on mutual understanding do have advantages, cost is reduced or efficiency is increased in communication, risk is reduced in disagreement, and the communicative actors or participants themselves continue their interaction in the desired way. However, from the perspective of external observers, the relief mechanisms give rise to advantages, the lifeworld of the communicative actors are technically manipulated or technicized in a desired way. It is a technicizing of the lifeworld (Habermas, 1987: 183, 186).

If the achievement of the desired way anticipated by the participants is based on rational motivation, then the continuation of the interaction will still be attached to their lifeworld. However, if the achievement of the desired way anticipated by the participants is based on empirical motivation, then the interaction will be detached from their lifeworld, and shifted to effects of unintended consequences of actions of the participants in the system, that is, the interaction is a separation or an uncoupling of the lifeworld of the participants from the system (Habermas, 1987: 184, 186).

Habermas envisages that, based on a two-level concept of society, societal integration consists of social integration related to the lifeworld and system integration related to the system. Social-integrative mechanisms, that is, processes and procedures, are based on the consensus of action among members or rationally motivated trust, whereas system-integrative mechanisms are based on the effects of

action consequences or empirically motivated trust, among members (Habermas, 1987: 186-187).

Moreover, if system-integrative mechanism is derived from empirically motivated trust, then there is an uncoupling of the lifeworld and the systems followed. This is the uncoupling of the lifeworld and the systems. Furthermore, if the mediatization of the lifeworld continues in the way based on empirically motivated ties, then colonization of the lifeworld will come. Thus, the private sphere and the public sphere escape the control of the symbolic lifeworld of the actors.

The interaction based on the functional or empirical connection of money and power media will have effects on the private way of life or the private sphere and cultural-political form of life or the public sphere of the actors.

The communicative interaction among actors will be separated from the symbolic structures of their lifeworld, for the communicative action via mutual understanding is replaced by the strategic or instrumental action via success in terms of cost-effectiveness, money, efficacy and power, etc., through the monetary redefinition. The private sphere of life of the actors is re-defined by the communicative media of values, goals, and interpersonal relationship. Moreover, the public sphere of life is also redefined by the bureaucratization of duties, rights, and responsibilities.

A two-level concept of society comes into play when an extremely complex network of communicative interaction, which covers the whole society, is considered.

Society can be analyzed from both the perspectives of social and system integrations.

As the network of communication becomes extremely complex, the mediation of the lifeworld turn into the colonization of the lifeworld (Habermas, 1987: 331).

Habermas conceives a two-level concept of society and it is integrated by both social integration and system integration. He devises a model on the relations between the lifeworld and the system from the perspective of the system. He makes use of this model to analyze the interchange relation between the lifeworld and the system, and depicts how the mediation of the lifeworld or the uncoupling of the lifeworld turns into the colonization of the lifeworld by the system.

Habermas's model (1987: 319-323) shows interchange relation between institutional orders of the lifeworld, that is, private sphere and public sphere, and media-steered subsystems, that is, economic system steered by money and government administrative system steered by power. Moreover, the interchange relations are conceived as extremely dense and a complex network of communicative practices through relief mechanisms and steering media.

The capitalist economy and the government administration of the modern state are subsystems differentiated from systems of institutions, that is, from societal components of the lifeworld, via the media of money and power.

In modern society, the capitalist economy and the government administration of the modern state are areas of formally organized domains of action of system

integration, that is, the integration is based on media of communication. Moreover, the private sphere and public sphere are areas of formally organized domains of action of social integration, that is, the integration is based on shared understanding among actors.

In this model, the interchange relation is between these two formally organized domains of action with different principles of societal integrations, that is, social integration and system integration. Habermas's model is illustrated as follows.

From the perspective of the lifeworld, the institutional core of the private sphere is the nuclear family, which concentrates on the socialization tasks, and does not take part in the productive functions. However, from the perspective of the system of capitalist economy, the private sphere is treated as the environment of the private households of the economy.

From the perspective of the lifeworld, the institutional core of the public sphere is composed of extremely dense network of everyday communicative practice consisting of cultural complex and mass media. The private person as individual self of the public sphere can take part in the production of culture or cultural integration, whereas the citizens as individual in different social networks of the public sphere can take part in the social integration mediated by public opinion. However, from the perspective of the system of the state, the cultural and political public spheres are treated as the environment generating relevant legitimation of the state.

The two sets or categories of interchange relations are depicted as follows.

Firstly, the subsystem of the capitalist economy interacts with the private sphere of the private household, and takes the form of interchange relation. Secondly, the subsystem of the state interacts with the public sphere of cultural complex and mass media, and takes the form of interchange relation. Thus, there is a pair of parallel interchange relations between the institutional cores of the lifeworld and the media-steered subsystems.

In view of interchange relation, the subsystem of the economy, as employer, exchanges wages against labour provided by employee of the private sphere on one hand, and, exchanges goods and services against consumer demand from consumer of the private sphere on the other hand. The exchanges are through media of money. Moreover, in view of interchange relation, the subsystem of the government administration exchanges organizational performances for taxes from clients of the public sphere on one hand, and, exchanges political decisions for mass loyalty from citizen of the public sphere on the other hand. The exchange is through media of power.

Thus, the interchange relation is depicted from the perspectives of economic and government administrative systems. However, there is no interchange relation between private and public spheres, for the communicative interaction between these two is based on shared understanding and is not based on the steering media of money and power.

Then, two sets or categories of interchange relations are depicted between the institutional cores of private and public spheres and the subsystems of capitalist

economy and government administration respectively.

From the perspective of the lifeworld, the actors perform different social roles crystallized around the interchange relations between their institutional orders of the lifeworld and the capitalist economy and government administration of the system.

Firstly, in the private sphere, the actors perform the role of employees with respect to their employers in the economic subsystem, and also perform the role of consumers with respect to the products and services produced by the economic systems. Secondly, in the public sphere, the actors perform the role of clients with respect to the services provided by the government administration, and also the role of citizens with respect to the legitimation required by the administration.

The following is the first set or category of the interchange relations.

Both the roles of employee and client are constituted in legal form with respect to organization-development roles and they perform as the member of the economic organization and the receiver of services of the government administration. Actors perform the roles of employee that are specially required by the organization or formally organized domain of action. These roles of employees separate them from the context of their lifeworld. They make specific contribution to the organization of economic system or private enterprise and get or exchange wages in return. Their performance can be abstracted and bought in form of wages by the private enterprises. The interchange relation is via medium of money. The buying and selling of the labour power is under legal fiat, that is, monitored and controlled by regulations and

laws.

The actors perform the role of clients of public sphere that receive services from the government administration or public institution. They pay tax in return for the services received. Thus, the government administration collects tax from their clients. Tax is paid compulsorily and is under legal fiat.

The following is the second set or category of interchange relations.

Actors perform the roles of consumer in the economic system and of citizen in the government administration or in the process of public opinion formation. Their roles are defined respectively by these two formally organized domains of action, but are not dependent on them. These roles are not constituted in legal fiat, but in the form of relevant legal form related to contractual relations in economic system and civil rights in the government administration.

Moreover, actors conceive their roles as consumer in the private sphere and citizen in the public sphere. These roles depict the cultural, social, and personal lives of actors, that is, the structural components of the lifeworld of the actors. Furthermore, actors get these roles through their process of socialization, through the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld. These roles of customers and citizens do have their own self-formative process. Thus, these roles are tied to the context of the lifeworld of actors.

How are the interchange relations operated here? Interchange relations are

possible whenever the products for exchange relation are abstracted. The following illustrate how the exchanges are operated.

The demand of the customers can be abstracted when the aggregate action of consumers related to the use-value orientation of economic commodities is transformed and abstracted into their demand preference. This demand preference serves to be the abstract product for exchange of consumer goods in the subsystem of economy.

Public opinion can also be abstracted when the articulated public opinions of citizens and their collective expressions of will are transformed and abstracted into mass loyalty for manipulation in exchange for political leadership.

Thus, in view of interchange relationship via medium of money, the consumers, based on their demand preference, exchange for consumer goods from the economic system. On the other hand, in view of interchange relationship via medium of power, the citizens, based on their mass loyalty, exchange for political leadership from the government administration.

Through the media of money and power, the interchange relationship between the lifeworld and the system is depicted. Both the roles of consumer and citizen are abstracted and are transformed into the ones required by the media of money and power in the interchange relations. The demand preference and mass loyalty are abstracted and treated as input factors of the environments of the subsystems of economy and the government administration.

Thus, the roles of consumer and citizen are manipulated through the steering media of economic system and government administration. Then, the private sphere and the public sphere of actors are detached from the ethical and moral consideration based on shared understanding in the context of the lifeworld, and are replaced or manipulated by the functional or empirical connection to the media of money and power.

A process of colonization of the lifeworld by the system is depicted: the system exerts imperatives on the concrete context of the lifeworld, and colonizes it. For Habermas, it is an undesired path of development in society. In terms of the philosophy of history envisaged by Habermas, the process manifests the undesired path of development, that is, the dynamic development of society rather than the desired one, that is, the logic one.

2.2.6 *Habermas claims for universality of communicative rationality*

Since Habermas sets up his theory based on a linguistic turn in social inquiry, so he attempts to justify universality of communicative rationality in terms of formal pragmatics. However, he drops it when he develops his theory of communicative action in 1980's and tries for an alternative. He conceives that sociology is a theory of society dealing with a process of modernization. The founding fathers of sociology also deal with the process, seeing how society is transformed from a traditional society to a modern one, and to its associated consequences and problems. However, Habermas sees that these theories, based on a narrowed and one-sided concept of rationality, see only a one-sided process of modernization, and accordingly he attempts to articulate these sociological theories on his theory of communicative action based on communicative rationality in the modernization of society.

However, how can Habermas claim for universality of communicative rationality? In sociology, Habermas (1986: 140) sees not a single fundamental paradigm in sociology, but competitive paradigms of sociological theories developed in their own social context and poses sociological problems accordingly.

Thus, Habermas examines and reconstructs historical development of sociological theories. Accordingly, he articulates their sociological problems on his theory of communicative action, and attempts to solve them based on his theory of rationalization. Therefore, through this path, he attempts to claim for universality of communicative rationality. Habermas (1987: 306) sees Weber's analysis of modernization as a process of one-sided rationalization, based on purposive

rationality, on the perspective of action. He reconstructs them via communicative rationality, and a two-level concept of society, analyzing society from the combined perspectives of action and system. Furthermore, Habermas (1987: 342) analyzes Marx's theory of value as one-sided perspective, based only on system one. He reconstructs it via combined perspectives of action and system.

If the theory of communicative action could reconstruct and articulate the other paradigms of sociological theories, then it would claim the credit for universality of communicative rationality.

2.2.7 A three-scale analysis of situational analysis of school education

Social evolution starts as the network of communicative interaction becomes complex (Outhwaite, 1994; Tong, 2000; Finlayson, 2005). Habermas, from the viewpoint of the theory of communicative action, also conceives the process of social evolution as a process of increasing complexity of network of communicative interaction.

In view of complexity of the network of communicative interaction in school education, there is an increase in complexity of the network of communicative interaction from classroom scale, to school scale, and up to regional scale. These three scales of communicative interaction correspond to the situations of simple, complex, and extremely complex network of communicative interaction. This study attempts to appropriate these three scales of communicative interaction in interpreting action situations at the classroom scale, the school scale, and the regional scale, the three-scale analysis of situational analysis of school education. Moreover, Habermas's working model in analyzing advanced capitalist society will be applied in analyzing the historical development of school education in Hong Kong.

2.3 Five paradigms of theories of social reproduction

Morrow and Torres conceive that the conception of social reproduction “provides a synthetic reference point for comparing the full range of conceptions of the relations between education and society as conceived by different sociological theories.” (Morrow & Torres, 1995: 6) They group the social reproduction theories into five paradigms based on their ontological and epistemological viewpoints. These paradigms reflect the dominant sociological approaches in the study of social reproduction. The groups are: systems and functionalist theories, economic-reproductive theories, class-cultural reproductive theories, class-bureaucratic theories, and integrative-reproductive models consisting of transformative-resistance theories and state-hegemonic theories. Moreover, these theories develop from closed structuralist models with economic and class determinations to open integrative ones considering factors such as class, race, culture, etc. (Morrow & Torres, 1995: 438) They also show a development of the theories beginning from structural functionalism, through critical theories, to post-modernism in the late capitalist society.

Morrow and Torres conceive two dimensions in the debates on social reproduction, one is social class, and the other is the perspective of analysis based either on the lifeworld or on the system. Thus, the five paradigms can be grouped into two categories, that is, their approaches are either from the perspectives of the lifeworld or from that of the system. However, neither of the categories approaches social reproduction from the two perspectives simultaneously. This is a gap in the paradigms, not seeing social reproduction from both perspectives at the same time.

Therefore, this study tries to fill it in with seeing social reproduction from both perspectives at the same time. Moreover, this study proposes a conceptual framework, as shown in Figure 2.3, in articulating the five paradigms of theories of social reproduction.

Figure 2.3 A conceptual framework articulating the five paradigms of theories of social reproduction.

Social class\ Perspective of analysis	From the perspective of the lifeworld	From the perspective of the system
Social class is not involved		Systems and functionalist theories
Social class is involved	Class-cultural reproductive theories Integrative-reproductive models: the transformative- resistance theories	Economic-reproductive theories Class-bureaucratic theories Integrative-reproductive models: the state-hegemonic theories

These paradigms of social reproduction are examined by the theory of communicative action so as to elucidate the phenomenon of social reproduction through education in the capitalist society. Moreover, the study tries to articulate the five paradigms of theories of social reproduction under the theory of communicative action.

2.3.1 *Systems and functionalist theories*

The systems and functionalist theories adopt a viewpoint that development of education copes with the assumed needs of society. (Morrow & Torres, 1995: 36-37)

The theory restrictedly conceives society from the perspective of the system, though Parsons attempts to derive system functionalism from a perspective of action, but in vain. The theory sees that the elements of the system contribute efforts to the maintenance of the system, and are functionally interconnected among each other. Men in society make their contributions through their work done in society and contribute to the self-regulation of society. Through the material reproduction of the lifeworlds of the collectivities, society, is composed of collectivities, continues and preserves its existence, that is, reproduces itself. Men depend on society, and society depends on men. Society is a harmonic entity. The system and functionalism see the modernity of society as a harmony of men and society.

Parsons developed his system functionalism in his long research life. At the very beginning, he tried to develop a theory of society based on action theory, but in vain. Later, he introduced systems theory in his research and constructed a theory of society based on systems functionalism. However, his theory consisting of value-realization was depicted in the four-function model: the AGIL schema, adaptation, goal attainment, integration, and latency or patterns maintenance. Habermas conceives that social integration concerns the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld, where functional or system integration concerns with the material reproduction of the lifeworld.

Parsons conceived that functional integration is related to adaptation and goal attainment, that is, the problems of allocation. Moreover, he conceived that the two processes of symbolic reproduction, cultural reproduction and socialization are patterns maintenance. Furthermore, he combines functional integration and social integration under integration.

Based on the two-level concept of society, from the perspective of the external observers, the AGIL schema was the growing complexity of system. Moreover, from the perspective of internal participants, it was conceived that value-realization was the differentiation of the structural components of the lifeworld. Parsons assimilated the rationalization of the lifeworld with the growing complexity of the systems. Parsons did not conceive societal integration from both social integration and system integration, but only with integration as a whole. From Habermas, social integration is based on rational and normative consensus among people, whereas system integration is based on empirical consensus among people and the government. Thus, in the system functionalism of Parsons, the rational consensus based on shared understanding reached by the people was the same as empirical consensus based on the steering media of money and power proposed by the government.

Luhmann was slightly different from Parsons in dealing with system functionalism. He viewed society solely from system perspective and the lifeworld was one of the elements in the system.

In fact, for both Parsons and Luhmann, society was a harmonic one. Moreover, for them, societal reproduction was “the concept of an equilibrium based on the homeostatic model of self-regulating process” of system (Morrow and Torres, 1995:44). The functionalism adopts system rationality, that is, society is self-regulated or self-maintained, emphasizes the stability and harmony of society. They analyzed society chiefly from the perspective of system integration, that is, they inconspicuously accepted the phenomenon that a colonization of the lifeworld from the system, and conceived it as a normal one as well as a presupposition.

In capitalist society, the accumulation of capital, and the maintenance and legitimation of the capitalist mode of production are the tasks of the government administration. System functionalism sees that education should cater for the needs of society, in the form of the tasks performed by the government administration. Education, as an element in the system, helps the government to fulfill the tasks, and contributes to the self-maintenance and harmony of society.

Coleman conceives that education system reproduces social and educational inequalities, and supports to break away from cycle of poverty through education. (Coleman, et al., 1966, in Morrow & Torres, 1995: 69) Thus, it is considered to be the dysfunction of education.

Moreover, the human capital theory also depicts how education contributes to the needs of society. Man, viewed as human capital in terms of education achievement and an important input factor of the economy, contributes to the economic prosperity from viewpoint of the government. From the technocratic

viewpoint, the continuing and upgrading input of human capital contributes to or is functional to the economic development (Halsey, 1995: 157).

The New Right, as a political project, joins neo-liberalist and neo-conservative viewpoints. Neo-liberalist emphasizes individual freedom and the free-market, while neo-conservative stresses that a strong state can sustain moral, social, economic, and political orders. This political project started in the USA under Reagan Administration and in the UK under Thatcher Administration in 1980s. It is introduced in two different but interrelated dimensions in western society. The first dimension was related to solving the crises which emerged in the 1980s. At that time, there were social, economic, and political crises. Apart from the oil crisis, there was increasing unemployment, and stagnant economic growth. The New Right introduced 'grand narrative of the market and competitive individualism as an instrument of cultural renewal' (Halsey, & et al. 1997: 19), and attempted to support accumulation of capital and guarantee a context for the expansion of capital. It interpreted the causes of the crises as dysfunctioning of market and lacking incentives for individual development, that is, according to own theoretical presuppositions, such as marketization of social, educational, and other services other than the economy, and competitive individualism. The New Right, in the terms of postmodernism, proposed solutions to the crises stemming from the social, economic, and political dimensions, and aimed at continuing a capitalist mode of production. The other dimension was related to the common daily experiences of the people at that time, such as insecurity in employment, lack of opportunities to develop their potential, etc. Moreover, the New Right, as a political project, is instrumental in dealing with globalization in the changing context of shifting from national economy to global economy. (Halsey & et

al. 1997: 19-20) From a Marxist perspective, in a capitalist society, there are three core problems for government administration to tackle, namely supporting accumulation of capital, guaranteeing a context for continued expansion of capital, and legitimating the capitalist mode of production (Dale, 1997). Then, the New Right attempts to tackle the three core problems envisaged by the Marxist in the political project.

If the function of education is solely for the needs of society, then this relation is defined in instrumental rationality (Morrow & Torres, 1995: 77). The instrumental rationality, from the perspective of the system, is a system rationality, in which the elements of the system are solely contributed to the stability of the system.

In the system and functionalism, education system, as an element of the system, is oriented to the self-regulation and self-maintenance, or simply, to the functional needs of society. The aims of education are oriented to the functional needs of society and are empirically motivated ties. The students are socialized based on the conceived needs of society through the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld. Through the principle of meritocracy, the students get their jobs according to the level of their academic achievement and qualifications. They enter the job world and are selected to various positions by society.

The government administration represents society, performs the function of capital accumulation and guarantees the mode of capitalist production. The students selected to different positions of the job world or the economy provide the human resources needed for the continuation of the economy, or capital accumulation. The

aims of education reached by the rationally motivated consensus within the public sphere fulfill the functional needs of society based on the empirical motivated ties. The public sphere provides mass loyalty to the government administration on one hand, and the government administration gets the legitimation needed from the public sphere on the other. Social integration is subordinated to system integration.

2.3.2 *Economic-reproductive theories*

From a Marxist viewpoint, in capitalist societies, the education system is operated in correspondence with the needs of society. However, the needs of society are not the interests of society as a whole, but the needs of the economic system and the interests of capitalists and the ruling class. Through education, the capitalist class and the working class are reproduced in accordance to the needs of society oriented to the interests of the capitalist class. (Morrow & Torres, 1995: 37) This relation between education and needs of society is defined by instrumental rationality.

There are “two Marxisms,” the voluntaristic Marxism and structuralist Marxism. The voluntaristic Marxism concerns the problems of agency, and social integration, seeing the active role of agency in shaping society; the structuralist Marxism concerns economic determination on structural or social relation among the dominant and dominated, that is, the base-superstructure model. It emphasizes system integration, seeing only the puppet roles of the agency. The “two Marxisms” develop and have different names according to their focuses. (Morrow & Torres, 1995: 125)

Althusser contributes a lot to the theory of the structuralist Marxism. He conceives a structural causality between the mode of production or base and the social relation of production or superstructure. This is the same structural causality envisaged by Marx. The capitalist society, through the education system, reproduces a social relation depicting capitalists and working class accordingly. Moreover, he envisages that the structural causality would lead to a correspondence of reproducing the capitalist and working classes. He depicts the principle of correspondence, and

even neglects the puppet role of agency in the principle. (Morrow & Torres, 1995: 145) Thus, he conceives society exclusively from the standpoint of an external observer, from the perspective of the system.

Althusser recognizes that the social reproduction consists of the reproduction of productive forces and the existing social relation of production, the capitalist and the working class. He makes use of the theory of state and ideology to support the argument of the social reproduction, especially the part of reproducing social relation. For Althusser, the state is a repressive apparatus consisting of the administrative bureaucracy, army, court, etc. The other institutions such as education, family, political system, trade unions, legal institutions, etc., he conceives as ideological state apparatus, serving the interests and needs of the capitalist class. Particularly, he conceives the school-family nexus as the educational ideological apparatus. Through education, the state successfully reproduces the social relation of production. This is considered to be the Marxist theory of social reproduction through education. (Morrow & Torres, 1995: 147) Class struggle is the driving mechanism in the social evolution of society. Marxists envisage the stage of social evolution of the capitalist society as a society with a driving mechanism of class struggle between the capitalist class and working class. This driving mechanism of class struggle depicts the essence of the theory of Marxists' version of modernity.

Bowles and Gintis develop the correspondence thesis in the socio-economic and political context of the United States of America. Their research work does not rely only on the theory informed by Marx, but also on the empirical evidence in research. Their research on work and education depicts a picture of social

reproduction. They argue that the education system produces a surplus of skill. This leads to two phenomena. On one hand, there is greater control of employers over their worker because of increasing numbers of workers attaining the level of skills. On the other hand, it facilitates the symbolic legitimation of inequality. They conceive that, though the education system is oriented to meritocracy, it does not promote social equality, but performs its integrative function. Education does reproduce social inequality through justifying privilege, and economic inequality through attributing poverty to personal failure. (Morrow & Torres, 1995: 162-170)

Though Althusser, and Bowles and Gintis link education with economy in their correspondence theses, there is a difference between them in their research work. Althusser develops the thesis through the theory of state and ideology, while Bowles and Gintis develop it through empirical work.

The thesis of correspondence depicts a structural causality between education and economy, that is, between the function of education system and the interests and needs of the capitalist class represented by the state.

Education fulfills the dual functions of socialization and selection. In the correspondence thesis, the education system, as ideological apparatus, performs the function of socialization. In the same token, the education system, indirectly, helps to select the students to a set of hierarchy in future employment. The social status of people within the hierarchy of employment determines their respective norms and values, that is, their consciousness of livelihood, the distorted and ideologically based communicative interaction. The capitalist class and the working class do have their

respective consciousness of classes, and are influenced by both their own socialization and the social status. These two classes compete against each other, for they do not get rationally motivated consensus on their ideologically distorted communicative interaction.

The state performs the functions of capital accumulation and guaranteeing the capitalist mode of production. The education system channels the human resources needed. The subordinated working class is forced to agree with what the functional needs, that is, the growing economy of society, that is, the needs are beneficial for society as whole, disposed by the capitalist class. This agreement is an empirically motivated consensus, based on the functional needs beneficial to society as a whole. The government, based on the empirically motivated consensus, obtains the political legitimation from the ideologically distorted public sphere.

2.3.3 *Class-cultural reproductive theories*

In class-cultural reproductive theories, society is composed of different classes, and the classification of classes is largely based on their possessions of wealth and other privileges, such as possession of knowledge. The education system is the site of struggle for different classes to fight for their own privileges. Moreover, it is influenced and constructed as the consequence of the struggle between different classes. Different social classes make use of the education system, especially the acquisition of knowledge, to improve their political, social, and economic status. The dominant class makes use of the qualification and credentials of education to exclude other social classes from having them. (Morrow & Torres, 1995: 37) Social reproduction is shown in the close relationship between class reproduction and educational reproduction. This relation between society and education is defined in system or instrumental rationality.

In a capitalist society, the middle class competes for its position in the form of credentials and academic qualifications, which are the tickets to higher socio-economic status. Bourdieu conceives that cultural capital, in the form of credential and academic qualifications, is needed in the social reproduction, especially for the middle class to retain and reproduce their socio-economic privilege. There are class conflicts in the issues of the education system, traditionally between working class and middle class, and more recently between the new middle class and the old professional class. The issues of education include the problem of education access, equality of opportunities, and choice of education providers. The middle class, through competing for higher credential and academic qualification, struggles for

higher socio-economic positions in society. The middle class, as Bourdieu points out, may try to exclude the working class from gaining higher socio-economic positions through obtaining higher credential and academic qualification. (Halsey, & et al. ed. 1997: 15)

Bourdieu translates the agency-structure into the relation between habitus and field. People make use of habitus as cognitive structure to tackle the social world. The habitus is produced by society, and in turn, the habitus produces society. The field is the position of people in the network of social interaction in society. (Ritzer, 2000: 220) Bourdieu conceives society from the perspective of the lifeworld, is concerned with how the cultural component of the lifeworld gets reproduced.

In view of class relation between middle and working classes, the middle class competes for the desired field, which is higher in socio-economic status, through getting higher credential and academic qualifications. Lareau recognizes that middle-class parents tend to choose privileged schools for their children, and participate actively in the schooling of their children. The parents will spend more time supervising the schooling of their children. The middle class children, equipped with more cultural capital, will compete successfully and get more educational privileges than their counterparts, the working class children. (Lareau, 1997) Lareau is concerned more with the interpersonal component of the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of the children, with middle class children getting more privileges.

Bourdieu and Lareau link the educational system and social reproduction from

the viewpoint of a structural homology, rather than from that of correspondence proposed by the structural Marxist. (Morrow & Torres, 1995: 212)

However, Bernstein makes use of the analysis of pedagogical discourse in linking the relationship between education system and classes. (Morrow & Torres, 1995: 212) He conceives society from the perspective of the lifeworld, and is concerned, same as Bourdieu, with how the cultural component of the lifeworld gets reproduced.

Bernstein makes use of speech pattern in elucidating the differences between middle class children and working class children in their educational attainments. Furthermore, in relation to speech pattern, Bernstein proposes two sets of related concepts. Working class children tend to use restricted codes, which are characterized as short-handed code, supplemented with other means, for example, gesture, to convey meaning of the communication, in common interaction. Middle class children tend to use elaborated codes, which are characterized as conveying meaning completely and logically. Furthermore, working class children tend to classify things in related to personal experiences, while the middle class children tend to classify thing based on abstract people. The curriculum designed for school education favours the children using elaborated codes and classifying things based on abstract people. In Bernstein's study, middle class children outperform working class children in school education. (Haralambos & Holborn, 2000: 832-834) Bernstein envisaged that there was a strong relation between pedagogies and class. (Bernstein, 1997) In relation to this phenomenon, from the viewpoint of Bourdieu, the middle class children have more cultural capital, whereas the working class children have less. Thus cultural

capital provides a suitable answer for the reason why middle children outperform the working class children in school education.

The education system is the decisive institution for the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld (Morrow & Torres, 1995: 211). Both Bourdieu and Bernstein are concerned with the cultural reproduction of the symbolic lifeworld.

Collins proposes a theory of status competition. He sees that there is little social mobility though rapid expansion of education since the mid-nineteenth century in the USA, but there is little contribution from the education system to the economic productivity of society. He notices that there is a trend of inflation of credential and academic qualification. (Morrow & Torres, 1995: 202) Moreover, Bourdieu sees that there is relation between the education system and social reproduction. “As an instrument of reproduction capable of disguising its own function, the scope of the educational system tends to increase, and together with this increase is the unification of the market in social qualifications which gives right to occupy rare positions.” (Bourdieu, 1995: 55, in Halsey, et al. 1995)

Collins and Bourdieu contribute to the social-closure theory, which is mainly the credentialist educational theory. They recognize that different classes compete for higher socio-economic status through education, through excluding others with lower credential and academic qualification.

Murphy deepens the social-closure theory by presenting a threefold distinction of forms of exclusion. Principal rules of exclusion are those supported by the state

apparatus, such as private property protected by law in the capitalist society.

Derivative rules of exclusion are those derived from the principal ones, such as, race, gender, credential and academic qualification. The contingent rules of exclusion are those professional qualifications and credentials which perform the function of exclusion. (Morrow & Torres, 1995: 205-206) Moreover, Murphy sees that credential and academic qualifications perform the function of social structure of exclusion in relation to the derivative and contingent rules of exclusion.

Brown recognized that the inflation of credentials served to exclude socially a certain group of people with lower credential and academic qualifications. The people with higher socio-economic status and more cultural capital, especially the middle-class, through entered the higher status occupation, succeeded in preserving and reproducing their privileges. (Brown, 1997)

From the perspective of the system, social closure theory depicts a clear picture of how the social reproduction of class comes out through social exclusion mechanisms. Certificate and academic qualifications are related to the qualities and quantities of human resources, and hence, the key factor in the development of the economy. Education remains the site of class conflict for competing for better socio-economic status, and serves to be an exclusionary mechanism. Thus, credentials are relevant both to economic needs and to act as an exclusionary mechanism. The competition is beneficial for economic growth. The idea of the Marxist driving mechanism can be applied to society envisaged by the class-cultural theories. Class conflict is the driving mechanism of social evolution in the capitalist society, their version of a theory of modernity.

Education fulfills the dual functions of socialization and selection. Both Bourdieu and Bernstein are concerned with the cultural reproduction of the symbolic lifeworld of the students. In school education, cultural reproduction takes place hand in hand in the process of socialization. In the social closure theory, the education system, indirectly, helps to select the students to a set of hierarchies for future employment through the mechanism of social exclusion.

The state facilitates the ongoing economic development of society, and performs the functions of capital accumulation and guarantees the capitalist mode of production. The education system channels the human resources needed. In a capitalist society with class conflict, the subordinated class is forced to agree with the functional needs of society disposed by the dominant class. The functional needs of society, chiefly the growing economy, show an increasing demand for higher credentials and academic qualification. This agreement is an empirically motivated consensus, based on that the functional needs are beneficial to society as a whole, regardless of class. The government, based on providing the opportunities for inflation of credentials, reaching the empirically motivated consensus, obtains the political legitimation from the ideologically distorted public sphere.

2.3.4 *Class-bureaucratic theories*

Class-bureaucratic theories adopt the viewpoint that society is composed of classes based on wealth, knowledge, prestige, and others privileges. Different social classes compete for higher economic, social, and political status in society through education. Bureaucratization does satisfy the needs of society, that is, the efficiency of capital accumulation and political legitimation, but it does not cater for the fulfillment of human potential and development. Bureaucratic society helps in the social reproduction of class through education. (Morrow & Torres, 1995: 37) This relation of society and class is defined by system or instrumental rationality.

Illich's thesis of deschooling disappears in the recent discussion of critical theories of education. Moreover, his thesis of deschooling can be grouped under the class-bureaucratic models. He approaches education through combining the critique of instrumental rationality from the Frankfurt School and arguments from the progressive free-school, and libertarian anarchist traditions. (Morrow & Torres, 1995: 225) Illich sees that there is a trend of universal tendency for bureaucratization in the context of social-class antagonism. The education system is a bureaucratic institution and tends to reproduce the existing class structure. He provides a provocative solution of deschooling. (Morrow & Torres, 1995: 226) However, deschooling does not mean abandoning education institution, but reconstructing it through conviviality, a context of an ideal intercourse among individuals. (Morrow & Torres, 1995: 229-230) Thus, Illich intends to show how education should be through rationally motivated interaction.

Habermas's theory of communicative action is not discussed in these critical theories. The critical theory of the Frankfurt School agrees with Weber's analysis of bourgeois society based on the domination of bureaucracy, and conceives society as further under the influence of instrumental rationality. (Morrow & Torres, 1995: 245) They describe the domination in other terms, such as reification of society, one-dimensional society, etc.

Education, as the state-organized institution, is also influenced by the ideological effect of reification or instrumental rationality. Furthermore, in modern state, education serves to facilitate the expansion of the powers of bureaucracy. Individuals in the organization tend to have little capacity in the resistance to the domination of bureaucracy since education is the site for survival, in the present and in the future. (Morrow & Torres, 1995: 246) From the perspective of the system, the Frankfurt School conceives that society as whole, no matter which class, is dominated by the imperatives of bureaucracy. Class competition occurs in the socio-economic and political context of bureaucracy. The Frankfurt School envisages bureaucracy or reification as the product of social evolution and human progress. The bureaucratic society, like a machine, dominates the symbolic lifeworld of the people. This is the version of the theory of modernity of the Frankfurt School. From Habermas's viewpoint, it is a colonization of the lifeworld by the system through the imperatives of the government administration, through the steering media of power on the lifeworld of people. Then, education is a state-organized process of bureaucratization, and is an agent of legitimation of society. (Morrow & Torres, 1995: 226)

Darling-Hammond recognized that the goal of education was not to cater for all students but for selecting and supporting a few. The education system was organized bureaucratically, so that the strategies for sorting of students were standardized, such as a standardized curriculum, as well as learning and teaching tasks. (Darling-Hammond, 1997) She proposed that schools should be restructured so as to decrease the bureaucratization.

Borrowing from the experiences of business, Darling-Hammond proposed that the restructuring 'schools feature smaller, more personalized and less fragmented structures with less departmentalization, stronger relational bonds between and among students and teachers, greater use of teaching teams, and substantial teacher participation in school redesign and decision-making'. The restructuring aimed at creating a caring and supportive school environment so as to nurture all students individually. (Darling-Hammond, 1997) At school scale, she attempts to resist the detrimental effect of bureaucracy through the restructuring of schools.

Education fulfills the dual functions of socialization and selection. The Frankfurt School recognizes class competition in the bureaucratic society. Under the impact of efficiency of capital accumulation and government administration, school education is oriented to the interest of the dominant class. It sifts out the competitive and selective human resources through the public examinations for society, but neglects to develop the full potential of the students. Through public examinations, the dominant class gets the higher social, economic, and political status. The perspective of the lifeworld in seeing how school education should be developed has

largely disappeared, and the symbolic lifeworld is under the imperatives or needs of the systems.

The state performs the functions of capital accumulation and guaranteeing the capitalist mode of production. The education system channels the human resources needed. In the capitalist and bureaucratic society with class competition, the subordinated class is forced to agree with what the functional needs of society disposed by the dominant class. The functional needs of society are the efficiency of the political accumulation and political legitimation. This agreement is an empirically motivated consensus, based on that the functional needs are beneficial to society as a whole. The government, responsible for providing the opportunities of growing functional needs of society, reaches the empirically motivated consensus with the public, and obtains the political legitimation from the ideologically distorted public sphere.

2.3.5 *Integrative-reproductive models*

In the integrative-reproductive models, there are two complementary approaches in social reproduction, the state-hegemonic theories and the transformative-resistance theories.

The state-hegemonic theories adopt the viewpoint that the state is the mediating point on which social order is created through regulating political, social, and economic factors. The transformative-resistance theories adopt the viewpoint that individuals and collectivities of society are mobilized to resist against the hegemony of forms of dominations, such as class, race, or gender. The state-hegemonic theories are parallelist, and are different to class-reductionist which concentrates on only one form of domination, and conceive that there are various forms of domination, e.g. class, gender, race, education, etc. other than class as the only form of domination. The transformative-resistance theories are practice-based and adopt the knowledge guiding interest of political rather than explanatory. (Morrow & Torres, 1995: 38)

The state-hegemonic theories

Hegemony is the central concept of Gramsci's Hegelian Marxism. Hegemony is a historical and philosophical concept in the theory of praxis that links action with thought. Moreover, hegemony is the cultural leadership exercised by the ruling class in the capitalist society. In modern society, some intellectuals, who represent the capitalist and the ruling class, get cultural leadership and the voluntary consent of the

dominated class. It is different from coercion that is exercised by legislative, executive, or even military powers. Thus social order is achieved by the state administration through both coercion and hegemony. Marx emphasizes the determination of economy and the coercive domination of the state, while Gramsci stresses hegemony of the state administration. (Ritz, 2000: 275-276)

Because hegemony is the exercise of cultural leadership by the state administration and its agents, it is the phenomenon of the empirical motivated consensus reached by the state administration and the people of the public sphere. Hegemony is related to cultural reproduction (Morrow & Torres, 1995: 251). Though the influence of domination is in the symbolic lifeworld of people, the exercise of cultural leadership is at the hand of the state administration. Thus, from the perspective of the system, hegemony is the example of steering media of power exercised by the state administration. From this, Gramsci envisages hegemony as his version of the theory of modernity.

“Education system is the site for enculturation of hegemony by the state, and for socializing the achieved consensus over the cultural tradition reached by civil society.” (Morrow & Torres, 1995: 254) There is a relationship among state, civil society, and hegemony, which shows the essence and the operation of the capitalist society. The state administration achieves the reproduction of capitalist relation of class through cultural hegemony, through acquiring the empirical consensus from the civil society. The relation of society and class is defined in system or instrumental rationality. The ideology of the New Right can be considered as the cultural hegemony.

Education fulfills the dual functions of socialization and selection. Gramscians are concerned with cultural leadership exercised in the field of education. School education is oriented to the interest of the dominant class. The dominant class, through public examinations, occupies the privileged social, economic, political status.

The state performs the functions of capital accumulation, guaranteeing the capitalist mode of production. The education system channels the human resources needed. In a capitalist society with class conflict, the dominant class, with the help of the cultural leadership exercised by the government administration, forces the dominated class to agree on the functional needs of society as a whole. This agreement is an empirically motivated consensus, based on that the functional needs, chiefly the growing of economy and the hegemony exercised, are beneficial to society as a whole. The government, based on providing the opportunities of education access, reaches empirically motivated consensus, and obtains the political legitimation from the ideologically distorted public sphere.

The transformative-resistance theory

The transformative-resistance theory is the antithesis of the state-hegemonic theories.

Gramsci sees that in civil society, there is “good sense” among the “common sense”. “Common sense” refers to the hegemony exercised by the state, and the “good sense” is the rational, resistant, and counter-hegemonic practices proposed by the intellectuals linked to the dominated class. (Morrow & Torres, 1995: 258) In the capitalist society, civil society may serve to resist the cultural hegemony of the state administration. (Morrow & Torres, 1995: 321) However, resistance substitutes and replaces revolution in a broad sense.

The following case study of struggling for hegemony in education provides a valuable empirical experience to illustrate how cultural hegemony works. Since 1982, a period of decolonization and democratization began in Hong Kong, which was characterized as the transition period to the Chinese sovereignty. However, in this period, educational development and changes were more responses to the hegemonic crisis coming from various interest groups of society than the improvement in education itself (Pun, 1996). The Hong Kong government, together with business groups and other autonomous organizations, attempted to struggle for the hegemonic leadership in the changes. Moreover, the educational communities, because of inherited conflicts and mistrust among themselves, could not propose any counter-hegemonic or resistant measures in dealing with the changes. Education remains a site for the state administration and the organized civil society struggling for hegemony. (Pun, 1996)

In sum, the five paradigms show different pictures of societies, they are: a harmonic society, a society determined by class struggle, a society filled with class conflicts of interests, a bureaucratic or reified society, and a hegemonic society. From these pictures, the paradigms show how the relation between society and education is defined. The relations are defined by system or instrumental rationality. Moreover, the key factors which determine social reproduction are as follows: a harmonic relation between people and society, an economic determination of class relation, a cultural influence on class relation, a bureaucratic influence on class relation, and a hegemonic influence on class relation. These class relations depicted influence the state administration in organizing education systems. In return, through such a close relation between education systems and government administration, social reproduction is depicted.

2.4 The recent approaches or works of analysis of the development of education in Hong Kong

There are in total five scholars writing about the development of education in Hong Kong. The study makes use of Habermas's theory of communicative action, especially the perspectives of action and the systems, to interpret the discussion on the development of school education.

Sweeting (2004) writes a chronological development of education, and focuses on the interaction, sometime hostile ones, among interest and pressure groups on one hand, and the government administration on the other. He has traced a trend from quantitative to qualitative development of school education, and conceives it as the consequence of the interactions. He conceives education from both the perspectives of the lifeworld and the system.

Tsang (1998, 2006 (ed.)) examines the development of education from 1965 to 2004 from the viewpoint of education policy. Through examining the crises, problems and challenges induced from the political, economic, social, and educational fields, he accounts for the responses and education policies implemented by the government administration. He sees that the development of education, from the standpoint of theme of discourse on education policies, has shifted from provision of mass education to the quality of education. In studying the education policies proposed by the government administration, Tsang concludes with four main themes of policy: the academic structure of school education, the medium of instruction, the quality of teaching, and school curriculum and assessment of learning. In his critiques on

development of education, Tsang conceives that the development, in fact, is a trend of emphasis on quality and effectiveness of education, on even the cult of marketization of education. His viewpoint is chiefly from the perspective of the system.

Furthermore, he attempts to appropriate Habermas's working model of an advanced capitalist society in seeing the differences in the expectation of education from different spheres.

Kwok studies the development of education from 1945 to 2004 (Kwok and Chan, (ed.) 2004)). He emphasizes the socio-economic and political situations in influencing the development, and traces a trend from quantitative provision to qualitative one. He, from the standpoint of internal participant of education, encourages teachers to participate in policy making, especially to reflect the viewpoints and situation of teachers. He studies the development of education from both the perspective of internal participants and the external observers.

Fong (2007) provides another approach in studying the development of education from 1841 to 2007. He analyzes it in periods, and divides the school education system into different education sectors, such as pre-school sector, primary education sector, secondary education sector, adult education sector, and tertiary sector, etc. Fong provides a comprehensive image on education with detailed information on the development of education. In his study, Fong attempts to solicit the development in terms of challenges and crises posed in school education and the solutions provided by the government.

In her study on educational policy development between 1982 and 1994, Pun (1996) attempts to show the interaction between the government administration and the education bodies in the public sphere from the standpoint of cultural hegemony. She conceives education policy making, or directing, development of education, as an arena for the government administration and the organized civil society interests to fight for their interests. Seeing the hegemonic struggles among different parties concerned in education policy making, Pun implicitly recognizes the functions performed by education, the functions of socialization and selection.

The above scholars try to depict their own picture of historical development of education of Hong Kong chiefly from the perspective of the system. However, there is a gap in the above literatures, a gap of failing to see school education from both the perspectives of action and the systems. This study attempts to fill in this gap in showing how education performs the function of social reproduction in a course of history of development based on the perspectives of action and the systems simultaneously.

CHAPTER THREE METHODOLOGY

3.1 Setting out approaches of the study

Cohen, Manion & Morrison (2007:28) see that Habermas sets out his research methodology in four stages in general. The first stage is the description and interpretation of the existing situation of the research question, whereas the second one is the formulation of hypothesis based on the research constructs or reason. The third stage is the provision of agenda in altering the existing situation, whereas the fourth one is evaluation of the changes in altered situations. Cohen, Manion & Morrison (2007:29) find a similar methodology in an education research work conducted by Smyth (1989) and depict a process of four stages in research methodology as follows:

the first stage is “description (what am I doing?)”, the second stage is “information (what does it mean?)”, the third stage is “confrontation (how did I come to be like this?)”, and the fourth one is “reconstruction (how might I do things differently?)”.

This study tends to follow these four stages. It shows the first and the second stages of research in chapters two and three or the chapters related to theories and methods, and in chapters four and five, or the chapters related to situational and historical analyses of school education in Hong Kong. Moreover, stages three and four are shown in the summary and conclusion in chapters six and seven.

In view of collecting data in research work, Denzin and Lincoln (2000:25) suggest “empirical materials is the preferred term for what are traditionally described

as data.” The researchers use them as empirical materials or evidence for their investigations. This study employs the term empirical materials to denote the collected data. In collecting empirical materials, this study tends to use both the primary sources, such as materials from official publications and newspapers, and secondary sources such as materials from books and websites (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007: 194). However, the study tends to rely more on secondary sources of empirical materials, for, based on the materials collected, it attempts to explore the possibility and utility of applying Habermas’s theory of communicative action in describing situational and historical analyses of school education in Hong Kong. However, the selection of secondary sources of materials should be very cautious and appropriate, otherwise, biases are likely to occur.

The hypothetical case followed attempts to illustrate how the researchers rely on secondary sources of materials and achieve their goals of investigations. In Hong Kong, secondary students are allocated to three bandings according to their academic ability when they pursue secondary education. Bandings are treated as secondary sources of data, or simply as empirical evidence. The researchers conceive the bandings as an indicator in the segregation of students. They, at the same time, interpret this empirical evidence as an inequality of opportunities of education, a goal or conclusion reached in investigation. Thus, Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007: 26) conceive the above as “where people strive to interpret and operate in an already interpreted world”, and point out that it is what Habermas conceives as interpretive understanding, and what Giddens calls as double hermeneutic.

The researchers, equipped with their own constructs, the segregation of students by academic ability, set out their investigation, that is, “logical structure of cognition”. The empirical materials or data collected leads to banding of students, that is, the “empirical conditions materialized by cognition”. Through “interpretive understanding” of “empirical conditions materialized by cognition” based on “logical structure of cognition”, they can draw a conclusion of inequality of opportunities of education (McCarthy, 1978: 91).

Equipped with relevant and anticipated theories and explanations, that is, the “logical structure of cognition”, the researchers investigate the related significant issues, or the “empirical conditions materialized by cognition”. Furthermore, he envisages that “this material provides a check on its claims – the assertions of critical theory are empirically falsifiable.” (McCarthy, 1978: 134) The claims are the conclusions derived from the investigations on significant education issues based on researchers’ theories applied. The researchers seek the empirical consistency of the claims. The validity of the claims can be established on the grounds of whether they are “empirically falsifiable” or not.

Seeing “a social turn in an adequate theory of knowledge”, McCarthy envisages that “a community of investigators” of “naturally generated and socially formed subject” tries to investigate empirical problems based on their communicatively agreed procedures and method, and even theories (McCarthy, 1978: 91). Thus, the reliability of the materials collected is based on the communicatively agreed procedures and method.

From the above discussion, a three-step approach, based on empirical evidence is devised. The first step is the theoretical construct of the researchers when they set out their investigation. The second step is how empirical materials serve as evidence collected based on the principles of reliability and validity. The final step is how the researcher draws his conclusion after investigation through interpretive understanding.

In short, this study attempts to devise a three-step approach based on empirical evidence: setting out constructs, collecting relevant empirical evidence, and drawing conclusions through interpretive understanding.

3.2 Setting out research methodology

3.2.1 Research design

This study deals with the empirical level of analysis on the relation between school education and society.

The three research foci are as follows: How is symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld worked through school education? How is school education worked in general? How has school education developed into the present situation?

The following introduce how the research foci are studied.

Firstly, the research focus, how symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld is worked through school education, is depicted through a narration of project learning at classroom scale.

Secondly, the research focus, how school education is worked in general, is depicted on a reference framework of three-scale analysis of school education shown in Figure 4.2.

Thirdly, the research focus: how historical development of school education is depicted based on a working model of advanced capitalist societies devised by Habermas. This model, in Figure 5.1, shows the interchange relations between private and public spheres on one hand, and economy and the government administration on

the other. Thus, the model provides a reference framework in narrating the history of development of education in Hong Kong.

McCarthy figures out that historical research “is primarily concerned with ascertaining initial and boundary conditions that might figure in nomological explanations based on sociological (that is, nonhistorical) laws.” (McCarthy, 1978: 129) He sees historical research as an arena for competing sociological laws.

3.2.2 *Sources of data*

This study attempts to show a relation between school education and society in Hong Kong and thus falls on the empirical level of analysis. Through applying the theory of communicative action, this study conducts the situational and historical analyses of school education in Hong Kong. Moreover, the purpose of the study is to illustrate the possibility and utility of applying the theory of communicative action in exploring the relation between school education and society in Hong Kong.

In the aspect of situational analysis, this study devises a three-scale analysis, namely, classroom scale, school scale, and regional scale, of school education. Moreover, two parts of three-scale analysis of school education are envisaged. The first part analyzes basic communicative interaction at classroom scale attempting to show how social reproduction is possible in Hong Kong. The second part analyzes a growing complexity of networks of communicative interaction from classroom scale, to school scale, and up to regional scale, so as to examine how school education is worked in general in Hong Kong.

Furthermore, in the aspect of historical analysis, this study appropriates Habermas's working model of analyzing advanced capitalist society to examine the historical development of school education in Hong Kong.

In view of above, this study envisages three research foci and they are as follows:

1. How is social reproduction possible?

2. How is school education worked in general?
3. How is historical development of school education depicted?

Moreover, the first and the second foci fall on the situational analysis of school education whereas the third one falls on the historical analysis of school education.

Furthermore, there are four dimensions in related to the research foci in collecting empirical materials or data for the study.

In related to the research focus of how is social reproduction possible, this study attempts to illustrate it through using the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of the students at the classroom scale in the situational analysis of school education. This study appropriates project learning as a hypothetical and ideal typical school programme is constructed at classroom scale of the three-scale analysis of school education so as to illustrate the above research focus. Moreover, the purpose of the illustration is based on the normative working assumption of undistorted communicative interaction among teachers and students, and to explore the possibility and utility of applying the theory of communicative action to study the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of the students at classroom scale of situational analysis of school education in Hong Kong. The concept of open classroom (Ballantine, 1997: 348) and four pillars of learning (Delors & et al, 1998) do provide support, if contestable, for the working normative assumption of undistorted communicative interaction. These are discussed in Section 1.3.

In relation to the research focus of how is school education worked in general, three-scale analytical framework based on Habermas's theory of communicative action is devised so as to illustrate the present situation of school education in Hong Kong. The analysis examines programmes conducted, such as PATHS, and policies implemented, such as the External School Review carried out, in the context of recent education reform in Hong Kong. These are the sources of data collected through government and related websites, and are used for the purpose of empirical evidence. However, these materials may accentuate the positive aspects of implementing the programmes and policies, and may not depict the negative ones. Moreover, these materials are served to explore the possibility and utility of applying Habermas's theory on situational analysis of school education. This study will take a cautious and critical stance in choosing and analyzing the available evidence.

In related to the research focus of how is historical development of school education depicted, this study attempts to appropriate and modify Habermas's working model of advanced capitalist societies from the perspective of the system so as to illustrate the historical development of school education in Hong Kong. This study is based on data, such as the policy papers and documents issued by the government, and materials and books written by other scholars, in conducting analysis. Moreover, it is very cautious in selecting materials so as to minimize the likely biases found.

Furthermore, a literature review has been conducted, so as to connect the five paradigms of theories of social reproduction with the theory of communicative action. These paradigms of social reproduction are examined by the theory of communicative action so as to elucidate the phenomenon of social reproduction through education in the capitalist society. Moreover, the study tries to articulate the five paradigms of theories of social reproduction under the theory of communicative action.

3.2.3 *Method of analysis*

This study follows the three-step approach based on collected materials or empirical evidence, that is, setting out constructs, collecting materials or empirical evidences, and drawing conclusions through interpretive understanding.

Firstly, this study appropriates the following in setting out construct in the inquiry.

In the dimensions of analyzing current school education and the history of development of education, the constructs are depicted in Figure 4.2, the three scales of analysis of school education in relation to social reproduction, and Figure 5.1, Habermas's working model of advanced capitalist societies from the perspective of the system, respectively.

In the dimension of connecting this study with the five paradigms of theories of social reproduction, the approach of reconstruction is adopted in the analysis. Reconstruction of a theory means analyzing the theory based on one's own theoretical framework so as to achieve better theoretical analysis (McCarthy, 1981:233). This facilitates a better understanding of the theories of social reproduction.

Moreover, triangulation is a multi-method approach instead of a single one to investigate a research problem. Moreover, theoretical triangulation is the approach using competitive or alternative theories to examine a phenomenon, and in the end, preferring to adopt or utilize one theory only. (Cohen, Manson & Morrison,

2006:142) Reconstruction is an approach used by Habermas to enjoy dialogues with the founding fathers of sociology. Based on his theory of communicative action, he aims at extracting their positive contributions to sociology, criticizing and overcoming their negative weak points in theories, and finally, synthesizing and going beyond their theories (Habermas, 1987). Theoretical triangulation is similar to reconstruction. This study appropriates Habermas' working model as the reference framework in articulating or reconstructing the five paradigms of theories of social reproduction in the chapter of literature review.

Secondly, this study will be based on the two conceptual frameworks, the three scales analysis of school education, and Habermas's working model of the advanced capitalist society from the perspective of system, as illustrated in Section 3.2.2 in analyzing empirical evidences collected.

Thirdly, summaries and conclusions are drawn after analyzing the empirical evidences based on the above two conceptual framework. Based on the summaries and conclusion drawn, the study intends to propose a new and critical approach in sociology of education accordingly.

CHAPTER FOUR A THREE-SCALE ANALYSIS OF SCHOOL EDUCATION IN HONG KONG

The three-scale analysis of school education falls in the empirical level of analysis of this study. It is a situation analysis of school education and attempts to examine two research foci. The first research focus is how symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of students is worked, and falls at the situational analysis of the classroom scale. Moreover, the second research focus is how school education is worked in general, and falls at the situational analysis across the three-scale analysis.

This study devises a three-scale analysis based on density of network of communicative interaction in analyzing communicative interaction in the school education context. Firstly, at classroom scale, the communicative interaction among students and teachers is a simple network. Secondly, at school scale, the density of network of the communicative interaction becomes a complex one. Moreover, the complexity of the interaction is in the form of the number of actors, the frequency of the interactions, and the processes of reaching shared understanding. Thus, the interactions at the school scale are based on relief mechanisms derived from increasing complexity of network of communicative interaction. Thirdly, at regional level, the communicative interaction becomes extremely complex, and thus, the interactions can only be viewed through exchange relations from the perspective of the system based on Habermas's working model in analyzing advanced capitalist society.

4.1 How symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of students is worked – analyzing school education at classroom scale

Through making use of project learning as a hypothetical example, this study attempts to appropriate a situation analysis of school education and answer the question of how symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of student is possible at classroom scale, that is, at a simple network of communicative interaction. Moreover, the study employs a normative working assumption that the communicative interaction between teachers and students is an undistorted one based on communicative rationality. This working assumption is already discussed in the first chapter of the study.

Learning and teaching activity is a communicative action among students and teachers in school education context. Related to this, project learning is a situation of learning and teaching activity, or communicative action. Two small groups of actors are found in project learning: the learners or the students and the teachers.

In project learning, the students and the teachers adopt a communicative attitude, and interact communicatively among each other through using language. Thus, project learning, in general, is the linguistically mediated interaction between the students and the teachers, and is a simple network of communicative interaction.

Learning and teaching are two sides of a mirror and reflect the two different roles performed by the students and the teachers respectively; the students learn and the teachers teach. Both expect an outcome from project learning. For the students, it

is learning and growth; for the teachers, it is their teaching duty and consequences of learning from students. Thus, the students and the teachers adopt communicative attitudes aiming at mutual understanding among each other and coordinating their plans of action situation in producing a product in project learning.

In project learning, the students and the teachers communicate with each other based on a teaching schedule, learning reference materials prepared by the teachers, collected materials and data prepared by students, assignments and submitted projects, etc. These are forms of narrations, in the form of statements and texts.

The students and the teachers interact through language, the language in use. During the on-going process of project learning, there arises communicative interaction among students and teachers through asking questions and answering them. In the presentation of a project, the students present their projects and the teachers make comments on them. In submitting their project as assignments, the students learn and the teachers monitor what students have learnt.

In the situation of asking and answering questions in the project learning, the students make use of constative speech acts in asking questions related to the cultural events and objects of their objective worlds. The teachers also make use of constative speech act in answering the questions asked by the students related to the cultural events and objects of their objective worlds. Both questioning and answering are narrative presentations performed by the students and the teachers respectively.

A solution is reached through mutual understanding, that is, the students know

what questions can be solved and the teachers know what are the problems of the students and provide them with suitable solutions through different learning and teaching strategies. A common definition of situation is reached when the questions the student asks are matched with the proposed answers supplied by the teachers. The process of asking and answering question is a negotiation of common definition of situation in the lifeworld.

The solution to the question is the learning outcome. The solution is the agreement related to the validity claims of constative speech acts. Agreement comes out when the students and the teachers intersubjectively recognizes the validity claims of the constative speech acts in the questions and answers, that is, the narrative presentation.

The students try to amend the assignments and ask the teachers to make suggestions on them, if needed. The teachers continue to answer the remaining unsolved questions, if needed. Both of them try to coordinate their individual plan of action through their interpersonal relations in their social worlds. They make use of regulative speech acts in grasping the students and teachers relations in their social world.

Moreover, the students, when asking questions, make use of expressive speech acts, and relate their private and self experience in their subjective worlds, , why they do not understand or cannot solve the questions. The teachers, when answering questions, make use of expressive speech acts, and tell their private and self experience in their subjective worlds, why they understand and solve the questions.

Thus, the students and teachers are aware that, in the process of project learning, which is a communicative interaction, they encounter the three pragmatic actor-world relations, that is, the objective, the social and the subjective worlds, simultaneously. Through pragmatic actor-world relation, the student and the teachers make use of formal pragmatics as cognitive reference framework in mastering or managing the action situation of the project learning.

Firstly, in project learning related to the objective world, the students and teachers have reached a common definition of situation of the project. They recognize that their cultural ideas in the projects are in common and crystallize in intersubjectively recognized and accepted cultural interpretive patterns. Thus, they objectivate their belonging to the cultural dimension of the projects, develop and recognize their cultural identities in the cultural component of the lifeworld.

Secondly, in project learning related to social world, the students and teachers fall into the social or interpersonal relation of students and teacher. They develop and recognize their social identities easily in the social component of the lifeworld.

Thirdly, in project learning related to subjective world, the students, through their life of learning history, develop and recognize their personal identities in the personal component of the lifeworld.

Therefore, through the process of project learning, the students develop and recognize their cultural, social, and personal identities in their learning life.

Moreover, in this process, the teachers also develop and recognize their cultural, social, and personal identities in their professional careers.

The following discussion attempts to make use of an ideal-typical case to illustrate how project learning is run at classroom scale. The case is constructed according to common procedures of conducting project learning, the common knowledge of global warming, and the envisaged communicative interaction among teachers and students in the learning and teaching activities.

The students and the teachers would like to examine the issue of the effect of greenhouse gas on global warming. The theme of the project learning is the effect of greenhouse gas on global warming. The students and the teachers draw up a plan of action of the situation together.

They would like to analyze the issue, such as, what are the greenhouse gases, is there any causal relationship between greenhouse gases and global warming, what are the impacts of human activities when the global warming continues and becomes serious? They would like to make some suggestions on the issue. The boundary of situation is restricted to the classroom learning.

The students try to collect data on the types of greenhouse gases, and the teachers guide them to find the data themselves, if needed. Further, the students and the teachers try to find out the theories related to greenhouse gases cause global warming, and draw up a causal relation between the increase in the amount and quantities of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere and at the same time the increase in

global warming. This is the context of relevance of the situation of the project learning.

Firstly, the students adopt constative speech act, report what conclusion they can draw as to whether greenhouse gases cause global warming in the objective world. The teachers adopt constative speech act, try to facilitate the students through giving hints and necessary help, if needed.

Secondly, the students and teachers adopt regulative speech act, find that they can contribute to lowering the emission of greenhouse gases by increasing the temperature of the air-conditioning to 25 degrees Celsius in the hot season. They reach an agreement on the objective world and coordinate their actions on the social world.

Thirdly, the students adopt expressive speech acts, tell the other students and teachers they themselves know the catastrophic impact of global warming, promise to raise the temperature of the air-conditioning to 25 degrees Celsius at home. The teachers adopt expressive speech acts, and say the same things.

Through the connection between mutual understanding in the objective world and the coordinating action in the social world, the students support the environmental protection by expressing their individual actions in the subjective world. The teachers also support the actions themselves.

The concept of environmental protection provides a connection of meaning

among the actions in the three worlds. This is the relevant structure of meaning connecting the actions taken in the objective world, knowing the effects of global warming, in the social world, measures to lower the effects, and in the subjective world, individual support on environmental protection.

They support environmental protection and recognize their cultural identities. They agree to raise the temperature of the air conditioning and recognize their social identities. Finally, they support environmental protection on other occasions and recognize their personal identities.

Through this project learning, the students know that the emission of greenhouse gases causes global warming in their objective world. They assimilate this knowledge with their immediate situation, the air temperature of their classroom is low than 25 degrees Celsius, and can cause larger amounts of greenhouse gases indirectly. They learn that they could contribute to environmental protection by raising the temperature of the air-conditioning to 25 degrees Celsius. Learning occurs. The existing situation, with the air temperature lower than 25 degrees Celsius, is bad for environmental protection; the new situation, with the air temperature at 25 degrees Celsius, is a better action situation for environmental protection.

The students present their assignments in class. They report that there is concern for the increasing amount of emission of greenhouse gases from year to year, and global warming could become more serious. They learn that the increasing emission of greenhouse gases is the cause of global warming. They renew the semantic aspects of meaning or contents of their cultural component of their lifeworld. The teachers

also agree with the students' viewpoints and are have a deeper impression of the seriousness of global warming. They renew the semantic aspects of their cultural component of their lifeworld.

The students and the teachers maintain and reproduce their cultural component of the symbolic lifeworld through a continuation of valid knowledge. The students and teachers are aware that they, as members of society, should protect the environment from the increasing emission of greenhouse gases. They are socially integrated in this new situation. The students and the teachers maintain and reproduce their social component of the symbolic lifeworld through social integration and the establishment of social solidarity.

The students and the teachers are aware they could protect the environmental through individual action such as using fewer plastic bags, using public transport as far as possible. They internalize the value orientation of their social group. The students and the teachers maintain and reproduce their personal component of the symbolic lifeworld through socialization of responsible ones.

Through the process of project learning, the students and the teachers maintain and reproduce the three structural components of the symbolic lifeworld. This process of the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld is also found in the learning and teaching activities of the classroom management and the PATHS.

In sum, the research focus, how symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of students is worked in school education, is depicted through a detailed narration of

project learning. Figure 4.1 shows a reference framework for the narration of how the three structural components of the symbolic lifeworld are reproduced through project learning. It serves as a framework summing up the above discussion on how symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of the students is worked through the project learning at classroom scale of situational analysis in school education.

Figure 4.1 The symbolic reproduction processes of the lifeworld cover the symbolic structures of the lifeworld.

Dimensions of semantic fields renewed or maintained	Structural components of the lifeworld	Processes of symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld
Symbolic contents	Culture	Cultural reproduction
Social spaces	Society	Social integration
Historical time	Person	Socialization

Moreover, since the above discussion or vignette is based on an ideal-typical case with a purpose of illustrating how the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld is worked. The intended outcome of the symbolic reproduction may not occur according to what is envisaged in the table above. Moreover, some unintended outcomes may occur due to unexpected causes such as unfriendly relationships among teachers and students. However, the purpose of the illustration is based on the normative working assumption of undistorted communicative interaction among teachers and students, and to explore the possibility and utility of applying the theory of communicative action to study the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of the students at classroom

scale of situational analysis of school education in Hong Kong. Thus the unintended outcomes may be served as the derivation of the intended outcomes of the ideal-typical case of the study.

4.2 How school education is worked in general

The research focus, how school education is worked in general, is depicted on a reference framework of three-scale analysis of school education. The three-scale analysis, at classroom scale, at school scale, and at regional scale, is based on increasing degrees of complexity of network of communicative interactions. The framework is devised as a matrix of classroom scale, school scale and regional scale on one hand, and appropriate learning and teaching activities, programmes, measures on the other hand. Moreover, the analysis is also assisted by the perspectives of the internal participants and the perspective of the external observers. Thus, through the framework, as shown in Figure 4.2, how school education is worked in general can be then analyzed systematically and clearly.

Figure 4.2 The three scales of analysis of school education in relation to social reproduction

Education performs both the function of symbolic reproduction and material reproduction of the lifeworld			
Three scales analysis	From the perspective of the lifeworld or the internal participants	From the perspective of the system or the external observers	Remarks
The classroom scale	Culture -- project learning	Assessment for learning	Symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld is got through communicative interaction
	Society -- classroom management		
	Personality -- PATHS		
The school scale	Culture -- the learning circles of school curriculum	Internal school self-evaluation conducted by teachers and principals	Relief mechanisms: condensation and replacement
	Society -- the caring school programme	External school review conducted by the	

	Personality -- careers guidance programme	government officials Who is the dominant in further development of education?	the lifeworld and the systems
The regional scale	General aims of education proposed by education reform		
	Culture Society Personality	Contribution to society in related to the general aims of education	
	Institutional cores of the lifeworld	Media-steered subsystems	Colonization of the lifeworld by the systems
	Private sphere -- the roles of employees and customers	Public examinations Framework of qualification of students	Money media Indicators of employability Capital accumulation

	Public sphere -- the roles of citizens and clients mass loyalty	Student learning portfolio; Teachers' framework on professional development; Certification of Principalship;	Power media Legitimation of the government administration
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The three-scale analysis of school education in Hong Kong is employed and narrated as follows.

At classroom scale, the symbolic lifeworlds of the students are reproduced. Moreover, at school scale, there are two trends of continuing the interaction. One is the operation of school education based on rationally motivated consensus among teachers and principals who represent the interests of students. However, government officials monitor school education based on empirically motivated ties. However, principals and teachers need to follow what the government officials have instructed. The communicative interaction among them is assisted by relief mechanisms. Thus, the empirically motivated ties from the government officials dominate the communicative interaction at school scale. At regional scale, the communicative interactions among actors are replaced by medium of money and medium of power.

4.2.1 Analyzing school education at classroom scale

This study attempts to show how school is worked at school scale in general through the learning and teaching activities of project learning, classroom management, and PATHS. Moreover, from the perspective of the internal participants, that is, the students and the teachers, these three activities are related to the culture, society, and personality components of the symbolic lifeworld. Furthermore, a learning and teaching activity named ‘assessment for learning’ is analyzed from the perspective of the system or the external observers, so as to examine the learning and teaching consequences related to the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of the students.

4.2.1.1 Project learning

The Curriculum Development Council of Education Bureau proposes a curriculum framework in the curriculum reform alongside with education reform in Hong Kong. It composes of three main components: eight key learning areas, nine generic skills, and values and attitudes. Project learning is one of the four key tasks recommended in the curriculum reform. The other three are: moral and civic education, reading to learn, and information technology for interactive learning. Project learning aims at promoting the independent learning capabilities and achieving the learning target in the curriculum reforms. (Curriculum Development Council, 2000:83)

Project learning is the learning and teaching strategy implementing the key components of the new curriculum reform, which are the constructing of knowledge through the eight learning areas and some generic skills such as numeracy skills, developing interpersonal relationship through some generic skills such as communicative skills, and nurturing personal growth through values and attitudes and some generic skills such as self-management skills. These are related to the structural components of the symbolic lifeworld of the students. Through project learning, the students acquire and construct knowledge based on their existing knowledge and knowledge falls into the cultural component of the symbolic lifeworld. Moreover, they interact with other fellow students in the learning process, and through this, they develop interpersonal relationship among themselves, and this falls into the social component of the symbolic lifeworld. Furthermore, through the learning process, they develop and grow personally, and this falls into the personality component of the symbolic lifeworld. Through project learning, the students and teachers define their action situation related to constructing knowledge, developing interpersonal skills, and nurturing personal growth, simultaneously, though the constructing of knowledge is emphasized.

Furthermore, project learning is both supported by government officials and scholars. The government officials consider as a powerful learning and teaching strategy fostering the autonomy of learning of students by promoting their self-directed, self-regulated and self-reflecting learning. (CDC, 200:87) Through promoting the independent learning capabilities of the students, the students are expected to construct knowledge, develop generic skills, and nurture values and attitudes.

http://cd1.edb.hkedcity.net/cd/projectlearning/introduction/introduction_e.html

Some scholars in Hong Kong also agree with the above viewpoints. They expect project learning to help students a lot, such as through the promotion of cognitive development, helping students to apply, develop and extend schemata, establish rapport among themselves in classroom, foster real-life skills through experiential learning, and foster autonomy. (Lee, Li & Lee, 1999) Project learning aims at developing students' independent learning capabilities. While students are nurtured to lessen their dependence on teachers and take the initiative to manage their own learning, teachers are required to change their role from knowledge transmitters to facilitators. To order to assist students becoming independent, teachers should provide them with the appropriate tools and train them to use the tools effectively. The tools give students the means to manage their own learning, and their independent learning capabilities can be developed.

A case study of project learning in a school in Hong Kong is described as follows, helping to illustrate how the symbolic lifeworld of the students is reproduced.

In Stewards Poon Tun Secondary School (from a school exemplar of the project learning in the website of Education Bureau, HKSAR)

http://cd1.edb.hkedcity.net/cd/projectlearning/sampler/wts_pt/sampler_e.html

the objectives of learning for students are re-organized in terms of the three structural components of the symbolic lifeworld.

Objective world	Consolidating existing knowledge; constructing knowledge and applying it to an existing situation; applying information technology to the project learning;
Social world	Encouraging collaboration and team spirit; nurturing belonging to a community and serving the community;
Subjective world	Learning to learn; becoming the owner of learning; encouraging creativity;

Below are the students' reflections, which are re-organized in the three structural components of the symbolic lifeworld.

Objective world	Increased knowledge on environmental protection
Social world	Increase in the spirit of collaboration; increase in the mutual-respect and cooperation among schoolmates;
Subjective world	Increased communicative skills through interviewing people; increase in organizational and leadership skills; knowing how to respect fellow schoolmates;

From the reflections of the students after doing project learning work, they show construction of knowledge through increased knowledge of environmental protection, development of interpersonal skills through an increase in the spirit of collaboration, etc, and the nurturing of personal growth through increased communicative skills through interviewing people, etc. Therefore, based on the above analysis, the three structural components of the symbolic lifeworlds of the students are reproduced after

the learning and teaching activities in project learning are carried out, though the cultural component is emphasized.

Moreover, the discussion above makes use of the exemplar materials got from the Education Bureau website of the government. However, the materials of the exemplar may accentuate the positive effect of the project learning and does not depict the negative ones, such as the unfriendly relation among teachers and students. Thus, the study should pay attention to the negative effects occurred in the process of project learning. At least, based on the supposed accentuation of the positive effects of the project learning, the cultural component of the symbolic lifeworld of the students is reproduced at classroom scale of situational analysis of school education.

4.2.1.2 Classroom management

The classroom is a physical place where learning and teaching activity, that is, communicative interaction, takes place. Moreover, it is both a social space and a personal space where learning and teaching activity occurs.

If the students and the teachers are members of a learning community, then the classroom should be a place with five characteristics, “security, open communication, mutual liking, shared goals or objectives, and connectedness and trust.” (Sapon-Shevin, 1999, quoted from (Burden, 2003)) These five characteristics can be grouped under the three components of the everyday lifeworld. Shared goals or objectives can be grouped under the cultural component, in which learning knowledge is emphasized. Open communication, mutual liking, and connectedness and trust can be grouped under the social component, in which the interpersonal relationships between students and teachers are emphasized. Security can be grouped under the personal component, in which the individual needs are emphasized.

Moreover, in classroom management, the social component of the lifeworld is more emphasized, though the other two are important. In the activities of classroom management, all three components are involved.

In Hong Kong, classroom management becomes an agenda in education reform. In a talk given to school teachers, the education officials envisage that good classroom management facilitate learning and teaching. (Reference materials related to a talk given to school teachers in LKWFSL Lau Wong Fat Sec School, Aug. 2007)

This study attempts to appropriate the talk given as the empirical evidence to illustrate how the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld is worked.

In the talk, they suggested meetings of class clubs could be a platform in elucidating good classroom management. The meeting of class club is a situation where the classroom management takes place. Through the meeting of a class club, the students and the teachers can cooperatively construct a positive learning and teaching environment themselves. Moreover, they can develop class rules through discussion in the meeting. The class rules developed could facilitate learning and teaching in class. There are four Rs in developing class rules, rules, routines, rights, and responsibilities. These four Rs are developed according to the self-determination theory which satisfies three psychological needs of students. (Ryan & Deci. 2000) The three needs are competence, autonomy, and relatedness. Accordingly, the students have the competence in observing class rules, choose and participate in observing class rules freely, and establish a good relationship with teachers in order to facilitate learning and teaching activity.

These class rules are related to what a good classroom management is. A good classroom management should encourage “active engagement in learning”, “positive social interaction,” and “self-motivation”. (Burden, 2003) Moreover, these three are related to the three components of the lifeworld. Active engagement in learning corresponds to the cultural component, positive social interaction corresponds to the social component, whereas self-motivation corresponds to the personal component.

According to the EDB officials, the meeting of a class club performs the following functions: to provide an opportunity to encourage the low profile student to participate and contribute their efforts in class so that they can raise their status themselves through their efforts and contribution; to provide an opportunity for students to understand their influence in class through their ideas on the organization [of the class] and their contribution in influencing it; to provide opportunities for students to gain valuable and successful experience in organizing class activities; to provide an opportunity for teachers to understand the potential of students through the processes of class activities; to provide an opportunity for teachers to understand the behaviour of students. (Reference materials related to talk given to school teachers in LKWFSL Lau Wong Fat Sec School, Aug. 2007)

In the meeting of a class club, through communicative interaction among the students and the teachers, the students are encouraged to develop their potential in the social component of the lifeworld, such as “to provide opportunities for students to gain valuable and successful experience in organizing class activities”. To gain valuable and successful experience means learning, learning through joining existing situation with new situation of the communicative action. The students are also encouraged to develop their potential in the personal component of the lifeworld, such as “to provide opportunity for students to understand their influence in class through their ideas on the organization and their contribution in influencing it”. To understand their influence in class means learning more about themselves, their personal identities, learning them through joining existing situations to new situations in the communicative interaction. Though the reference materials do not mention the cultural component of the lifeworld in the meeting of the class club, it is envisaged

that through the interaction, the students and teachers may interchange cultural values, etc, related to the cultural component of the lifeworld.

Though the main theme of the meeting of the class club is the social dimension of the communicative interaction, the other two dimensions need not be neglected, for the students and the teachers encounter each other simultaneously in the three dimensions of the lifeworld. Thus, the three structural components of the symbolic lifeworld of the students are reproduced, though with the emphasis on the social one.

Moreover, the discussion above makes use of workshop material supported by the officials of Education Bureau. However, materials of the workshop may accentuate the positive effects of the classroom management and do not show the negative ones, such as the willingness of the participation of students in the related activities. Thus, the study should pay attention to the unexpected and negative effects of the programme of classroom management. At least, based on the supposed accentuation of the positive effects of the classroom management, the social component of the symbolic lifeworld of the students is reproduced at the classroom scale of situational analysis of school education.

4.2.1.3 PATHS

The project under analysis is named “P.A.T.H.S. to Adulthood: A Jockey Club Youth Enhancement Scheme”. PATHS means Positive Adolescence Training through Holistic Social Programmes, which combines a primary prevention programme and a positive youth development programme. The project is sponsored by The Hong Kong Jockey Club, and is helped by the Social Welfare Department and the Education Bureau. It is a project implemented at junior secondary levels, starting from secondary one up to secondary three. It had already started in the school year 2006-2007 in some schools in secondary one.

The programme is divided into two tiers. The first tier is a youth development programme for the whole form of students in the participating schools. The other tier consists of selected students with greater psychological needs.

The objectives of the programme PATHS are as follows:

1. To foster a clear and positive identity and to promote spirituality in adolescents (Character)
2. To cultivate self-determination, self-efficacy, resilience, and beliefs in the future in adolescents (Confidence)
3. To promote bonding in adolescents (Connection)
4. To promote social, emotional, cognitive, behavioural and moral competence in adolescents (Competence)
5. To develop adolescents’ sympathy and love for others (Compassion)

6. To provide opportunities for pro-social involvement and foster pro-social norms (Caring)
7. To cultivate adolescents' contribution to the society (Contribution)

The programme chiefly emphasizes the personal development and growth of the students and thus the personal dimensions of the symbolic lifeworld of the students. The teachers involved chiefly facilitate the progression of the programme for students and identify the students with psychological needs in the communicative interaction.

The objectives of the programme can be grouped in related to the three components of the lifeworld of the students. The objective of promoting cognitive competence in objective 4 falls in the cultural component, the objectives 1, 2, 3 and 4 fall in the personal component, and the objectives 5, 6 and 7 fall in the social component of the lifeworld.

Thus, through the communicative interaction among teachers and students, the programme provides a platform to nurture the growth of students and facilitate the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld.

The above three learning and teaching activities, project learning, classroom management, and PATHS are viewed from the perspective of the internal participants, with emphasis on the learning of the students. Thus, through learning in these activities, the symbolic lifeworlds of the students are reproduced at classroom scale.

Moreover, the discussion above makes use of workshop material conducted by an agency supported by the officials of Education Bureau. However, materials of the workshop may accentuate the intended outcomes and the positive effects of the PATHS and do not show the negative ones, such as the willingness of the participation of teachers and students in the related activities. Thus, the study should pay attention to the unexpected and negative effects of programme of the PATHS. At least, based on the supposed accentuation of intended outcomes and the positive effects of the PATHS, the personality component of the symbolic lifeworld of the students is reproduced at classroom scale of situational analysis of school education.

4.2.1.4 Assessment for Learning

Assessment for learning is the learning and teaching activity practised by teachers and is encouraged by the government officials in the curriculum reform. It is used to monitor the learning and teaching consequences or outcomes of both teachers and students.

In a seminar, “Effective use of assessment for feedback to teaching and learning: an overview, workshop on assessment for learning, assessment project, Centre for Assessment Research and Development, The Hong Kong Institute of Education, Feb., 2006”, the aims of assessment for learning are “to provide teachers with information about student progress, to provide teachers with feedback to enhance their teaching effectiveness, and to provide opportunities for teachers to give feedback”. The first aim is related to telling what students have learnt, whereas the second one is about how do teachers interact with students so as to provide feedback. The third aim defines feedback as an action situation of learning and teaching activity where students and teacher interact communicatively, that is, feedback is emphasized with both teachers and students adopting a communicative attitude. Moreover, from the aims stated, the conception of assessment for learning is elucidated from the perspective of the system or the external observers. Furthermore, both the students and teachers adopt a communicative attitude so as to facilitate the learning and teaching effectiveness.

In recent researches, meta-cognition and feedback are the two key factors in assessment for learning. Meta-cognition of teachers and students is related to the

structural components of their symbolic lifeworlds, (Black & William, 1998) whereas feedback process is related to communicative action, in which both students and teachers adopt communicative attitudes based on rationally motivated trust in carrying out assessment for learning (The Assessment Reform Group, 1999). These two are the conceptual strategies in dealing with assessment for learning, so as to facilitate learning and teaching activities. Assessment for learning is analyzed from the perspective of the external observers, through which a picture of both students and teachers adopt a communicative attitude aimed at mutual understanding and coordinate their action; consequently interaction is seen.

Moreover, the discussion above makes use of material of a seminar conducted by an institute supported by the officials of Education Bureau. However, materials may accentuate the intended outcomes and the positive effects of assessment for learning and do not show the negative ones, such as the willingness of the participation of and the unexpected uneasy relationship among teachers in the related activities. Thus, the study should pay attention to the unexpected and negative effects of assessment for learning. At least, based on the supposed accentuation of intended outcomes and the positive effects of assessment for learning, with the help of the working normative assumption of undistorted communicative interaction, teachers may facilitate their learning and teaching activities.

4.2.2 Analyzing school education at school scale

At classroom scale, students learn and grow through learning and teaching action based on mutual understanding and coordinating action in learning and teaching activities. However, at school scale, learning and teaching action is involved in denser or greater density of networking of communicative interaction. Thus, relief mechanisms condense and replace the common face to face communicative interaction among teachers, students and government officials. The relief mechanism condensing the communicative interaction is based on the rationally motivated trust whereas the relief mechanism replacing the interaction is based on the empirically motivated ties.

The following activities analyzed depict a picture of how school education is worked in general at school scale. Three learning and teaching activities operated at school scale are analyzed in this study. They are the learning circle of school curriculum, the caring school programme, and the career guidance programme. Moreover, they are related to the culture, society, and personality components of the symbolic lifeworld. Furthermore, they are analyzed from the perspective of the lifeworld or the internal participants. Moreover, qualitative assurance scheme is analyzed at school scale. The scheme consists of two parts, the internal school self-evaluation, and the external school review. These two activities are analyzed from the perspective of the system or the external observers. It is the measure for the government to collect information in monitoring progress of school education.

4.2.2.1 Learning circle of school curriculum

The officials of the EDB encourage teachers to conduct collaborative lesson preparation in schools. The officials expect, through collaboration, the school teachers improve the effectiveness of learning and teaching activities in actual class practice.

A learning circle is an extended and organized version of collaborative lesson planning. The teachers are grouped around subjects, such as Chinese Language, English Language, Mathematics, etc., to form a learning circle themselves, preparing for lessons collaboratively.

Moreover, the hidden agenda behind the learning circle is the conception of learning organization. Learning organizations are “organizations where people continually expand their capacity to create the results they truly desire, where new and expansive patterns of thinking are nurtured, where collective aspiration is set free, and where people are continually learning to see the whole together.” (Senge, 1990:3)

The main idea is that a learning organization is to “discover how to tap people’s commitment and capacity to learn”. (Senge, 1990:4) Senge identifies five dimensions needed for the members of a learning organization: systems thinking, personal mastery, mental models, building shared vision, and team learning. The first two dimensions fall in the cultural components, whereas the last three in the social component of the lifeworld of the members. The teachers adopt the approach of building shared vision and team learning, reflecting that they also adopt communicative attitudes in collaboratively preparing for lessons.

The teachers are expected to adopt the concept of learning circles and attempt to improve the effectiveness of learning and teaching activities. Thus, through activities conducted in learning circles, they learn and developed their professional careers. Then, the teachers envisage that they will be beneficial in their professional development, and the students will also improve their academic results at the same time.

Since communicative interaction at school scale is a dense one, the interaction is no longer based on face to face communication, and is switched to some relief mechanisms that can relieve the heavy burden of growing complexity of communicative interaction at school scale. Collaborative lesson preparation is a situation which the teachers, based on mutual and reasonable trust among themselves or rationally motivated trust, a relief mechanism, exercise their professional and education expertise, contribute to effective learning and teaching practices, which are beneficial to the students. From the perspective of the teachers, they enjoy prestige and exercise their influence on the students through the production of collaborative lesson preparation. To put it another way, from the perspective of the students, they put advanced trust in and have confidence in their teachers. Their communicative interaction is based on rationally motivated trust.

Moreover, the improvement on further classroom learning and teaching is based on the feedback from students. The feedback and the corresponding responses reflect that both the students and the teachers interact communicatively based on rationally motivated trust.

Furthermore, the learning circle focuses on the collaborative lesson preparation based on rationally motivated trust, and emphasizes on constructing knowledge benefitted to the students. However, through the learning and teaching activities, the other two components of the lifeworld of the students are encountered at the same time, such as developing interpersonal skills through feedback, increasing the confidence of students after feedback from teachers. The symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of students is carried on.

Moreover, the teachers participating in activities of the learning circle are assumed to be based on rationally motivated trust oriented to the benefit of the students. However, in actual practice, teachers may have other interests such as seeking opportunities for promotion in their teaching ranks rather than simply focusing on rationally motivated trust. The study needs to take cautious considerations on the unexpected effects. Moreover, at least, though based on the intended outcomes of the learning circle, the study explores the possibility and utility of applying the theory of communicative action to the school scale of the situational analysis of school education in Hong Kong.

4.2.2.2 A caring school – the whole school approach in guidance for students

What is the whole school approach in guidance for students? The Education Bureau requires schools to adopt the whole school approach to guidance, which is recommended by the Education Commission in its Report No. 4 in 1990. The Education Commission envisages that “[t]he Whole School Approach to Guidance emphasizes the united effort of all school personnel who, under the leadership of the school head, work together to create a positive learning environment enriched with care, trust and mutual respect. It stresses the importance of a caring and inviting environment for students to grow with enhanced self-esteem and to realize their potentials so that the education ideal of a whole-person development in the students could be achieved.” (Education Commission, 1990)

“The education ideal of a whole-person development in the student” can be read as the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of students through school education, as the school adopts concerted efforts, through the leadership of the school principal, in developing different dimensions of the lifeworld of students.

The follow depicts a picture of how the whole school approach in guidance is related to the three components of the lifeworld of the students. Through establishing a positive learning environment, the learning and teaching activities for students are facilitated, with a consequence of knowledge accumulation of students. This is related to the cultural dimension of the lifeworld of students and teachers. In the communicative interaction, both students and teachers care, trust and mutually respect

others. This is related to the social components of the lifeworld of students and teachers. In the learning and teaching action, through the caring environment, the students develop and grow with self-esteem and realize their potential. This is related to the personal components of the lifeworld of students.

The Education Commission encourages school to become a caring and inviting environment, that is, the communicative interaction is based on rationally motivated trust, for the professional enhancement of teachers and growth of students. The following is a hypothetical example constructed ideal - typically so as to illustrate the possibility and utility of making use of the theory of communicative action of Habermas in seeing how a caring school conducts a whole school approach in a student guidance programme.

In Hong Kong, a school adopts a whole school approach and creates a caring and inviting environment for both students and teachers. The school provides an experience of how to run a school in a whole school approach.

School principals, together with teachers, based on their professional and educational expertise, rationally motivate students to accept what they will learn and to grow, along with the whole school approach. Students, based on their advance trust and confidence in their principal and teachers, learn and grow under the school education based on the whole school approach.

In the learning and teaching action, teachers and students adopt communicative attitudes based on rationally motivated trust.

Firstly, the school principal, supported by the teachers, adopts a vision based on student-centred humanistic education, builds a positive school culture, and lets the students feel safe and valued. This is related to the cultural component of the lifeworld of the teachers and the students.

Secondly, the school principal and the teachers adopt a positive belief about human nature, and in dealing with the student learning and discipline activities, they emphasize positive discipline, mutual trust and self-discipline of the students. This is related to the social component of the lifeworld of the students and the teachers.

Thirdly, the school principal and the teachers make a continuous effort on the intrinsic and extrinsic motivations of the students. Through learning and teaching action, the teachers motivate the students through achievement and rewards, and make students feel safe and valued in school. This is related to the subjective component of the lifeworld of the students and teachers.

Though the whole school approach to guidance emphasizes the nurturing of students' interpersonal skills, the other two components of the symbolic lifeworld are also involved. Principal, teachers, and students interact communicatively based on rationally motivated trust, thus, the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of the students carries on.

Moreover, the teachers and the students participating in guidance activities are assumed to adopt communicative attitudes based on rationally motivated trust.

However, in the actual practice, the students may have other interests such as avoiding punishment and the teachers may have their self interest such as seeking rank promotion, rather than simply focusing on rationally motivated trust. The study needs to view the unexpected effects cautiously. Moreover, at least, though based on the intended outcomes of the caring school conducting the a whole school approach in the guidance programme, the study explores the possibility and utility of applying the theory of communicative action to the school scale of the situational analysis of school education in Hong Kong.

4.2.2.3 Career guidance programme

Career teachers, through their professional and educational expertise, motivate students to plan their future career, whereas students, through their advanced trust and confidence in teachers, learn and grow under career guidance programmes. They adopt communicative attitudes based on rationally motivated trust.

In Hong Kong, career teachers are trained in career courses offered by universities. Then, they conduct routine career activities and programmes so as to provide students with skills to collect relevant career information and materials, supporting the development of inter-personal relations between the students, and strengthening the self-understanding of the students.

Moreover, the EDB officials suggest a duty list for the career teachers to follow in planning their career activities and programmes for their students. The activities and programmes organized can be seen to fall under the three components of the symbolic lifeworld of students.

The career activities related to collecting information on further education and job opportunities are related to the cultural component of the lifeworld of the students. The career teachers conduct career programmes and provide individual and group guidance to help students understand their interest, capabilities, and needs, related to further education and job opportunities. These are related to the social components of the lifeworld of students. The career teachers also conduct programmes and inculcate

correct attitudes towards work for the students. This is related to the personal component of the lifeworld.

In order to carry out career programmes systematically and effectively, the officials from the EDB encourage career teachers to focus on organizing their career programmes around helping the students to plan their careers.

Career planning

“is an ongoing process through which young people could have more understanding about their interests, personalities, families, schools, communities and work world in making their career and lifestyle choices.”

(<http://www.edb.gov.hk/index.aspx?langno=1&nodeID=1441>)

There are six steps in students' career planning: interests and strength identification, information gathering, evaluation, decision making and goal setting, plan making, and career preparation.

Moreover, these steps fall into the three components of the lifeworld of the students. The step of information gathering is related to the cultural component of the lifeworld. In the steps of identifying interests and strength, making decision and setting goals, students need to seek advice from career teachers. Through the advice given by teachers, students can identify their strengths, make decisions, and set goals. These are related to the social component of the lifeworld. The other three, evaluation, making plans, and career preparation are related to the personal component of the

lifeworld of students. Students encounter the six steps as a complete process for career planning.

Further, in order to facilitate career guidance education, the Hong Kong Council of Social Service, with a subsidy from the Education Bureau, publishes a training kit on Career Planning Service for Youngsters in 2006. The kit echoes the above process of career planning, with “Life/ Work Planning as a deliberate process to plan one’s life holistically, including major life domains such as work, learning, relationships, and leisure; to engage actively in steps to implement these plans in one’s social context” (Hong Kong Council of Social Service, 2006 and Leung, this module). The kit is intended to train career teachers in conducting programmes.

Though career programmes emphasize nurturing the confidence of students in making their career plans, the subjective component of the lifeworld, the other two components are emphasized, with collecting career information and materials relating to the cultural component, and with participation in career programmes relating to the social component.

Moreover, the teachers and the students participating in career guidance activities are assumed to adopt communicative attitudes based on rationally motivated trust. However, in actual practice, the students may have other interests such as making friends with other students and the teachers may have their self interests such as seeking promotion, rather than simply focusing on rationally motivated trust. The study needs to view with caution the unexpected effects. Moreover, at least, though based on the intended outcomes of the career guidance programme, the study

explores the possibility and utility of applying the theory of communicative action to the school scale of the situational analysis of school education in Hong Kong.

In the following section, the analysis switches from the perspective of internal participants, mainly teachers and principals, to that of external observers, mainly government officials.

Qualitative assurance scheme is one of the key components of the education reform in Hong Kong since the beginning of the third millennium. The qualitative assurance scheme chiefly consists of two components, the internal school self-evaluation, and the external school review. (Quality Assurance Division, Education Department, 2002, Performance Indicators for Hong Kong Schools) They provide first hand materials for monitoring the school performance, though from different dimensions.

4.2.2.4 Internal school self-evaluation

The internal self-evaluation of schools covers four dimensions of school activities: management and organization, learning and teaching, student support and school ethos, and student performance. In preparing the documents for the government officials, the teachers and principals need to discuss their own performances in school activities, including learning and teaching activities, and condense them in the form of performance indicators. The discussions or communicative interaction conducted are based on their shared understanding of the activities, on their professional knowledge of education, that is, they adopt

communicative attitudes based on rationally motivated trust. They look forward to improving the school activities based on their professionalism, if needed.

4.2.2.5 External school review

The government officials, through external school review, perform the function of monitoring school performance through reviewing the self-evaluation compiled by schools. The review conducted is based on the school performance indicated on the key performance indicators set by the government. The government officials emphasize the effectiveness and efficacy of the schools, such as the public examination results. Moreover, they stress the contributions of the schools to society, such as the provision of human resources to the economy, through selection conducted by the public examination results. The government officials, based on the empirically motivated ties, monitor and gear the school performance suited to the functional needs of society, such as the provision of human resources to the economy.

There is a discrepancy between teachers and principals of a school on one hand, and the government officials on the other. They perform different roles. Teachers and principals are oriented to the nurturing of students, whereas government officials are concerned with the provision of human resources. However, teachers and principals need to consider the empirically motivated ties of the government officials so as to continue receiving financial support from the government, and continue to nurture students through school activities, though this may conflict with their ideals. Thus, there is a discrepancy between nurturing students based on education ideals and

coping with the needs required by the government officials in related to provision of human resources.

As the growing complexity of communicative interaction becomes dense, such as in the case of the school scale of the situational analysis in school education, the participants make use of the relief mechanism such as rationally motivated trust and empirically motivated trust in the interaction. As discussed above, there is a discrepancy between principals and teachers on one hand and the government officials on the other. This is a discrepancy between nurturing students based on education ideals related to the lifeworld, and coping with the needs required by the government officials in related to provision of the human resources in the system. Then, an uncoupling or separation of the lifeworld and the system is found.

In sum, through the analysis of school education at school scale, there are two dimensions noted. On one hand, from the perspective of the internal participants or action, through the communicative interaction among students, teachers and principals in the learning and teaching activities of learning circle, the whole school approach to guidance and careers guidance programme, the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of the students carries on. However, on the other hand, from the perspective of the external observers or systems, in the quality assurance mechanism, the school needs to cope with what the external school review has set, related to school performance. Thus, in this dimension at school scale, there is an uncoupling of the lifeworld and the systems.

4.2.3 Analyzing school education at regional scale

In this section of the study, the analysis of school education is switched from school scale to regional scale, and transitioned from complex to extremely complex density of networks of communicative interaction. Thus, Habermas's working model is appropriated in analyzing the interaction based on interchange relation between teachers, principals, students on one side and the government administration on the other side. In the course of education reform, the government proposes three documents related to the training of teachers and principals and the education of students. Moreover, the government, based on general aims of education, proposes education policies in different dimensions. The latter is the exercise of the will of the government administration based on empirically motivated ties between the government and the public sphere.

4.2.3.1 Teacher Competence Framework (TCF)

The Teacher Competence Framework (TCF) is devised to enhance teachers' professionalism. (ACTEQ, 2003) The three dimensions of the professionalism suggested are related to the three components of the lifeworld of teachers. The dimensions of subject and pedagogical knowledge, professional skills, and the supporting attitudes and values are related respectively to the cultural, social, and personal component of the lifeworld of teachers.

From these three dimensions, a content of the generic Teacher Competence Framework is devised. It consists of four domains of competency and its underlying six core values. The teaching and learning domain concerns the knowledge base of teachers and is related to the cultural component of the lifeworld of teachers. The other three domains are student development domains such as pastoral care for students, the school development domain such as home-school collaboration, and the professional relationships' and services' domain concerning the collaborative relationship among teachers within a school. These three domains are related to the daily work, collaboration, and communication among teachers, and are related to the social components of the lifeworld of teachers. Moreover, the six core values, such as belief that all students can learn, love and care for students, and commitment and dedication to the profession of teaching, support the Framework and are related to the personal component of the lifeworld of teachers.

From the government viewpoint, the TCF covers all the competencies teachers need to acquire as professionals, and the employability of teachers in their teaching profession. The TCF provides the guidelines in training teachers according to the needs of the government in providing the human resources for society.

There is an interchange relation between the teachers and the government administration based on legal fiat, which is monitored by laws. The teachers, as employees, should provide abstract labour based on teaching performance to the employer, the government administration, in exchange for salary. Thus, the interchange relation is guided by the medium of money. Moreover, the teachers are required to take learning courses of not less than fifty hours per year so as to enhance

their professionalism. Thus, this requirement by the government administration is treated as an interchange relation guided by medium of power. TCF serves as indicator for the abstract labour, the teaching performance. Teachers are members of a school, and contribute to the organizational performance of a school based on chiefly external school reviews conducted by the government officials. Thus, the teachers give up part of their education ideals, such as nurturing students with values of freedom and democracy, etc., and strive for teaching performance related to results of public examinations. Thus, a colonization of the lifeworld by the system is depicted in the interchange relation between teachers and the government administration.

4.2.3.2 The Continuing Professional Development Framework for School Principal (CPD)

The official of the Education Bureau has devised Continuing Professional Development (CPD) Framework for School Principal, which is a generic competency framework for the professional development of school principals. (Education Department, 2002a)

In the programme of the continuing professional development of school principals devised by the officials of Education Bureau, six core areas of leadership are envisaged. The areas include strategic direction and policy environment, learning, teaching and curriculum, teacher professional growth and development, staff and

resources management, quality assurance and accountability, and external communication and connection to the outside world.

Moreover, these six areas are related to professional knowledge, leadership skills, personal attributes and educational values of the school principals. However, professional knowledge, leadership skills, personal attributes and educational values are respectively related to the cultural, social and personal components of the lifeworld of the principals. These are the generic skills of principals in becoming professionals. From the perspective of the government, these are the competences for principals in managing schools, or the employability of the principals in administering schools.

There is an interchange relation between the principals and the government administration based on legal fiat, which is monitored by laws. The principals, as employees, should provide abstract labour based on leadership performance to the employer, to the government administration in exchange for salary. Thus, the interchange relation is guided by the medium of money. Moreover, the Certificate for Principalship is a prerequisite for the post of principalship, thus, the interchange relation is guided by the medium of power as well. CPD serves as indicator for the abstract labour, the leadership performance. Though the principals are the leaders of schools, they need to contribute to the organizational performance of school based on chiefly external school reviews conducted by the government officials. Thus, the principals give up part of their education ideals, such as nurturing students with values of freedom and democracy, etc., and strive for leading performance related to results of public examinations. Thus, a colonization of the lifeworld by the system is

depicted in the interchange relation between principals and the government administration.

4.2.3.3 Student Learning Profile (SLP)

Student Learning Profile (SLP) is a record compiled by individual students. The profile consists of the other learning experiences of students in their secondary school lives. The other learning experiences include five areas, which are moral and civic education, community service, career-related experiences, aesthetic development, and physical development. These five areas of learning opportunities for students are conducted both within and outside normal school hours. (Curriculum Development Council, 2008) Moreover, these five areas of other learning experiences are related to the three components of the lifeworld of the students.

SLP is a new measure in the new senior secondary education. SLP, together with the academic result of the new examination called the Hong Kong Diploma of Secondary Education (HKDE), will provide a framework depicting more or less a complete picture of what students have learnt and achieved in their secondary school lives. Firstly, the Hong Kong Diploma of Education provides a record of what the students have achieved in academic subjects at school. This is related to the cultural components of the lifeworld of students. Secondly, the community services and career-related experiences provide opportunities to nurture the social skills of students. These are related to the social component of the lifeworld of the students. Thirdly, the moral and civic education provides opportunities to nurture positive values and attitudes of students. Aesthetic development and physical development

provide opportunities to develop the personal potentials and health to students. These are related to the personal component of the lifeworld of students. Thus, the implementation of SLP is oriented to the reproduction of the symbolic lifeworld of the students.

Furthermore, SLP provides information to the employer when the students seek employment after schooling. It is one of the indicators of employability of students provided by the government to cater for the need of employers, of society.

There is an interchange relation between the students and the government administration based on legal fiat, which is monitored by law. The principals, as employees, should provide abstract labour based on learning performance to the employer, the government administration. Thus, the interchange relation is guided by the medium of money. SLP serves as indicator for abstract labour, the learning performance. Students are members of a school, and contribute to the organizational performance of a school, based chiefly on external school review conducted by the government officials. Thus, the students give up part of their learning ideals, such as learning values of freedom and democracy, etc., and strive for learning performance related to results of a public examination. Thus, a colonization of the lifeworld by the system is depicted in the interchange relation between students and the government administration.

4.2.3.4 The general aims of school education

Through the analysis of the general aims of school education proposed by the government, this study attempts to analyze school education at regional scale from the perspective of the system.

The general aims of school education for the 21st century proposed by the government are as follows: (Education and Manpower Bureau, 2000)

“To enable every person to attain all-round development in the domains of ethics, intellect, physique, social skills, and aesthetics according to his/ her own attributes so that he/she is capable of life-long learning, critical and exploratory thinking, innovating and adapting to change; filled with self-confidence and a team spirit; willing to put forward continuing effort for the prosperity, progress, freedom and democracy of their society, and contribute to the future well-being of the nation and the world at large.”

The general aims of school education set the direction of how education should be carried out. Moreover, the aims are reached based on empirically motivated consensus between the public sphere and the government administration, as seen in the next chapter. Thus, the general aims of school education show a close relation between education and society. The first part of the general aims shows what the students should learn, that is, the content of the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld. Moreover, the second part depicts the contribution of the students to the material benefits and the good of society, and of the world.

Furthermore, the general aims of school education can serve as a platform for the interchange relation between students, teachers, principals on the one side and the government administration on the other. The frameworks of CDP for principals, TCF for teachers and SLP for students are devised based on the general aims of school education set by the empirically motivated consensus between the public sphere and the government administration, and thus system integration is achieved. Based on the analysis of the frameworks in the above sections, a colonization of the lifeworld of principals, teachers, and students by the system is depicted. Then, the general aims of school education, based on the empirically motivated consensus between the public sphere and the government administration, serve as the platform on which the colonization is possible.

4.3 A summary

Through appropriating the three-scale analysis of situational analysis of school education, this chapter attempted to answer two questions, or research foci, firstly, of how symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of the students was worked in school education, and secondly, how school education was worked in general.

Firstly, at classroom scale of school education, symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of students was conceived and was depicted through a hypothetical example of project learning. Students would enter society after graduation and perform material reproduction of the lifeworld accordingly. At this scale, the study was based on the working normative assumption of undistorted communicative interaction free of coercion other than reason.

Secondly, through the three-scale analysis, the general work of school education was depicted. At classroom scale of school education, the symbolic lifeworld of the student was reproduced. Moreover, at school scale of school education, there were two dimensions, one was the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of the students and the other an uncoupling of the lifeworld and the system of teachers and principals. Furthermore, at the regional scale of school education, a colonization of the lifeworld by the system of students, teachers, and principals was perceived.

The study was based on a working normative assumption that the communicative interaction among teachers and students was an undistorted one at the

classroom scale of situational analysis of school education. However, in actual practice, it may not be the case, for teachers might have their own self-interest such as seeking promotion, and students might have their own agenda, as avoiding punishment. Moreover, the study made use of the constructed ideal-typical cases as well as secondary sources of materials such as materials from government websites, workshops, and government publication. However, the study recognized that the intended outcomes of the hypothetical case might not be the case in actual practice, and the secondary sources of materials might accentuate the positive effects of the programmes, neglect the negative and undesired ones, and biases might occur. However, the study explored the possibility and utility of applying the theory of communicative action to the three-scale analysis of situational analysis of school education in Hong Kong. Moreover, the study was approached with caution and an effort was made to construct the ideal-typical cases and select appropriate materials for the research.

CHAPTER FIVE THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN HONG KONG (1945-2008)

How can we account for the development of education in Hong Kong since 1945? The development of education in Hong Kong from 1945 to 2008 can be depicted in four periods, with each period of the development of education showing its own characteristics and evolving to the later periods with unanswered issues and questions.

The four periods of the development of education are as follows. (Sweeting, 2004; Tsang, 1998; Tsang, 2006, ed.)

1. From 1945 to 1965 -- a period of reconstruction, slow expansion and transformation of basic school education
2. From 1965 to 1982 -- a period of rapid expansion of basic and compulsory school education
3. From 1982 to 1997 -- a period of rapid expansion of school education accompanied by emphasis on quality provision
4. From 1997 to 2008 -- a period of implementing quality school education

In describing the development of education in Hong Kong from 1945 to 2008, Habermas's working model of advanced capitalist society is used as an analytic framework. The model depicts two sets of interchange relations, the first set is between institutional cores of the lifeworld, the private and the media-steered subsystems, the economic system, whereas the second one is between public spheres,

and the media-steered subsystems, the government administrative systems. The two sets of interchange relation are conceived from the perspective of the system.

Tsang (2006 ed.), after analyzing the discussions of education reform related to aims of school education in society, attempts to appropriate this model in seeing the differences in the expectation of education from different spheres of society. From the private sphere, school education is a personification or simply socialization, whereas from the sphere of market economy, school education provides human resources to economy in respect to employability. Furthermore, from the public sphere, school education provides a nurturing of citizens in democratic society, whereas the government administration is concerned about its foundation of legitimation. The study provided by Tsang does facilitate the application of Habermas's working model in narrating the historical development of school education in Hong Kong.

In this model, the lifeworld concept is operationalized or objectivated as institutional orders of the lifeworld in the forms of private sphere and public sphere. Subsystems of society are, from the perspective of the system, conceived as medium-steered subsystems of economic system and government administration through the media of money and power respectively.

The following discussion attempts to depict how school education is worked in general and developed in different periods in the late capitalist society.

Figure 5.1 Habermas's working model of advanced capitalist societies from the perspective of the system can be modified and applied in analyzing the educational context of Hong Kong.

Institutional order of the lifeworld	Interchange relations	Media-steered subsystems
Private sphere (of family) (school functions as socializing agent)	through medium of money	based on economic system
Employee	Abstract labour <----> Wages (legal fiat)	Employer
Teacher	Teaching works <----> salaries, or others	(government administration)
Student	Learning and studying <----> future employment	(government administration)
Education issues	Daily schooling practice/ socialization	

Customer	Demand preference <----> goods and services (relevant legal norms)	Entrepreneur
Teacher	Teacher training opportunities <--- -> teacher education	(government administration)
Students	Learning opportunities <----> student schooling places	(government administration)
Education issues	Access to schooling	
Theme	Equality of education/ Provision of human resources/ Capital accumulation	

Institutional order of the lifeworld	Interchange relations	Media-steered subsystems
Public sphere (school as nurturing & selecting agents) (education bodies)	Through medium of power	Based on government administrative system
Client	Tax (school performance) <----> Organization accomplishment (Monitoring school performance) (legal fiat)	Government administration
Teacher	Teaching performance <----> quality assurance mechanisms	Government administration
Student	Learning performance <----> public examinations	Government administration
Education issues	Accountability (functional)	

Citizen	Mass loyalty (expectation from education) <----> Political decision (education policy) (relevant legal norms)	Government administration
Teacher	Normative consensus on expectation from education <----> empirical consensus on aims on education as basis for education policy	Government administration
Student	Whole person development as aims of education <----> Man as human resource to society as envisaged	Government administration
Education issues	Legitimation	
Theme	Social/ system integration Normative/ empirical consensus on aims of education/ The maintenance and legitimation of the capitalist mode of production	

With the help of the features shown in the above model, the development of school education in Hong Kong is analyzed.

As a common conviction, education functions as both an agent of socialization and selection, and this shows a relation between education and society. Moreover, school is a site or an organization where education takes place. Through socialization, school provides nurturing of students and provides human resources to the economy; and through selection, students are manipulated and arranged in different sectors of society, including the economy. Furthermore, government administration is responsible for the continuation of society, performs functions of capital accumulation in economic sector and maintains legitimation of the capitalist mode of production, as it is viewed from a Marxist perspective (Dale, 1997).

From the working model of the late capitalist society proposed by Habermas, there are two sets of interchange relations between institutional order of the lifeworld and media-steered subsystems of society. The first one is between the private sphere of the institutional order of the lifeworld and the media-steered subsystems of economic system; and the second one is between the public sphere of the institutional order of the lifeworld and that of the government administration of societal system.

The institutional order of the lifeworld in the private sphere is the nuclear family, which concentrates on the socialization tasks. The function of school performs the same tasks. Thus, school partly replaces the nuclear family as an agent of socialization for youngsters. Moreover, in the socialization tasks, cultural

reproduction and social integration are found at the same time. School, therefore, functions as the private sphere of the institutional order of the lifeworld.

Furthermore, school is a public institution. Based on the aggregate consequences of nurturing students, school facilitates ongoing cultural and social development of society. Then, school functions as the public sphere of the institutional order of the lifeworld.

Moreover, the development of education can be viewed as a process of rationalization, for example, education enterprise develops from a quantitative provision to a qualitative enhancement in learning and teaching.

The following depicts the first set of interchange relation between the private sphere of the institutional order of the lifeworld and the media-steered economic system through the media of money in society.

Within the first set of interchange relations, there are two subsets. The first subset is an interchange relation between teachers and students and government administration found in daily school practice based on legal fiat, that is, it is monitored under laws. The second subset is an interchange relation between students and the government administration found in access to schooling of students based on legal contract.

In view of the first subset of interchange relation, school belongs to the private sphere, and through performing related tasks, is responsible for socializing students.

Through these responsibilities, school makes a contribution to society. Being organized and financially supported by the government, school and the government have a hidden relation of employee and employer. From the perspective of the lifeworld, principals and teachers play the roles of employees, whereas students the future employees. Government, in this respect, functions as private entrepreneur employing principals, teachers, and student, and performs the role of employer.

From the perspective of the lifeworld, teachers are responsible for nurturing students through daily school practices. Nurturing students is concrete labour. However, it is transformed into provision of human resources for employment, and is abstract labour. Thus, concrete labour is transformed into abstract labour and is appropriated for exchange. From the perspective of the system, teachers or schools provide human resources in exchange for financial support from government.

Based on legal fiat, government administration monitors school through education laws and measures. The interchange relation is depicted as follows. Government administration, representing private entrepreneurs, 'buys' abstract labour from school in legal relation, based on education laws and measures.

Since symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of students is already implemented at the classroom scale of school education, thus, students would perform material reproduction of the lifeworld through their future employment after leaving school.

With the continuation of financial support from the government, there would be a substantial development of daily school practices, such as learning and teaching strategies, curriculum development, and student guidance and counseling practices. These depict a process of rationalization, based on instrumental rationality in sustaining a continuous and substantial development of daily school practices, for nurturing or socializing students and for selection by society.

Within this first set of interchange relation, there is second subset of interchange relation between students and the government administration found in access to schooling of students based on legal contract.

From the perspective of the lifeworld, teachers and students play the role of customer. Therefore, principals, teachers, and students demand training and learning opportunities from government. Through the opportunities provided by the government, they get credentials and recognized qualifications, and consequently obtain employment opportunities. From the perspective of the system, the government continuously puts more financial resources into education, and provides higher standards of learning and teaching practices, that is, consequently higher standards of education to the public. This interchange relation between principals, teachers and students and the government is based on relevant legal norms, that is, in contractual relations. Thus, this depicts a process of rationalization, an instrumental rationality in maintaining a reserve of human resources for the material reproduction of the lifeworld.

In sum, through improvement in daily school practices, expanding opportunities of learning, or the expanding access to schooling or education, a picture is shown of increasing equality of education in various aspects. At least, it is at the minimum level of equality of opportunities of education, and can be regarded as a process of rationalization.

In these two subsets of interchange relations, from the perspective of the lifeworld, teacher and students strive for various aspects or dimensions of equality of education, such as equality of opportunities, equality of effects. This depicts a process of rationalization regarding a trend towards equality of education in one or other aspect. From the perspective of the system, government administration aims at provision of human resources for the economy. Through this provision, government administration performs the function of sustaining economy growth, or capital accumulation. These depict a process of rationalization, an instrumental rationality in sustaining growth of economy.

Furthermore, there is a second set of interchange relation between public sphere of the institutional order of the lifeworld and the media-steered government administration through media of power.

Within this second set of interchange relation, there is a subset of interchange relation between school and government administration occurring in the accountability based on legal fiat.

Based on legal fiat, government administration monitors school through education laws and measures. Through the process of accountability, school strives for performance in return. From the perspective of the lifeworld, teachers nurture students, and students grow and learn in school. However, education officials of government administration provide advice to school, and adopt measures such as quality assurance mechanisms in monitoring school performance. From the perspective of the system, the consequences, or the concrete labour, of nurturing, growing, and learning can be abstracted in form of public examination results and other forms of assessment, or abstract labour.

School accounts for its performance in the form of public examination results and other forms of assessment required by government administration. Thus, school, through public examination results, performs the role of agent of selection of student for society. Moreover, this process of accountability is based on the medium of power exercised by government administration, and is bounded by legal fiat, through education laws and regulations. The monitoring and maintaining school education standard through various measures, such as public examination and quality education assurance, is based on instrumental rationality, and is process of rationalization, with a trend of progressive and control on how education is developed.

Within this second set of interchange relation, there is also another subset of interchange relation found in the legitimation based on legal contract sought by government administration from the public sphere.

Government administration exercises its will or implements its political decision in developing education. During the decision making process, it should seek for consensus from educational bodies, including schools, in the public sphere.

Through proposing aims of education, government administration provides a direction of how education should develop. From the perspective of the lifeworld, members of the public sphere seek to reach normative or rationally motivated consensus on aims of education among themselves. Moreover, the normative consensus is based on their own values and ideas on how to nurture students.. However, government administration, together with private entrepreneurs, seek empirical or empirically motivated consensus on aims of education. The empirical consensus is based on the functional benefits to society as a whole, such as promoting skills of labour for capital accumulation, and is reached from the functional perspective of the system.

Thus, there is a discrepancy between the public sphere and government administration on the aims of education or the direction of the developing education. The former seeks for normative consensus from the perspective of the lifeworld, but the latter needs empirical consensus from the perspective of the system. Government administration cannot 'buy', like buying training and learning demands, but only can cooperate with the public sphere in reaching consensus on the aims of education, for it needs to secure the trust of the members or mass loyalty from the public sphere. Moreover, it cannot 'collect' this consensus, like collecting tax based on legal fiat, from the public sphere. However, Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony provides a clue as a mechanism for government administration to reach empirical consensus

with the public sphere. However, it is a phenomenon of a colonization of the lifeworld by the system. Public opinion is collected and articulated according to the empirical consensus reached. From the viewpoint of government administration, the empirical consensus obtained from members of the public sphere means it gets its legitimation of political will from the mass loyalty of the public sphere.

Thus, government administration, via cultural hegemony, succeeds in integrating with public sphere through empirically motivated consensus. Thus, system integration is established.

In this subset of interchange relation, from the perspective of the lifeworld, the public sphere strives for the rational consensus, whereas government administration strives for empirical consensus. Through the mechanism of cultural hegemony, system integration is reached based on empirical consensus, with the colonization of the lifeworld by the system. Then, government administration fulfills the function of maintaining and legitimating the capitalist mode of production. These depict a process of rationalization, a colonization of the lifeworld by the system.

The above shows how Habermas's working model is employed in analyzing the relation between education and society. Moreover, it is employed as an analytic framework in showing the historical development of school education in Hong Kong from 1945 to 2008.

5.1 From 1945 to 1965 -- a period of reconstruction, slow expansion and transformation of basic school education

The general socio-economic and political situations of this period are shown as follows.

After the Second World War, the Hong Kong government started reconstruction of various sectors in the territory. Capital and materials were in poor supply, and so were the provision of social, medical and education services.

Since the mid-1950's in Hong Kong, there was a decline in the entrepot trade. Hong Kong began to develop light industries, chiefly textile and clothing industries. In the same period, political turmoil developed in China. A large influx of refugees from China followed, and this put pressure on social, education and housing provisions in Hong Kong.

The population increased rapidly from 0.6 million in 1945 to more than three million in 1960s. The increase in population was attributed to both the influx of refugees and the baby boom in the 1950s. There was a rapid increase in primary provision in the period. (Note 1)

There are two sets of interchange relations that can be depicted between the institutional orders of the lifeworld and the media-steered subsystems.

5.1.1 The first set of interchange relation

The following depicts the first set of interchange relation between private sphere of the institutional order of the lifeworld and the media-steered economic system through the media of money.

Within the first set of interchange relation, there is a subset of interchange relation occurring in daily school practice based on legal fiat. School provides human resources and gets financial support in return. It performs the function of socialization.

In this period, within the context of expanding primary education intake, the learning and teaching practices were chiefly teacher-centred, with a heavy workload laid on teachers. The school curricula were centred around the Joint Primary 6 Examination, which was renamed later as the Secondary Schools Entrance Examination, with English, Chinese, Mathematics, Social Studies. They were loosely organized, and were mainly apoliticized ones, even having a subject called Civic Education. At the very start, the curriculum planning was geared to examination, and influenced by functional instrumentality adopted by the government education policy, as if it were education policy.

After completing their schooling, students were faced with a competitive public examination, in order to get secondary school places. However, on the other hand, it was easy to enter the industrial sector in the growing and expanding economy. Principals and teachers, under the apoliticized learning and teaching environment,

followed the government policy and fulfilled their educational work. The government, through education, provided cheap and semi-skilled labour to the growing industrial sector. Other than this, the government provided necessary human resources for the economy sector, for the ongoing capital accumulation of society.

The government, through education ordinances, adopted a functional approach based on strategic or instrumental rationality, and succeeded in carrying out the apoliticized education policy in daily school practices, in order to avoid controversial issues or even confrontation within the education setting.

Within this first set of interchange relation, there is also a subset of interchange relation found in access to schooling of students based on legal contract. Thus, government provides financial resources for the growing learning and training opportunities of students and teachers.

There was a strong demand in school education, especially at the primary level. Though the progress in the expansion of school education was slow between 1945 and 1955, the expansion of primary education became faster after 1955. Moreover, the private sector participated actively and became increasingly important in providing both primary and secondary school education.

Furthermore, there was a slow progress in secondary and post-secondary school education. Secondary school education was segregated into two divisions based on language of instruction. The Anglo-Chinese secondary schools used English as medium of instruction, whereas the Chinese middle school used Chinese instead.

This led to debate on the controversial language policy and continued in the education reform in the new millennium. The Anglo-Chinese schools were the elite schools, whereas the Chinese middle schools were of lower status, though with some exceptions. An inequality of education began in terms of medium of instruction.

The government responded to the demand of expansion of education at the primary level, and was cautious in planning for more places above primary level. In view of rapid expansion, the government prepared to provide more financial expenditure on teacher training, especially for the primary level.

Teacher education began, and was enhanced at the same period, with the opening of the third teacher training college. The college was responsible for training qualified primary school teachers. In view of the large proportion of primary school teachers not yet having received proper training, the government started In-service Courses for Teacher Training, which lasted till the 1990s. The government also started training secondary school teachers through the Extra-mural Department of the University of Hong Kong. These measures prepared for rapid expansion of primary education, and slow but continuous and progressive expansion in secondary education.

In the teacher training colleges, the courses for teachers reflected the school curriculum they would teach after graduation. The school curriculum or subjects in the primary school education at that time included English, Chinese, Mathematics, Social Studies, Nature Study, Music, Art, Handicraft, Physical Education and

Needlecraft for girls. It set the foundation of a curriculum for the later years. The contents of the curriculum set the basic framework for further development.

In the dimension of tertiary education, the Chinese University of Hong Kong was established in 1964, and served as an attempt to “retain the loyalty of the best of the Chinese Middle School students” (Sweeting, 2004: 151). The Chinese University of Hong Kong served as the tertiary institute for the Chinese middle school students, though as the secondary choice as compared with the prestigious University of Hong Kong.

Other dimensions of development of education began. Technical education and adult education progressed slowly but were encouraged to provide cheap and semi-skilled labour for the industrial sector.

In this period, the quality of education envisaged was mainly equality of access to education, and was reflected in the rapidly expanding primary education both in provision and teacher training. However, as a result, the government, adopted a functional approach based on system rationality, continued to provide semi-skilled labour for the increasing growth of the industrial sector and sustained the function of capital accumulation for further economic growth.

5.1.2 The second set of interchange relation

Following Habermas's working model, the following depicts the second set of interchange relation between public sphere of the institutional order of the lifeworld and the media-steered government administration through media of power.

Within the second set of interchange relation, there is a subset of interchange relation occurring in the accountability between school and government administration based on legal fiat. School accounts to government administration through public examination results and performs the function of selection.

The government emphasized expanding primary school education in this period, and did not pay much attention to monitoring school performance. However, education planning started, with the project of the Seven Year Plan (1955-1961). However, the accountability of school performance provided by schools to government administration was slight, chiefly through the examination results of the Joint Primary 6 Examination, which was later renamed Secondary School Entrance Examination. This was the qualifying examination for primary school students to compete for secondary school places. Thus, the number of students of each school entering to secondary schools became an effective indicator for school performance.

Moreover, at that time, the school curriculum was an apoliticized one due to the political situation of Hong Kong. The situation was an uneasy one. Though Hong Kong was a British colony, it was under the influence of Communist China. Government administration was greatly concerned with preventing political

indoctrination and propaganda in education, in relation to Communist China and its counterpart, Taiwan.

Thus, the accountability of schools to the government was mainly in the aspect of apoliticized school life.

Within this second set of interchange relation, there is also a subset of interchange relation found in the legitimation based on legal contract sought by government administration from the public sphere. Government administration seeks mass loyalty from the public sphere through cultural hegemony.

It was a period of preparing for transforming basic school education in Hong Kong. The government proposed to reach the target of universal primary education as a dimension showing equality of education of access.

Before the start of the Seven Year Plan, there were two different aspects on how education should be developed (Sweeting, 2004: 140). The public sphere adopted a visionary or a normative perspective, hoping that development of education could be more qualitative, with more emphasis on the whole person development of students. However, the government adopted a pragmatic or an empirical one, emphasizing the quantitative expansion in view of the huge pressure imposed by the increasing population. Moreover, the government conceived education planning as a planning of providing human resources to the industrial sector. Thus, the heavy pressure posed by the increasing population laid down the foundation of education policy-making in this period. Therefore, quantitative provision became the dominant

discourse in the theme of development of education. Accordingly, government administration continued to adopt a functional approach based on system rationality in developing school education.

Furthermore, in the same period, Hong Kong began a process of decolonization, coping with the global trend of political atmosphere (Sweeting, 2004: 159). Applying the process of decolonization meant Hong Kong government had more room and greater feasibility in formulating education policy while coping with the locally social, economic, and political situations. Thus, the government, through expanding education opportunities and the decolonization process, collected credits of legitimation from the public sphere.

In the same period, individual and voluntary agencies continued to initiate proposals and participate in expanding educational provision. The government, through implementing educational policy of the Seven Year Plan, coped with the increasing demand for education. Though the government increased its participation in education provision, it continued to implement the policy of apoliticized school life. Its emphasis on apoliticized school life was really a cultural hegemony. The government, through satisfying the increasing demand for primary education, and implementing cultural hegemony, succeeded in reaching system integration.

In sum, this period marked increasing government participation in education and presented a picture of increasing equality of education of access. The government succeeded in getting accountability from schools through the inception of an apoliticized atmosphere, and implementation of cultural hegemony, thus system

integration through schooling came into the picture. It was a picture of increasing provision of human resources through school education to society, a picture showing a continued material reproduction for the ongoing maintenance of society, and a picture showing the increasing participation of government in the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of students.

5.2 From 1965 to 1982 -- a period of rapid expansion of basic and compulsory school education

The general socio-economic and political situation of this period was as follows.

The population increased to more than 5 million in the 1980s. In the same period, Hong Kong became industrialized, and increased in affluence. Moreover, in Hong Kong, industrialization was accompanied by the diversification of manufacturing industries, including clothing and textile, fashion, toys, electronic industries, etc. Thereafter, the structure of industries changed from manufacturing low value-added products to high value-added ones. Thus, there was an urgent need for the government to supply sufficient cheap and skilled labour to the industrial sectors.

Furthermore, the sense of belonging of the new generation of Hong Kong people increased. In 1971, the locally-born residents numbered more than 50% for the first time. Thus, the locally-born new generation was larger than the amount of refugees from China. In the same period, there was a formation of Hong Kong identity other than Chinese identity among Hong Kong people. At the same time, the enhanced responsiveness of the government to social issues increased (Sweeting, 2004: 242).

Within the first set of interchange relation, there is a subset of interchange relation occurring in daily school practice based on legal fiat. School provides human

resources and gets financial support in return. It performs the function of socialization.

The government began to take up measures for improving the quality of education. In 1972, it established a Curriculum Development Committee, and monitored curriculum development in school education. It was the first time it had paid so much attention to daily school practices.

In view of the monitoring of school curriculum, the government introduced an activity approach to the primary schools in 1981. In the activity approach, the learning and teaching activities were changed to student-centred ones. It was a rational progress in the learning and teaching activities and had a substantial impact in later years. However, the government insisted English should be the medium of instruction in most secondary schools, for Hong Kong would remain a commercial and industrial centre. These two measures were contradictory, the former enhanced, while the latter placed a hurdle on, the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of students. The government became aware of the importance of the relation between education and economy, and adopted a functional approach in overseeing curriculum development.

The apoliticized atmosphere of daily school practices remained unchanged though the cultural revolution in China had come to an end and the influence of Taiwan's authority diminished.

There are two sets of interchange relations depicted between the institutional orders of the lifeworld and the media-steered subsystems.

5.2.1 The first set of interchange relation

The following depicts the first set of interchange relation between the private sphere of the institutional order of the lifeworld and the media-steered economic system through the media of money.

Within the first set of interchange relation, there is a subset of interchange relation found in access to schooling of students based on legal contract. Government provides financial resources for the learning and training opportunities of students and teachers.

The government achieved the target of universal primary education in 1971. At the same time, there was demand from the public for both mass access to junior secondary schooling and for increasing places in the senior secondary and sixth form education.

Hong Kong became increasingly affluent owing to success in industrialization, accompanied by diversification of manufacturing industries. At the same time, there was an increase in population, rising to more than 5 million in the 1980s. However, there was a decrease in the birth rate from 2.3% in 1970s to 1.4% in the early 1980s. Accompanying this, there was a decrease in the population in the under-20 age group of 50% from 1966 to 36% in 1981. This meant that the burden of education provision became less from year to year. Therefore, the government's burden was eased in

achieving the targets of universal primary education, and later free and compulsory basic education, in 1977.

Accompanying the decrease in the birth rate, there was an oversupply of places from government and aided primary school sectors at the end of the 1980s. Thus, this provided the government with more financial resources for changing the focus from quantitative expansion to qualitative provision. It increased the role and participation in monitoring learning and teaching activities in school education, and through more participation and monitoring, there was consequently increasing bureaucracy based on instrumental rationality in the education setting.

Moreover, segregation of students based on academic achievement among schools became obvious. At the same time, types of education provision became diversified. Some primary students were selected or enrolled in the newly set up schools providing prevocational and technical education after completing their primary studies. These were the students with low achievement in academic results in their primary studies. The Hong Kong Junior Certificate of Education, serving the same purpose as the Secondary School Entrance Examination, selected up to 40% of Secondary Three students subsidized by the government. Furthermore, the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination would continue to be the gateway for selecting students for sixth form education. Students had to tackle at least four barriers, the Secondary School Entrance Examination, the Hong Kong Junior Certificate Examination, the Hong Kong Certificate Examination, and the Hong Kong Advanced Level Examination or the Hong Kong Higher Level Examination before entering university education. These sets of examination served as agents of selection

of students for different levels of qualification, or in other words, for different strata of employment structure.

In the report in 1978, the government tackled the increasing demand for Secondary Four and Five places in secondary schools and for places in sixth-form education and the post-secondary colleges. At the same time, in the level of tertiary education, the polytechnics were allowed to set up degree programmes. Thus, the government paved the way for upgrading polytechnics to university level. In view of unifying the entrance level of university programmes, the Higher Level Examination was abolished. At the same time, an expansion of sixth form education served as the first step in unifying the entrance level of university programmes, which would be in the Hong Kong Advanced Level of Education Examination. Then, tertiary education was unified with a three-year duration, with some exceptions such as medical studies. The Chinese University of Hong Kong was unwilling to agree to the shortened three-year system instead of its four-year one.

Within the same period, there was parallel development in technical education. The government set up two different levels of technical education, the Technical Institute catering for low-level technician training, while the Technical College later became Hong Kong Polytechnic, for high-level technician training.

The above shows the rapid expansion of universal and free basic education up to secondary three, with some practical and technical provisions. Moreover, the government showed great effort in expanding senior secondary education as well as post-secondary education. Accompanying these, other measures were adopted. The

government increased expenditure on teacher training in order to cope with the increases in school places, especially at secondary level.

In line with gradual expansion, the government took up measures to improve the quality of education. Accompanying the rapid expansion of junior secondary school places, the government increased teacher training opportunities up to teaching junior secondary level for non-graduate teachers. Furthermore, in 1974, the government set up a Technical Teachers' College catering for the expansion of technical and cultural subjects in secondary schools. Thus, it strived for mutual progress in school places for students and teacher education opportunities for teachers.

Furthermore, the rapid development of education at different levels, especially the mass access to junior secondary schooling, showed that the government attempted to move away from highly selective and elitist form of schooling (Sweeting, 2004: 238). The decreased pressure for quantitative provision of school places meant that the government could give increased attention to qualitative provision of education.

In sum, the government showed less concern for implementing free and basic education, and strived to aim at equality of access to education. In view of the recent quantitative expansion and qualitative development, the government showed a gradual and sophisticated planning in schooling. This was a picture showing a process of rationalization in the development of school education, though it was geared to economic development and was a functional approach based on instrumental rationality.

5.2.2 *The second set of interchange relation*

The following depicts the second set of interchange relation between the public sphere of the institutional order of the lifeworld and the media-steered government administration through the media of power.

Within the second set of interchange relation, there is a subset of interchange relation occurring in the accountability between school and government administration based on legal fiat. Schools account to government administration through public examination results. School education performs the function of selection.

In relation to free and compulsory education, the Secondary School Entrance Examination for primary students was abolished, and Hong Kong Junior Certificate of Education for Form Three students was set up. The Hong Kong Junior Certificate of Education, served the same purpose as the Secondary School Entrance Examination, selecting up to 40% of Secondary Three students to Secondary Four school places subsidized by the government. Junior School Education Assessment provided a door for selecting students entering senior secondary education and higher education. The selection was parallel to the expanding economic situation.

However, in line with the decrease in student population and the increase in school places, the percentage increased rapidly, and lastly, up to the level providing all the places for those who would like to continue their Secondary Four studies within a ten year period. The Hong Kong Junior Certificate of Education, later named

the Junior School Education Assessment, would be phased out in 2009, and a free 12-year education would be provided accordingly.

Moreover, at the same time, the public, including both public opinion and opinion from the economic sector, were concerned about a decline in the standard of education, especially Chinese and English languages. The government insisted English should be the medium of instruction in most secondary schools, for Hong Kong would remain a commercial and industrial centre. It adopted a functional approach based on instrumental rationality and neglected to develop the potential of students through learning in their mother tongue. In fact, English was a token for better jobs and a better future, with a higher market value. This logic served as an example of cultural hegemony.

In sum, the public examination results of schools were the preliminary indicators of their performance. Through the gateway of examinations, students were selected to different strata of employment structure. Thus, school functioned as an agent of selection. The government administration performed its function, through schools, in providing human resources for the continuation of material reproduction of society, though the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of students was hampered by the medium of instruction.

Within the second set of interchange relation, there is a subset of interchange relation found in the legitimation based on legal contract sought by government administration from the public sphere. Government administration seeks mass loyalty

from the public sphere through cultural hegemony, or the colonization of the lifeworld.

The proposals of education policy papers by the government dominated and shaped the direction of education development in this period. The government exercised their political wills, based on functional rationality, through issuing proposals and through education policies followed.

However, education pressure groups and education interest groups were formed in the same period, for example, the Education Action Group, Professional Teachers' Union, etc. They served as participating competitors in the discourse of education or in the process of cultural hegemony (Pun, 1996).

Through the proposals of the education policy paper, the government began its sophisticated education planning, addressing and attempting to solve the problems arising from the provision of universal and basic education and the associated expansion of senior secondary education.

It was envisaged that long term planning in education, such as universal and free basic education, the expansion of senior secondary education, would move away from dealing with tackling crises to rational planning. However, the long term education planning proposal was subjected to scrutiny of the public sphere. In the public sphere, public opinions were formed via mass media. The public, generally, would agree with the rational planning of education. The government succeeded in coming to an empirical consensus with the public. This empirical consensus was

based on cultural hegemony of providing more places in senior secondary and higher education, instead of providing more effort in dealing with the whole person development of students. It indicated the government was reluctant to abandon its functional approach based on instrumental rationality in planning development of education. It could be served as an example: through the interaction between the government and the public sphere in view of public opinion, the formation of social adhesive or integration was facilitated (Sweeting, 2004: 183).

Furthermore, a significant issue appeared as an important variable in political, social and cultural settings. In 1971, locally born residents outnumbered the immigrants, and Hong Kong was no longer an immigrant society/ community (Sweeting, 2004: 183). Thus, Hong Kong residents recognized their Hong Kong identity rather than only Chinese identity. The Hong Kong identity provided the momentum in helping the government to secure empirical consensus with the public.

Therefore, system integration was enhanced through empirical consensus on increasing and improving education provision, and the emerging Hong Kong identity of Hong Kong people.

It was a period of preparing for transforming basic school education in Hong Kong, changing from a quantitative expansion to a qualitative provision.

In sum, there was a substantial development in daily school practices, such as providing more resources in developing school curriculum, enhancing learning and teaching practices, such as promoting a student-centred approach in classroom

activities. The provision of free and universal schooling up to secondary three meant expanding scope of equality of access in education. Moreover, the Junior Secondary Education Assessment provided an indicator for school performance, on which accountability of the school was based. Furthermore, the government succeeded in enhancing students' Hong Kong identity, on which system integration was based. Thus, this was a process of rationalization in the development of education. In one aspect, it was geared to rational consensus based on communicative rationality in daily school practices, such as a student-centred approach, and in the other aspect, it was oriented to empirical consensus based on cultural hegemony and instrumental rationality.

The government succeeded in tackling the demand for increasing opportunities for participation in school education through providing free and universal schooling up to secondary three level and the demand for suitable human resources in the commercial and industrial sectors. Solving a problem itself is a process of learning. Learning is the driving mechanism for a process of rationalization. The government learnt and facilitated the ongoing process of rationalization of development of school education, though based on instrumental rationality, though oriented to the employability of the students leaving schools.

5.3 From 1982 to 1997 -- a period of rapid expansion of school education accompanying emphasis on quality provision

The general socio-economic and political situations of this period were as follows.

In 1984, British Government and Chinese Government signed The Joint Declaration on the future of Hong Kong. Then Hong Kong would return to China in 1997, and thus the uncertainty on political future of Hong Kong was cleared. Hong Kong started a transitional period from being under British colonial rule to being under Chinese sovereignty.

In the same period, Chinese government adopted an open door policy and welcomed foreign investment in her four newly established special economic zones, such as Shenzhen. In Hong Kong, entrepreneurs, owing to the rising cost of local labour, began to invest in Shenzhen. From this time onwards, there was a northward movement of manufacturing industries from Hong Kong to China. These induced a change of economic structure of Hong Kong within a decade, a change from manufacturing industries to financial and services industries. As a consequence, this change in economic structure had a great impact on education in Hong Kong. Therefore, the government had to switch to develop human resources to cope with requirements of the newly growing financial and services sectors.

Owing to a continued and gradual decline in population pressure on education provision and an urgent need to upgrade human resources skills for the financial and

services sectors, the government had to put more effort into improving the quality of education within this period.

There were problems and issues found in this rapid expansion of education. The government tried to solve them so as to pave the way for development of quality education in the following period. In view of this trend, the hidden agenda of quality education in the school management initiative and the target oriented curriculum provided the examples for the initial development. Moreover, the new school management initiative was the early attempt of the government to introduce education reform related to emerging new right movement in Hong Kong.

There are two sets of interchange relations depicted between the institutional orders of the lifeworld and the media-steered subsystems.

5.3.1 The first set of interchange relation

The following depicts the first set of interchange relation between the private sphere of the institutional order of the lifeworld and the media-steered economic system through the media of money.

Within the first set of interchange relation, there is a subset of interchange relation occurring in daily school practice based on legal fiat. School provides human

resources and gets financial support in return. It performs the function of socialization.

In daily school practices, schools were faced with situations related to transition of sovereignty, expanding requirement of a knowledge society, medium of instruction, new school curriculum and student behavioural problems of mass education.

Some measures were adopted by the government to cope with issues in the transition of sovereignty of Hong Kong in school education. From the 1980s onwards, the government introduced and integrated moral, civic and environmental education in the school curriculum. Both the introduction of moral and civic education, and China elements in school curriculum, were conceived as measures to promote the awareness of citizenship in the transition of sovereignty in Hong Kong. Moreover, from the 1990s, the government introduced more China elements in some school curricula, such as in the curricula of World History, Chinese History, Geography, and Government and Public Affairs, so as to respond to the pressure of knowing more about China from the public. The government was cautious in striking a balance between legitimization of British administration and increasing China elements in education, and so it adopted a functional approach based on instrumental rationality, and just introduced cognitive aspects of China elements in the curriculum, and avoided tackling issues related to adopting Chinese identity.

With the coming age of knowledge society, the government adopted some new measures, e.g. introducing new approaches in learning and teaching activities,

expanding the scope of the curriculum, etc. Moreover, in order to cope with the coming computer age, in 1983, the government introduced computer studies in the secondary school curriculum. The government hoped to be in line with the coming computer age. In view of diversifying the school curriculum, the government also introduced social studies in the junior secondary curriculum, and government and public administration in secondary six one. It continued to increase the knowledge base of the school curriculum as a response to the upcoming age of a knowledge society. Thus, the measures were oriented to cope with the expanding and upgrading economy, such as introducing information technology elements. Therefore, the government did not hesitate to adopt functional rationality in tackling the issue.

Moreover, the government, in 1983, introduced a thematic approach in the kindergarten curriculum. Furthermore, in 1981, it also introduced the activity approach in the curriculum in primary schools. Accompanying these introductions, the government enhanced the Education Television programmes, and conceived this measure as an indicator of quality provision of education. The government was concerned more about the student-centred approaches in implementing school curriculum. In view of this development, this showed a trend of increasing qualitative development of education, a trend of increasing rationalization of school education.

In the aspect of teacher education, The Colleges of Education, in 1983, began to take up teacher training on special education and counseling programmes, paving the way for integrated education starting in the 1990s. In 1985, the government introduced pilot schemes of integrated education to some schools, in which some mildly disabled children were admitted. The measure followed the trend of integrated

education in the other developed countries. This measure facilitated the equality of participation, especially to the under-privileged ones.

In order to provide more learning opportunities for low-achieving students, pre-vocational schools, in 1985, extended their curriculum up to senior secondary level. The measures were said to be an indicator of equality of education opportunity.

In 1992, the government introduced the highly controversial curriculum, the renamed Target Oriented Curriculum, in primary schools. The responses from schools and the public were negative. The critics were mainly centered on the rote learning nature of the curriculum, and the heavy workload imposed on teachers and students. It was a measure for the government to tighten the scope of monitoring standards of education.

Furthermore, the government supported school-based curriculum development in 1995. It attempted to expand the autonomy of schools in developing tailor-made ones for their schools. It was one of the components of quality education proposed later by the government.

Moreover, the medium of instruction continued to be an issue for debate in public. However, English retained a higher market value than Chinese as medium of instruction. However, in 1989 a research report showed that only 30% of students were suitable to use English as medium of instruction in secondary schools (Sweeting, 2004: 304) The government, in 1988, introduced measures to improve language teaching, and intended to strengthen the use of Chinese as the medium of instruction

and at the same time to maintain the standard of English teaching. As both a consequence and an improving measure of quality teaching, the government started benchmark qualifications for language teachers as a measure to enhance language teaching in schools in 1996. The government, in 1993, issued the Language Proficiency Profile of Secondary One students to secondary schools to provide information for schools to select the medium of instruction in learning and teaching practices in the 1994-1995 school year. Furthermore, the government still collected credits from the public through empirically motivated consensus in tackling the issue, seeing that the higher market value of English was suitable and appropriate in conducting learning and teaching activities, with support from trained and qualified language teachers and an informed selection of students. The issue was tackled through a series of rational procedures based on instrumental rationality. The issue was solved, however, rationally.

The government, in 1991, established The Chinese Textbook Committee to subsidize the writing and publication of sixth form textbooks. This measure was a response to enhance the use of Chinese as medium of instruction based on a rational procedure. It was an example of instrumental rationality adopted by the government.

A review of nine-year compulsory education published in 1997 with four main areas of concern: the great differentiation of abilities of students; the need to ensure the quality and effectiveness of teaching; the difficulties in handling students with behavioral or learning problems; the negative impact of the Academic Aptitude Test on primary education. In between the years implementing nine-year compulsory education, the government had already tackled these problems.

In this period, the government had put more effort into dealing with students with behavioural problems. The government, in 1983, after published a survey on the delinquent behavioural problems of students, began to put more effort into dealing with school practices as the problems associated with mass access to junior secondary school emerged. Moreover, the government announced the allocation of more resources in special education in 1983. In 1992, it announced the proposal of reviewing the teacher-student ratio; and, later, the teacher-student ratio increased at different levels of primary and secondary education. Furthermore, the government set up a Working Group on Support Services for the Band 5 schools in 1992; and, later, the measures implemented included an increase in the number of guidance teachers and social workers. At the same year, the government encouraged schools to develop crisis groups in dealing with crisis incidents. In order to cater for behavioural problems, the government proposed the one social worker per school policy in 1993. A type of special education school called practical school was opened in 1995 in Ma On Shan catering for students with behavioural and learning problems in ordinary secondary schools. Lastly, some measures were taken to cater for the low-achieving students in different sectors of education provision. Through these measures, the government attempted to solve problems voiced by the review of the nine-year compulsory education. The measures tackled problems within the education setting and failed to cope with them in the wider scope of socio-cultural setting. Though the tension within schools facing these problems was eased, the effectiveness of the measures remained unresolved. The government adopted functional rationality in dealing with the issues, such as segregating those with behavioural problems from those without.

In sum, in the coming era of free and universal school basic education, the government needed to solve the issues described above, such as expanding curriculum, student behavioural problems, and medium of instruction. The government solved, perhaps only partially, the problems through learning. This was an indicator showing the advancement of equality of education from equality of access to equality of participation. The government adopted a functional approach based on instrumental rationality and ensured the provision of suitable and appropriate human resources to society. Though it attempted to solve the problems through adopting measures based on functional rationality, the government did learn and facilitate a process of rationalization in the development of school education.

Within the first set of interchange relation, there is a subset of interchange relations found in access to schooling of students based on legal contract. Government provides financial resources for the learning opportunities of students and teachers

The government attempted to provide more financial resources to school education, and adopted a positive discrimination policy to help those in need. To serve as an example, School Textbook Assistance Scheme, in 1982, was extended from primary students to junior secondary students, in order to lessen the financial burden of parents.

Furthermore, the government introduced measures to facilitate equality of access and participation. In addition to provision of nine-year free and universal school basic education, the government also provided alternative channels for the

low-achieving students. The Vocational Training Council provided craft and technician courses for S3 and S5 school leavers in 1982. Moreover, the government started seamen training education for student dropouts from secondary school in 1984. Furthermore, it established an education centre catering for gifted children in 1992. However, in 1994, despite the rapid expansion of junior secondary education, the government, with much disappointment from the public, announced it would not extend the nine-year free and compulsory school education to senior secondary school education. Moreover, free secondary education would start in 2008.

In view of equality of access and participation, there was an expansion of school education at various levels, from pre-school, primary, junior secondary, senior secondary and sixth-form, technical, post-secondary, to university levels. In providing more post-secondary places, upgrading selective post-secondary institutes to university levels, the government attempted to cope with the declining political confidence in Hong Kong due to 1997 issues in the education sector. (Note 2) Furthermore, in 1988, the government announced it would increase university places up to 14%, and later to 16%, of the relevant age-group of students in the coming ten years, and started a rapid expansion of the tertiary sector of education. It attempted to maintain the political confidence of Hong Kong people, and to cater for the rapid expansion of financial and service sectors of industry. Towards the end of the period, Hong Kong had established eight universities. (Note 3) These measures were functional in tackling the issue of declining political confidence in government administration, and were not oriented to developing student potential, thus, they were based on instrumental rationality.

In the dimension of teacher training, the government made great effort to cope with the expanding secondary education and the coming age of quality education in the hidden agenda of education development in later years. In 1982 and 1983, in view of the rapid expansion of junior secondary school places, the government provided additional teachers to cope with the heavy workload imposed on teachers, especially dealing with emerging student behavioural problems. The additional teachers worked mainly on improving standards of English, Chinese and other subjects, chiefly Mathematics, through remedial teaching, and on strengthening general guidance, careers' guidance and extra-curricular programmes in schools. Moreover, in the 1980s, the pace of teacher education accelerated, in different types of provisions and scope. It was in parallel with the mass access of junior secondary school education. (Note 4) In order to enhance the professional qualification of teachers, the government, in 1994, proposed that all secondary school teachers should get a teacher training qualification when they started in the teaching profession. In order to tackle the issues from mass education, the government attempted to upgrade the teaching profession and reduce the workload of practising teachers. However, the problems could not be solved within the education setting, and should be tackled in a wider social context. This provided an example showing the government continued to use functional rationality in solving problems.

In order to take more responsibility in pre-school education, in 1982 the government began to provide financial assistance to the needy parents of kindergarten students. Ten years later, in 1992, though the government expanded subsidy in the kindergarten sector, it also received criticism related to coverage of students, and salary of teachers, for the subsidy was not the same as in primary and secondary

school sectors. In the latter sectors, all students were covered, and teachers got their salaries from the government. In the same year, the teachers in pre-school provision petitioned for improvement in education and increase in salary. This was an issue which remained to be solved in the next period. The government attempted to increase the equality of participation for the parents and students with financial difficulties, and did not tackle problems of upgrading standards of this education sector through recruiting teachers with higher salaries.

In the dimension of professional development of teachers, the government put development of education under its bureaucratic shelter. Though, in 1986, the Teachers' Centre was opened as a place for teachers enhancing professional development, and many seminars and workshops related to education were organized accordingly. However, in 1992, the government was criticized on her proposal of a Council on Teachers' Professional Conduct instead of the Hong Kong Teaching Service proposed by the Visiting Panel and supported by the public. The enhancement of professional autonomy of teachers was in a difficult situation. Furthermore, in 1994, the government established the Council of Professional Conduct in Education instead. Though the Chairperson of the Education Commission supported the establishment of a Teacher's Council with statutory power in the profession in the same year, the Council of Professional Conduct in Education was a downgraded organization for a professional teaching body. In school education, the government did not treat the practising teachers as partners. Instead, through deliberately downgrading the body of the teaching profession, the government exercised more control on it. It was hegemony imposed by the government in overseeing the teaching profession.

The above issue provided an example of intervention of the bureaucratic authority on the professional autonomy of teachers (Tsang, 1997: 25). Tsang suggested that, in order to establish professional autonomy, teachers needed to negotiate with the government in establishing an organization akin to the General Teaching Council in the United Kingdom. He suggested establishing an institutional framework in the course of developing teacher education. Two paths of teacher education were envisaged, one was the Post-Graduate Certificate of Education and the other was the Bachelor of Education. The former was awarded to university graduates after studying teacher education, and the latter was to graduates from colleges of education after studying two more years of teacher education. Tsang (1997: 65-73) did not agree with the curriculum designed for Bachelor of Education, and saw it as the technical way of teacher education, with only emphasis on classroom teaching, instead of nurturing four important study areas of education, such as philosophy of education, psychology of education, sociology of education and history of education. These areas served as the basis for professional autonomy of teaching profession. The curriculum designed for the Bachelor of Education would provide only a narrow scope of vision of education for the student teachers, not with a wider vision of professional autonomy, and was based on functional approach based on instrumental rationality.

In sum, in this period, the government attempted to satisfy the demand of education provision not only in the scope of quantity and levels, but also in the scope of quality in the stage of free and universal basic education, through increasing learning and teaching opportunities. The focus was changed from equality of access

to education to equality of participation. Furthermore, the changed focus did indicate a learning process driving the ongoing process of rationalization in the development of school education. However, the autonomy of teaching profession did have a long road.

5.3.2 *The second set of interchange relation*

The following depicts the second set of interchange relation between public sphere of the institutional order of the lifeworld and the media-steered government administration through the media of power.

Within the second set of interchange relation, there is a subset of interchange relation occurring in the accountability between school and government administration based on legal fiat. School accounts to the government administration through public examination results. It performs the function of selection.

The government appointed a panel of experts from the Organization for Economic Operation and Development which visited Hong Kong twice, in 1981 and 1982, to collect opinions and information on education development. They provided valuable opinions on the school education system, especially on reducing the examination burden of students and bureaucracy of government administration.

In view of the report proposed by the above visiting panel of experts, in 1983, the Primary One Admission system based on the Academic Aptitude Test replaced the Primary School Entrance Examination, the admission was based on parental choices. Furthermore, in 1985, the government started to phase out the Junior Secondary Education Assessment. In the following years, a new method of selection was introduced in the Junior School Education Assessment, through which schools were allowed to select their own students through their own school examination. The importance of the Junior School Education Assessment declined, as the student

population of the corresponding age declined and the school places became sufficient, or even showed a surplus. The Junior Secondary Education Assessment would be abolished in the coming age of twelve years free education in 2009. There was a trend in lessening the burden and pressure of examinations and selection of students. However, the government still monitored the performance of students through other channels with lesser functions of selection such as the Junior School Education Assessment. The government still performed its function of monitoring and schools were accountable through examinations or other means.

In 1982, some non-profit making private secondary schools were converted to government aided schools. Moreover, in 1983, the government phased out the policy of bought place system in the private sector. In coping with the increased demand on government subsidized school places, in 1985, the government proposed the Direct Subsidy Scheme for private schools opting for government subsidy. The main concern for the government was to integrate the pro-China schools to the public school sectors. The measure was based on functional rationality. A year later, in 1986, the government stopped buying secondary one places from some private schools, indicating there were enough places in government aided sector. The government succeeded in performing the role of equality of access in school education.

In view of diversifying provision of education, the government proposed a new form of provision of education called the Direct Subsidy Scheme, which aimed at larger school autonomy in learning and teaching activities based on more flexible financial subsidy. Some considered it an initial step of marketization of education provision. In related to the scheme, there was debate on the equality of education.

Tsang (1997: 139) criticized that the scheme as potentially opposing the vision of equality of education opportunities geared to meritocracy and promoting a picture of class segregation. He envisaged that despite the trend of equality of education, there was a counter-current of promoting inequality of opportunity instead. This was a good example in illustrating that the government adopted a functional approach based on instrumental rationality, aimed at facilitating school effectiveness and neglected the more important phenomenon, the equality of opportunities oriented to participation.

In the course of the transition to Chinese sovereignty, there were waves of emigration, especially of the middle class. In order to fill the brain-drain gap, the government accelerated the development of tertiary education. In Hong Kong, there were opinions for promoting elite form of education so as to accelerate the training and increase human resources for the economy. Accompanying with this, education reform in the coming period was geared to cult of market efficiency (Tsang, 1997: 213). In 1986, the government deferred, and finally dropped, the implementation of five more subdivisions in the existing five banding allocation scheme in the secondary one allocation scheme, for the scheme was criticized as a return to elitism in an age of universal education. In this issue, the government was cautious in implementing education measures oriented to weakening equality of participation and its consequences. However, the government did incline to such measures based on its own mindset of functional rationality.

The government, through public examination, attempted to select students moving from one stage to another stage. However, with the implementation of free and universal basic school education, the selection was deferred to a higher level, up

to the Secondary School Certificate Examination. The examination performed the function of selecting students to sixth form education. Then these students were selected to universities through the Advanced Level Examination. The government also monitored school performance implicitly through various examinations and assessments at different stages, such as the Junior Secondary Education Assessment. The government took the role of selecting of students and of monitoring school performance, for it was concerned with the relationship between development of education and manpower planning (Sweeting, 2004: 372). The selection and monitoring provided input factors for manpower planning, and thus recruited suitable and appropriate human resources to society. The government did not avoid taking the functional approach based on instrumental rationality. It just fulfilled its task of capital accumulation.

Within the second set of interchange relation, there is an interchange relation found in the legitimation based on legal contract sought by government administration from the public sphere. The government administration seeks mass loyalty from the public sphere through cultural hegemony.

In order to oversee all the education issues, the government established a mandated Education Commission in 1984. Its terms of reference were: to define overall educational objectives, formulate educational policy, and recommend priorities for implementation having regard to the resources available; to coordinate and monitor the planning and development of education at all levels; and to initiate educational research. (EDAR, 1984:1) Up to the year 1997, the Education Commission issued seven reports related to tackling existed education problems and

preparing a path for the coming of quality education in the process of education reform in the new millennium. (Note 5)

In 1984, the Education Commission published its first report, Education Commission Report 1 (ECR1), concerned with Junior Secondary Education Assessment, language issues, teacher training and teacher organization, open education, etc. Two years later, the Education Commission published ECR2 in 1986, concerned with medium of instruction, pre-primary education, Sixth Form education, teacher training, etc. Later, the Education Commission published ECR3 in 1988, concerned with tertiary education, direct subsidy scheme, etc. In 1990, the Education Commission published ECR4, which proposed to establish the Curriculum Development Institute in overseeing curriculum development and addressed the issue of medium of instruction. Furthermore, the Education Commission published ECR5 in 1992, concerned with the teaching profession. Before the return of sovereignty of Hong Kong to China, the Education Commission, published ECR6 in 1996, and addressed the issues of language proficiency. After the return of sovereignty, the Education Commission published ECR7 in 1997, and addressed the issues of quality education, which was the blue print of education reform of Hong Kong in the following decade. Thus, within these thirteen years, the Education Commission attempted to address education issues with the education system and proposed compromised solutions accordingly.

Moreover, the problems addressed and solutions provided were not only the matter of financial resources, they were also those of gaining legitimation from the public sphere. The following are the examples.

The government, in 1985, proposed the Direct Subsidy Scheme for private schools opting for government subsidy. The main concern for the government was to integrate the pro-China schools to the public school sectors and strive for legitimation from this education sector. Furthermore, in 1986, the government and some education pressure groups clashed on the issue of the direct subsidy scheme. The pressure group proposed to directly subsidize students rather than schools. The measure was related to the co-opting of pro-China education provisions into the government- run education system, and was a matter of legitimation gained from teachers of pro-China schools as well as political groups affiliated to China.

The public, in 1986, urged the government to improve the situation of floating classes in secondary schools, which was a provisional measure in dealing with the rapid expansion of secondary school places. The public urged the government to set a timetable to phase out this unpopular measure. The floating class issue was solved in the 1990s, due to a declining student population and corresponding numbers of classes in schools. It was an improvement in the situation of learning and teaching activities, and gained credit from teachers, students and parents. Thus, based on empirical consensus, legitimation of government administration was channelled.

The public discussion on the brain-drain issue due to a wave of emigration of people from Hong Kong continued in 1988. They were mainly middle class people. In 1989, the Tiananmen incident reinforced the seriousness of brain-drain issues. In line with the rapid expansion of post-secondary school places, the impact of the brain-drain issue was reduced. Furthermore, the government reduced regulations on

political activities in schools in 1990 because of the coming of 1997, and was one of the measures for restoring the confidence of teachers in the field of education. Both measures catered for restoring the confidence of the public sphere, together with gaining legitimation. Moreover, in 1992, the teacher shortage was resolved by adopting the measure of recognizing the qualification of teachers graduating from Commonwealth countries, and by encouraging retired teachers to stay longer in schools. It was also a measure for restoring the confidence of the public in education. Restoring confidence was the other aspect of system integration, which was based on empirical consensus on the measures proposed by the government.

The Policy Address of the Governor in 1990 addressed the quality of education, started and shaped a dominant education discourse in the future years. The government, in 1991, proposed the School Management Initiative, which was the basis of school based management in the education reform in 1997. Though the Initiative was unpopular and did not receive much support from schools, it was an early and immature policy of the government in striving for quality of education.

A leader of a pressure group joined the Education Commission in 1992, indicating the government was opting for more support and legitimation of the education policies from the pressure groups, and was aiming at reaching empirical consensus on discussing associated education policies.

The government, in 1992, set up the Committee on Home-School Cooperation, and attempted to get along with parents in the coming years. The government, in 1993, established the Advisory Committee on Teacher Education and

Qualification, and set up a framework of qualification for the teaching profession. The government, in 1993, issued *School Education in Hong Kong: A Statement of Aims*, and tried to set up the direction for education development, oriented to the needs of society. In 1993, the Education Commission set up three working groups on educational standards, language proficiency, and resource allocation, so as to prepare in writing the report on quality education. These were the measures prepared for the coming education reform in the new millennium, so that the government might dominate the theme of education discourse of quality education, such as increasing participation of parents, setting benchmarks for teacher qualifications, and a quality education assurance mechanism. It did not avoid a functional approach based on instrumental rationality in implementing the measures in education setting.

In relation to free and universal school basic education, the government needed to solve issues of expanding curriculum, student behavioural problems, and medium of instruction, which were the challenges emerging from daily school practices. However, the solutions to the challenges were indicators showing the advancement of equality of education from equality of access to equality of participation.

The government monitored school performance implicitly through various public examinations and assessments in different stages of schooling. Moreover, schools sought for their accountability through these examinations and assessments. Furthermore, the government succeeded in gaining empirical consensus from the public sphere in relation to the issues of transiting sovereignty, thus, system integration was enhanced.

In view of the above summary, the government administration achieved empirical consensus with both private and public spheres. The process of the achievement was a process of learning through reconciling problems and associated issues. Though the empirical consensus was based on functional rationality, the government administration did acquire the necessary momentum in achieving its legitimation from both spheres, and thus system integration was achieved. Learning did perform the function of driving mechanism, moving the process of rationalization of school education onwards.

5.4 From 1997 to 2008 -- a period of implementing quality school education

The general political and socio-economic situations were as follows.

The return of sovereignty of Hong Kong to China in 1997 imposed a mixed feeling to Hong Kong people. Since 1997, the new government faced several serious incidents. In late 1997, there was a financial turmoil in Asia. Thus, the government faced a financial crisis after the financial turmoil in the years to follow. In 1998, there was the bird flu crisis. The bird flu crisis, together with the collapse of the real estate market, induced a rationality crisis related to administration in the government. In association with these incidents, the people in Hong Kong lost confidence in the government administration, particularly in the dimension of public policy. (Tsang, 2006: 6)

In the same period, the Education Commission published ECR7 in 1997, which was the blue print for the then coming education reform. The government, through the reform, attempted to tackle the challenges of globalization of the economy of Hong Kong with an improved and higher standard of human resources from the school education sector. However, the education reform, together with the associated education policies, was faced with the same situation of rationality crisis of the above incidents. The government made use of the model of incremental decision making, so as to reach general and empirical consensus on education reform before its implementation. Furthermore, in the education reform, the government adopted the new managerial techniques in improving the effectiveness of school education.

(Sweeting, 2004: 525) Some people questioned the education reform paying little attention to past experiences. (Sweeting, 2004: 525)

From 1997, the government issued a series of reports related to implementing education reform. Accompanying this reform, the government proposed and dominated a discourse of quality education with cultural hegemony, emphasizing school effectiveness under the cover of quality education. The government did not avoid taking a functional approach based on instrumental rationality.

Below is a simplified picture on the framework of the education reform, ranging from the delivery of education, school organization, teacher qualification, etc.

In 1997, the Education Commission, an advisory committee on education for the government, issued its No. 7 Report called Quality School Education, setting the reference framework for the discourse of quality education. In 2000, the Education and Manpower Bureau, which was called later the Education Bureau, started education reform with its reference framework laid out in a document called Learning for Life, Learning through Life: Reform Proposals for the Education System in Hong Kong. In 2001, the Curriculum Council issued a curriculum reform document for school education called Learning to Learn -- The Way Forward in Curriculum Development, and started curriculum reform.

In order to introduce more education leaders to cope with the education reform carried out in school education, in 1999, the government formalized the training programme of school principals and carried out Certification of Principalship for the

newly recruited school principals. Moreover, in 2003, the government, through the Advisory Committee on Teacher Education and Qualifications, issued a document called *Towards A Learning Profession*, and thus set up a teacher competence framework for teachers. Both of the above measures were prepared for the professional development of principals and teachers in the coming education reform.

The most significant measure in the reform was the introduction of a new academic structure in school education. In 2003, the government issued a report called *Review of the Academic Structure of Senior Secondary Education*, and decided to devise a major change with a three-year senior secondary education and a four-year university education in the school structure.

In the aspect of school management, the government adopted a deregulation policy. In 2004, the government passed an amended education ordinance, set up school based management in enacted law. This was officially a shifting of role of administration to governance (Dale, 1997).

In 2005, the Education and Manpower Bureau issued the *Report on Review of Medium of Instruction for Secondary Schools and Secondary School Places Allocation*. The Education Commission issued *Progress Report on Education Reform* from time to time. Up to 2006, it had issued four reports related to education reform since 1997. (Note 6)

Moreover, there were reflections from the public sphere of the education reform based on normative consensus (Choi & Wong, 2002). Their viewpoints

included: replacing genuine quality education with quality management in the commercial field; replacing quantifying education resulting in little care about the learning with growth of individual students; and replacing enhancing the selection function of education with education on reaching social equality. They were analyses from the lifeworld perspective, a counter perspective to the functional approach of equality education.

Furthermore, in 2006, more than five thousand teachers protested and petitioned against education reform in Hong Kong. Cheng (2004, 2006) conceived that the education reform was faced with a crisis which it needed to address promptly. He described the crisis as a bottleneck phenomenon and was a malfunction of education. He supported the education reform, but had reservations on its planning and pace of development.

He summarized the phenomena of crisis of education reform based on system perspective. Some crises were structural ones. For examples, the curriculum reform was not well planned and was implemented at too rapid a pace, and there was a further differentiation among students and schools. However, some crises were cultural ones, for example, teachers and schools were insulted by the government, teachers were imposed with heavy workload, schools were under heavy pressure from competition, the value of education was placed as low priority due to serious competition among schools, the disappearance of mutual trust between teachers and the government, and the will of the government officials replaced the expertise of education front liners in implementing education reforms.

In the Education Commission Report No. 7, the Education Commission devised an input, process and output model in articulating components of quality school education. The above problems and crises faced in the education reform could be summarized in the table with the help of the model. (Note 7)

The government and the public could not reach an empirical consensus on the education reform, and legitimation crisis occurred. However, the crises could be solved step by step by coping with the pace and allocation of more resources, especially by recruiting more teachers in tackling the daily workloads. The government adopted a functional approach, neglecting teachers' opinions on tackling the problems of caring for students in the aspect of the personal growth.

There are two sets of interchange relations which can be depicted between the institutional orders of the lifeworld and the media-steered subsystems.

5.4.1 The first set of interchange relation

The following depicts the first set of interchange relation between the private sphere of the institutional order of the lifeworld and the media-steered economic system through the media of money.

Within the first set of interchange relation, there is an interchange relation which occurs in daily school practice based on legal fiat. School provides human

resources and gets financial support in return. It performs the function of socialization.

In 1997, the government issued Medium of Instruction Guidance for Secondary Schools, a blue print for promoting and encouraging Chinese as the medium of instruction in the secondary schools. A school, with less than 85% of Secondary One intake of students suitable to use English as medium of instruction, was required to conduct lessons in Chinese. The restriction was up to junior secondary levels. However, the schools were allowed to choose their own medium of instruction in the senior secondary levels. However, schools adopted a functional approach in selecting the medium of instruction in senior levels, and based on getting better recruitment of students and better public examination results instead of better facilitating of learning and teaching activities.

The government attempted to improve both the English and Chinese languages in schools, so as to facilitate learning and teaching, and justify the policy of medium of instruction. In order to achieve the target, in 1997, a scheme called Enhanced Native English Speaking Teachers was announced so as to strengthen the standard of English in both primary and secondary schools. Furthermore, in 1998, the government announced measures to help improve Chinese language in schools.

At the same time, many students and parents opted for Chinese as medium of instruction, hoping for better results in public examinations. In 1998, the Hong Kong Examination Authority reported that, in the Hong Kong Certificate Education Examination, an increasing number of candidates chose Chinese rather than English

in answering the examination papers. However, medium of instruction remained a political issue for the government and gained momentum from higher market value.

Moreover, in the curriculum reform related to the education reform, there were three principal components, the eight key learning areas, values and attitudes, and generic skills. The role of teacher was changed to be a facilitator in helping learning and teaching activities. Furthermore, at the classroom scale, the role of teacher became a facilitator, facilitating learning and teaching activities, gaining momentum in developing students' potentials.

There was also a reform in academic structure of school education. A new senior secondary education system would replace the current Secondary Four to Secondary Seven system. The years of learning at senior secondary level would be shortened from four years to three, and students would take only one public examination, the Secondary School Diploma Examination, instead of the current two public examinations, the Secondary School Certificate Examination, and the Advanced Level Education Examination. Free education would be extended to twelve years, covering six years primary education, and six years secondary education. Both parents and teachers welcomed the reform, in the aspects of lessening the burden of public examinations and getting one more year of learning in tertiary education.

In 2007, the government proposed a framework for schools to prepare for a student learning profile of the students participating in the new secondary school curriculum. Many schools started accordingly. The public examination results and other learning achievements of the students served as the ticket to the world of

employment. The government, through the student learning profile, monitored school performance and gained accountability from schools in return.

The school sector continued to perform the role of agent of socialization and to supply human resources to society. The government set a framework of how school should perform and be oriented to the needs of society. However, practising teachers might only achieve rational consensus oriented to the needs of students at classroom scale.

Within the first set of interchange relation, there is a subset of interchange relation found in access to schooling of students based on legal contract. Government provides financial resources for the learning opportunities of students and teachers.

The government continued to increase participation in school education and provide many financial resources to the education sector. The government announced that there would be free 12-year education for the new senior secondary school students in 2009. The Junior School Education Assessment would be abolished, that meant, all secondary three students would be promoted to secondary four. Thus, the government achieved equality of participation at this level. It was an ongoing process of rationalization in the development of school education.

In allocating secondary one places for primary students, gender discrimination, with girls in an unfavourable position, was recognized. The government corrected it promptly so that more girls were assigned to Band One status

rather than both genders in equal proportion, as boys had got the benefit in the past. It was an indicator of equality of participation in terms of gender.

Moreover, in order to address the equality of participation, in 2001, the government reduced the number of bandings, which were used to allocate secondary one students, from five to three; that meant, the differentiation of students with bandings in terms of academic ability was reduced. Within the same banding, the academic ability of students might differ considerably. Though it posed difficulties in learning and teaching activities, the concept of equality of participation was enhanced and implemented practically.

Moreover, the government attempted to set up a highly qualified teaching profession to cope with the education reform. In 2002, the government introduced the Continuous Professional Development of Principals. It set up a reference framework in training the newly appointed principals. In 2005, for those interested in leading schools, they should get the Certification of Principalship in advance. Through setting up a reference framework, the government monitored the leading work of principals.

In 2003, the government accepted the proposal from the Advisory Committee on Teacher Education and Qualifications, set the reference framework of competency of teachers in daily school practice. Moreover, the government, together with the help of the tertiary institutes, opened up courses and programmes related to contents of the education reform so as to enhance the competency of the teaching profession.

However, both principals and teachers were trained according to the reference framework based on quality education, the dominant theme of discourse in education. Through the training and the associated reference framework, the government attempted to monitor the performance of teachers and principals, and orient the programmes to functional rationality.

Moreover, the government did satisfy the learning opportunities expected from students, teachers, and principals. Furthermore, through providing twelve years of free education, correcting the gender discrimination issue promptly, and reducing the number of bandings, the government, in view of equality of education, strived to reach equality of participation.

5.4.2 *The second set of interchange relation*

The following depicts the second set of interchange relation between public sphere of the institutional order of the lifeworld and the media-steered government administration through media of power.

Within the second set of interchange relation, there is a subset of interchange relation occurring in the accountability between school and government administration based on legal fiat. School accounts to the government administration through public examination results. It performs the function of selection.

In 2004, the government passed the Education (Amendment) Ordinance 2004. Through the ordinance, the government implemented school based management policy and required the schools to organize an incorporated management committee so as to administer daily school practices. The managers of the committee were responsible for the school administration, and attended courses related to the school based management and the ordinance. The ordinance formally indicated shifting of role of the government from administration to governance. Dale (1997) argued that the government controlled education through governance in a context of decentralization of managing resources, especially the financial one. The government, through funding, regulation, and provision of education, got a tighter control on education.

Accompanying the role of governance, the government established a system of accountability and aimed at monitoring school performance and effectiveness.

The government monitored school performance in two dimensions of quality assurance mechanism, one was school self-evaluation and the other external school review. In school self evaluation, the government required schools to submit an annual school report based on selective key performance indicators and a three-year development plan each year. It was part of the responsibility of the school management committee. Moreover, in external school review, the government conducted reviews on selected schools, based on all the key performance indicators compiled in school self-assessment reports.

Furthermore, the government set up basic competency assessment for students, so as to monitor their basic competencies in English, Chinese, and mathematics. The assessment was carried out in three key stages, which were primary three, primary six, and secondary three. It consisted of two dimensions, one was student assessment, which was voluntary and was conducted by schools themselves; the other was system assessment, which was conducted by the government. Through system assessment, the government monitored the standards of the students in three core school curricula. Furthermore, students took different levels of public examinations, such as the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination, Hong Kong Advanced Level Examinations, and obtained qualifications for jobs or further studies. Through these examinations, the government monitored the standard of students accordingly. Moreover, through various public examinations, school performed the function of agent of selection.

At school organization level, the incorporated management committees of schools were responsible for the school administration. They were accountable to the government and the public through submitting annual school reports and three-year school plans on their respective websites. From 1998 onwards, the government published reports annually on external school reviews via the internet on the government website for the public. Thus, the government achieved the monitoring school of performance through accountability.

Governance and accountability did exist in parallel. Schools got some freedom on financial matters, on staff management, etc., but, in return, it was controlled tightly in terms of school performance by the government. The government did adopt a functional approach based on instrumental rationality oriented to the need of society.

Within the second set of interchange relation, there is a subset of interchange relation found in the legitimation based on legal contract sought by government administration from the public sphere. The government administration seeks for mass loyalty from the public sphere through cultural hegemony.

In 2000, the Education Commission issued a report called Learning for Life, Learning through Life: Reform Proposals for the Education System in Hong Kong. In the report, the Education Commission drew out general aims of education and aims of education at various levels, such as school education level, higher education level, and continuing education level. The Education Commission reached these aims through drawing out summaries from the submitted proposals from the public during the consultation period. Based on these aims, the government exercised their political

will and conducted associated education policies. These education policies were reached based on empirical consensus envisaged by the government.

The general aims of school education for the 21st century proposed by the government were as follows:

“To enable every person to attain all-round development in the domains of ethics, intellect, physique, social skills, and aesthetics according to his/ her own attributes so that he/she is capable of life-long learning, critical and exploratory thinking, innovating and adapting to change; filled with self-confidence and a team spirit; willing to put forward continuing effort for the prosperity, progress, freedom and democracy of their society, and contribute to the future well-being of the nation and the world at large.”

The general aims of school education for the 21st century proposed by the government are to analyze from two dimensions, the perspectives of the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld and material reproduction of the lifeworld.

The first part of the statement showed the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld would contribute to its material reproduction, whereas the second part depicted the various social roles of actors such as employers, customers, clients and citizens who contribute to the prosperity and legitimation of society. However, the aims of education were analyzed based on text statement.

Though the coverage of the general aims of education was very large and too general, it could be analyzed through discourse conducted among public sphere, commercial sector, and the government administration.

In the public sphere, there were different viewpoints related to the aims of education proposed by the government. (Tsang, 2006)

Some teachers from the tertiary sector also expressed their expectation from the aims of education in the education reform (Advertisement, *Apply Daily*, 8 Mar. 1999). They “conceive that education should help to promote equality and demote social injustice, and upon these, schools can nurture students with consciences, perseverance of ideals, and mercy on people. In view of these, those education policies enlarging the gaps between social classes should be abolished.” They expected education reform should promote equality in education and social justice. These expectations fell into the education ideals of equalitarianism. Moreover, these were also the ideals supported by teachers and schools, the core values of social integration.

Some parents expressed their expectation from education, and was found in “Declaration of some parents: our hope on education in Hong Kong” (Advertisement, *Ming Pao*, 2 Feb. 1999). The main points were as follows: “our kids should have happy school lives, they should not with home tears, heavy homework, and large amounts of tests for revision; parents do not need to press their kids to do the heavy homework, and destroy parent-children relationship; our kids do not need to have rote learning on standard answers; teachers do not need to conduct rote learning

and too much preparation for examinations but have time and space to learn, explore and create more new things, and take care about others; schools should not only care about examination results and get high banding students”.

The above expectations of aims of education fell into the educational ideals of humanism and were what the parents and their kids expected.

A member of Legislative Council, who represented the commercial sector, conceived that employers should propose their own aims of education because they were the end users of education (Shun Pao, 23 Feb. 1999). He also emphasized the employability of students. These reflected the viewpoints of utilitarianism in the capitalist economy.

A member of the Education Commission, after making a summary on aims of education, said, “.... we have reached a consensus, that is, crisis in education” (Shun Pao, 5 Mar. 1999). The consensus was to start the education reform promptly. The government attempted to reach an empirical consensus with the public sphere based on the crisis of education faced.

The proposed sets of aims of education of public sphere were summarized or abstracted into slogans, for mass loyalty for exchange of political leadership. The slogans were enabling our students to enjoy learning, enhancing their effectiveness in communication and developing their creativity and sense of commitment. All the different viewpoints on aims of education were reduced to abstracted slogans. Mass

loyalty was gained and the government administration gained under cultural hegemony.

In view of the petition of teachers in 2006, the government administration and the public could not reach at even an empirical consensus on the implementation of education reform, and a legitimation crisis occurred. However, the crises could be settled through slowing down the pace and allocating more resources to schools, for example, on recruiting more teachers so as to reduce daily workloads. Thus, the implementation of education reform slowed down and was concerned more with the difficulties encountered.

The government administration gained empirical consensus with the public sphere on the general aims of education and the corresponding implementation measures. It learnt and provided measures for the ongoing rationalization of development of school education, though it was based on functional rationality. Furthermore, the government succeeded in striving for system integration based on empirical consensus achieved in the field of education.

In sum, daily school practices were further developed in the direction of qualitative enhancement, and the equality of participation in school education was enhanced. Moreover, the accountability of school based on bureaucratic domination in the form of quality school inspection enhanced semi-marketization of school education or competition among schools. The government succeeded in gaining empirical consensus from the public sphere in dealing with the further development of education, and achieved legitimation in return. Thus system integration was

enhanced. The government learnt and turned it into a driving mechanism in the ongoing process of rationalization of the development of school education.

5.5 A summary

After examining the historical development of school education through these four periods, a brief summary can be drawn in two dimensions. The first dimension consists of two questions, does school education in Hong Kong perform its dual functions of socialization and selection, and does the government administration in Hong Kong perform its functions?

The answers can be got through examining the two sets of interchange relations in the education development from 1945 to 2008.

Within the first set of interchange relation, there is an interchange relation occurring in daily school practice based on legal fiat. School provides human resources and gets financial supports in return. School education does perform the function of socialization. The socialization of student is at the classroom scale, and it is accompanied with two other processes of cultural reproduction and social integration. Symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of student is found, together with material reproduction of the lifeworld after the completion of school education.

Within the first set of interchange relation, there is an interchange relation found in access to schooling of students based on legal contract. Government provides financial resources for the learning opportunities of students and teachers. The government administration did provide human resources for the growing economy, though with differences of levels in different periods. It performs the function of capital accumulation.

Moreover, from the perspective of the lifeworld, the equality of education moves from equality of access to equality of participation in general. From the perspective of the system, education does provide human resources for the growth of the economy.

Within the second set of interchange relation, there is an interchange relation occurring in the accountability between school and government administration based on legal fiat. School accounts to the government administration through public examination results. School education does perform the function of selection. The planning of education development in 1980s went hand in hand with the manpower planning. The public examinations provide the mechanisms in channeling human resources with different credentials into the economic sector. Education in Hong Kong performs the function of selection.

Within the second set of interchange relation, there is an interchange relation found in the legitimation based on legal contract sought by government administration from the public sphere. The government administration seeks for mass loyalty from the public sphere through cultural hegemony. The government administration attempted to seek empirical consensus with the public sphere in different periods. Through reaching the empirical consensus with the public sphere, the government administration strives for the legitimation needed.

From the perspective of the lifeworld, the public sphere strives for rational consensus on education development, for example, the proposal of aims of education

from the parents. Social integration is achieved based on rational consensus reached in the public sphere. However, from the perspective of the system, the government attempts to reach empirical or functional consensus with the public sphere through cultural hegemony. Thus, system integration is reached through empirical consensus between the public sphere and the government administration. The government learns through achieving empirical consensus, and learning provides the driving mechanism for the ongoing process of rationalization of the development of school education. It is a process of colonization of the lifeworld by the system.

Note 1

The following table shows a rapid increase in primary education provision during the period from 1947 to 1964. (Adopted from Sweeting, 2006: 209)

Year	Primary sector	Secondary sector	Post-secondary sector
1947	80998	16041	681
1954	177363	48414	5871
1964	628479	39208	35268

Note 2

In 1983, the government established the City Polytechnic of Hong Kong, upgraded Baptist College to confer degrees, and recognized two more post-secondary colleges, Shue Yan College (which was upgraded to a university in 2007) and Lingnan College (which was upgraded to a university in 1992). In 1983, degree programmes were offered in the Polytechnic of Hong Kong. In 1984, the Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts was established, aiming at providing post-secondary level of education for those with talents in performing arts, such as drama. The Academy was later expanded and upgraded to provide degree courses. The government, in 1986, planned to establish a third university, called the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, and students would be admitted in 1992.

Note 3

In 1989, the Open Learning Institute was established and began to admit students with courses ranging from diploma to degree levels. It was upgraded to the Open University of Hong Kong in 1997. In 1990, the government established the Hong Kong Council of Academic Award to validate the non-university degree programmes. In 1992, the two polytechnics and the Baptist College acquired self-accrediting status.

Towards the end of the period, Hong Kong has eight universities, including The University of Hong Kong, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, The Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, The Hong Kong Baptist University, The Lingnan University, The Polytechnic University of Hong Kong, The City University of Hong Kong, and The Open University of Hong Kong.

Note 4

In 1981 and 1982, the government, with the help of practicing kindergarten teachers, constructed the kindergarten curriculum. The new curriculum was implemented in 1984. In 1982, Institute of Language in Education opened, and intended to improve the learning and teaching standard of English and Chinese languages. In 1982, the government provided refresher courses for primary teachers. In 1982, the School of Education of the two universities began to conduct training courses for unqualified secondary school teachers. In 1982, the government began to

operate headmaster training courses for the headmasters and senior teachers. In 1983, the in-service training courses for teachers in special education school started. In 1990, the government conducted training courses for kindergarten principals, and helped them to improve planning school curriculum and administrating school practices.

Note 5

The general aims of school education for the 21st century proposed by the government can be analyzed from the perspectives of the symbolic and material reproduction of the lifeworld.

The general aims of school education for the 21st century proposed by the government are as follows:

To enable every person to attain all-round development in the domains of ethics, intellect, physique, social skills, and aesthetics according to his/ her own attributes so that he/she is capable of life-long learning, critical and exploratory thinking, innovating and adapting to change; filled with self-confidence and a team spirit; willing to put forward continuing effort for the prosperity, progress, freedom and democracy of their society, and contribute to the future well-being of the nation and the world at large.

The overall aims of the school curriculum in relation to the education reform in Hong

Kong can be analyzed from the perspectives of the symbolic and material reproduction of the lifeworld.

The school curriculum should provide all students with essential life-long learning experiences for whole-person development in the domains of ethics, intellect, physical development, social skills and aesthetics, according to individual potential, so that all students can become active, responsible and contributing members of the society, the nation and the world.

The school curriculum should help students learn how to learn through cultivating positive values, attitudes and a commitment to life-long learning, and through developing generic skills to acquire, construct and communicate knowledge. These qualities are essential for whole-person development to cope with the challenges of the 21st Century.

A quality curriculum for the 21st Century should therefore set the directions for learning and teaching through a coherent and flexible framework which can be adapted to changes and the different needs of students and schools.

Note 6

The major reports issued by the government through Education Commission from 1984 to 1996. (Adopted from Tsang, 1997:11)

Year	Reports	Issues Addressed
1984	Education Commission Report No. 1	Junior Secondary Education Assessment Language in education Teaching education and teaching profession Open education Education research
	Education Commission Report No. 2	Language education Pre-primary school service Sixth-form education Teacher training Open education
	Education Commission Report No. 3	Tertiary education structure Private school – direct subsidy scheme

	Education Commission Report No. 4	Curriculum development Special education Learning targets and related assessments Language in education Triad society in school and corporal punishment
	Education Commission Report No. 5	Teaching profession
	Education aims of school education	Education aims of school education
	Report of The Working Group of Language Proficiency	Language proficiency Education standard Financing schools
	Report of The Working Group of Educational Standard	The quality of school education
	Education Commission Report No. 6	Raising language proficiency
	Education Commission Report No. 7	Quality Education

The major reports issued by the government since 1996

Year	Reports	Issues Addressed
1996	Education Commission Report No. 7: Quality School Education	Setting a reference framework of quality school education
1999	Leadership Training Program for Principals Consultation Paper (prepared by EDB)	Setting a reference framework of Certification of Principalship coping with education reform
2000	Learning for Life, Learning through Life: Reform Proposals for the Education System in Hong Kong	Setting a reference and implementing framework of education reform based on ECR7
2001	Learning to Learn -- The Way Forward in Curriculum Development (prepared by Curriculum Development Council)	Setting a reference framework of curriculum reform
2003	Towards A Learning Profession (prepared by the Advisory Committee on Teacher Education and Qualifications)	Setting a reference framework of competency of teachers

2003	Review of the Academic Structure of Senior Secondary Education	A major change in the school years and academic structures in secondary schools and universities
2004	Education (Amendment) Ordinance 2004	Establishing Incorporated Management Committees in the framework of school based management
2005	Report on Review of Medium of Instruction for Secondary Schools and Secondary School Places Allocation	An attempt to cope with the controversial issues on medium of instruction in secondary school; A new method in allocating primary students to secondary schools
2002-2006	4 Progress Reports on the Education Reform (prepared by the Education Commission)	Monitoring the progress of education reform

Note 7

A table showing problems and solutions in the education reform (Cheng: 2004, 2006)

Components of the quality education	Problems encountered	Possible solutions
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<p>Inputs</p> <p>school contexts and profile</p>	<p>Morale of teachers declines due to insult from public and heavy workload;</p> <p>Due to competition, school emphasizes marketing rather than learning and teaching;</p> <p>Student differentiation increases by combining five bands to three bands;</p> <p>Closing those schools with insufficient numbers of students;</p> <p>Education experts do not have much say in the education policy decision; instead the bureaucrats dominate the decision making:</p>	<p>Morale of teachers may be raised by respecting them and lowering their workload;</p> <p>Lowering the degree of competition among schools through instilling cooperation and partnership among schools;</p> <p>Restoring the old system with 5 bands of students, reducing the differentiation within schools;</p> <p>Restoring the say of education experts on matters related to education policies and measures;</p>
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<p>Process indicators</p> <p>Framework of quality assurance</p>		
<p>Internal school assurance based on school based management and school self evaluation</p>		
<p>External school assurance based on quality assurance inspection and external school review based on school self evaluation</p>	<p>School is presumed not willing to be accountable to the public and to improve;</p> <p>Does not have much research work on the external school assurance</p>	
<p>Output indicators</p> <p>Student performance in public examination</p>	<p>The pace on curriculum and assessment reform is too fast and not well-planned;</p>	<p>Reviewing the pace on curriculum and assessment reform (especially the school-based assessment;</p>

CHAPTER SIX SUMMARY: SOCIAL REPRODUCTION THROUGH SCHOOL EDUCATION

This study intended to reveal the relation between society and school education. As a conviction in sociology of education, school education performs functions of socializing youngsters and selecting them to society, that is, socialization and selection.

How was relation between society and school education revealed? Firstly, theoretically, this study appropriated Habermas's theory of communicative action as the reference framework to articulate five paradigms of theories of social reproduction so as to illustrate what social reproduction is. Secondly, methodologically, this study illustrates a three-step approach in conducting a qualitative research in unfolding the relation. Thirdly, empirically, this study proposed three research foci so as to reveal the relation, firstly, how symbolic reproduction of lifeworld was possible at classroom scale, secondly, how school education in general was worked, and thirdly, how school education was developed. The following is the summary of this study in revealing relation between society and school education.

6.1 Theories of social reproduction

Interestingly, sociologists propose competitive, but often complementary, theories related to how social reproduction would be.

The theory of communicative action adopts a two-level concept of society, that is, adopts two complementary perspectives of action and the systems in examining society, and integrates two complementary dimensions of social reproduction, the symbolic and material reproduction of the lifeworld. Moreover, Habermas proposes that, in the advanced capitalist society, social integration is based on rationally motivated consensus achieved among actors, whereas, system integration is based on empirically motivated consensus conducted by the government administration, that is, the former is based on communicative rationality, and the latter on instrumental rationality. Furthermore, he conceives that the advanced capitalist society falls into the stage of social evolution, a colonization of the lifeworld by the systems, and analyzes it through a working model depicting sets of interchange relation between the private sphere and public sphere on one hand, and government administration on the other. In the late capitalist society, the government administration strives for capital accumulation in the economy and legitimation in the political administration, so that system integration would be achieved. The former is through provision of human resources to the economy from the private sphere, whereas the latter is through empirically motivated consensus achieved with the public sphere.

Morrow and Torres (1995) delineate five paradigms of theories of social reproduction. Moreover, this study attempts to articulate these five paradigms on the theory of communicative action.

The sociologists adopting a paradigm of systems and functionalist theories conceive society as a harmonic and self-regulated one and see it from the perspective of the systems. Parsons and Luhmann propose that individual members of society adapt to the assumed needs of society, for example, continuous growth in economy for the benefit of people. From the perspective of the theory of communicative action, the government administration strives for system integration through motivating consensus empirically among members of society on the assumed needs of society. Therefore, it is based on system rationality or instrumental rationality, and a colonization of the lifeworld by the systems is depicted.

The sociologists adopted a paradigm of economic-reproductive theories conceive society composed of capitalist and working class based on economic status, that is, the former dominates the latter. The structural Marxist sociologists, represented by Althusser, see that social relation is reproduced through school education. The government administration is a state ideological apparatus, and channels human resources based on social class to society. Moreover, the voluntaristic Marxist sociologists, represented by Bowles and Gintis, grounded theories by their empirical work, propose their correspondence thesis based on factors other than economic ones, such as surplus of skills, a social factor. However, both streams of Marxist sociologists see school education, as the agent of social reproduction, is subordinated to the needs of capitalist society. Moreover, the government

administration represents the capitalist class, through the media of money and power, strives for system integration through ideological apparatus, such as school education. It seeks for legitimation of social inequality, through reaching empirically motivated consensus with the working class. The system integration is based on instrumental rationality, and a colonization of the lifeworld by the systems is depicted.

The sociologists adopted a paradigm of class cultural reproductive theories see cultural factor is important in social reproduction, other than solely economic one. For them, in a classed society, the dominant class makes use of school education, especially through possession of knowledge, that is, through qualification and credentials, to improve their social and economic status. They emphasize on cultural reproduction of the lifeworld, that is, they acquire more cultural capital. Through acquiring higher qualification and credentials, the dominant class can exclude the dominated one from higher social status. Many sociologists support this conception of social closure theory, such as Bourdieu's ideas of niche and habitus, and cultural capital, Lareau's status competition, Bernstein's pedagogical discourse, and Collins's social closure theory. The government administration, through media of money and power, strives for system integration through the cultural hegemony of meritocracy and seeks for the legitimation of social inequality through reaching empirically motivated consensus with the dominated class. The system integration is based on instrumental rationality, and a colonization of the lifeworld by the systems is depicted.

Some sociologists favour the paradigm of class-bureaucratic theories in illustrating social reproduction in a classed society. They conceive bureaucratization as a machine facilitating efficiency of capital accumulation and legitimation of the

government administration, and the individuals are subjected to the domination of the bureaucracy. Illich proposes his solution, deschooling, which refers to the rationally motivated discussion on how school education should be. The scholars of Frankfurt school see that school education is a state-organized institution, and is subjected to dominance of imperatives of bureaucracy. Conceiving bureaucracy as the outcome of instrumental rationality, explaining it as needs of society, as the empirically motivated consensus, these scholars surrender to what Weber analyzes, society is trapped in an iron cage and is not a free one. Moreover, the government administration, through media of money and power, strives for system integration based on dominance of bureaucracy, through reaching empirically motivated consensus with the dominated class, and a colonization of the lifeworld by the systems is depicted.

Some sociologists favour the paradigm of integrative-reproductive models in explaining social reproduction in a classed society. There are two divisions in the theories, one division is the state-hegemonic theories, and the other division is transformative-resistance theories. Moreover, both divisions are proposed and stimulated by Gramsci. He sees social order is maintained through the hegemony of the state, other than the coercion by the state proposed by Marxists. The state, or the government administration, through their agents in society, through media of money and power, strives for cultural leadership in different spheres of society, especially school education. However, Gramsci also sees, from the perspective of the internal participants, a germ of resistance to cultural hegemony strived for by the state. The public sphere or civil society, as the germ conceived by Gramsci, strives to get 'good sense' out of 'common sense', in which the intellectuals propose rational, resistant, and counter-hegemonic practices against the hegemonic ones proposed by the state.

The government administration, through the media of money and power, strives for system integration based on empirically motivated consensus grounded in cultural hegemony. System integration is a dominancy of instrumental rationality. Thus, it is a colonization of the lifeworld by the systems. The public sphere, based on the shared understanding of ‘good sense’, strives for social integration, based on their rational motivated consensus on the counter-hegemonic practices, in leading to further development of society. They exercise communicative rationality and arrive at rationally motivated consensus on the betterment of man and his society.

From the above discussion, the theory of communicative action provides a reference framework in illustrating the five paradigms of social reproduction theories. These five paradigms do explain the features of social reproduction, but only parts of a full picture.

Moreover, in reviewing the approaches of the historical development of school education of Hong Kong, some scholars try to depict their own picture chiefly from the perspective of the systems. However, this study has attempted to arrive at a fuller picture through adopting the perspectives of action and the systems simultaneously.

6.2 Three steps in conducting this study

This study attempted to devise a three-step approach of study based on empirical materials or data collected: setting out constructs, collecting empirical evidences, and drawing out summary and conclusions.

The literature review chapter intended to illustrate what are the constructs and theories used in this study. In this study, the theory of communicative action and the five paradigms of theories of social reproductions were reviewed. Moreover, this study appropriated the theory of communicative action to illustrate and articulate the five paradigms in seeing the relation between society and education. Through reviewing the current approaches of research of education development in Hong Kong, this study envisaged a gap in the approaches, that a research should adopt both the perspectives of internal participants or action and external observers or the systems, so as to get a fuller picture of school education. Moreover, this study intended to depict the three research foci, how symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld was possible in school education, how school education was worked in general and how school education developed into the present situation, through using situational and historical analyses of school education in Hong Kong.

The chapters of situational and historical analyses of school education concerned the research foci, and were based on the empirical evidence collected from primary and secondary sources of materials, and paved the way for drawing summary and conclusions.

The summary and conclusion chapters, based on the empirical materials collected and interpreted, drew out what the relation between school education and society would be in the Hong Kong context.

6.3 Situational analysis of school education: symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld at classroom scale

A three-scale analysis of school education had been employed to examine situational analysis of school education in Hong Kong.

At classroom scale of school education, this study appropriated project learning as a hypothetical example to illustrate how the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of the student was possible.

In project learning, through learning and teaching activities in the communicative interaction between teachers and students, students defined action situations, articulated them on their everyday lifeworlds based on formal pragmatics, and join new situation with current situation. Thus, students learnt, and renewed the action situation of their lifeworlds. Through project learning, the students dealt with only the cultural component of the symbolic lifeworld, but the two other components were also dealt with simultaneously. Then, their cultural knowledge was renewed and enriched, social or interpersonal relations were maintained, and values and norms were internalized. Thus, their structural components of symbolic lifeworld were reproduced simultaneously through project learning or school education at classroom scale. The students and teachers, in the project learning, interacted with each other communicatively, were free of pressure without distorted communication and based on shared understanding, coordinating their plan of action subsequently, that is, they exercised communicative rationality.

Through the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld, students were equipped with the competence necessary to work in the adult world, and thus, material reproduction of the lifeworld was accompanied accordingly.

Since collectivities were the aggregate of individuals, and the public sphere was the organized individuals, thus, the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of the individual students at classroom scale in school education, after graduation, provided a germ in the public sphere in resisting the colonization of the lifeworld by the systems induced by the government administration.

6.4 Situational analysis of school education: how school education is worked in general

A three-scale analysis of school education has been employed in this study. Firstly, at classroom scale of school education or at simple network of communicative interaction, through using examples of learning and teaching programmes, project learning, classroom management, and PATHS, the symbolic lifeworlds of students were reproduced based on communicative rationality free of distorted communication. This was the situation where students get their cultural, social and personal identities and, consequently, their symbolic lifeworlds were maintained, reproduced, and continued. Moreover, learning involved at classroom scale was the foundation for unfolding the potential of communicative rationality of human beings.

Secondly, at school scale of school education, the network of communicative interaction among students, teachers, and government officials became complex. Owing to the growing complexity of network of communicative interaction, relief mechanisms were developed so as to help the ongoing complex communicative interaction. Moreover, there were two kinds of relief mechanisms developed so as to facilitate continuation of communicative interaction. One was based on rationally motivated trust, and the other was based on empirically motivated ties.

From the perspective of internal participants or action, in view of the programmes of learning circle, whole school approach to guidance, and careers guidance conducted at school scale, teachers and student interacted communicatively

based on rationally motivated trust, and the reproduction of the symbolic lifeworld of the students continued free of distortion in communicative interaction.

However, from the perspective of external observers, or the systems, in view of quality assurance mechanism, a different picture of communicative interaction between teachers, including principals, and the government officials was shown. Teachers and principals nurtured students through learning and teaching activities, and represented the general interest of students. They, based on genuine trust among each other, made use of school self-evaluation programmes in improving their learning and teaching activities. They opted for condensed relief mechanism based on rationally motivated consensus. However, the government officials were concerned with the provision of suitable human resources to society through school education. Thus, they monitored school performance through replaced relief mechanism such as various school performance indicators, and replaced rationally motivated consensus with empirically motivated consensus related to the needs and standards or employability of human resources related to the needs of society. The school performance indicators envisaged in the external school review were just figures with reduced and truncated forms of communicative interaction among students and teachers. These indicators, as collected by the school itself for its internal school self-evaluation, could be used in guiding and improving learning and teaching practices from the lifeworld perspective, or the perspective of the internal participants. However, they were used by the government officials as indicators illustrating the quality standard in providing needed or appropriate human resources to society from the perspective of the systems. The indicators were originally obtained from the learning and teaching activities in the symbolic lifeworld of the students and teachers,

and were meant to be used only in the same circumstances. However, they were used the other way round, for the needs of society, for the needs of the system. Thus, there was an uncoupling of the lifeworld and the systems.

Thirdly, at regional scale of school education, the networks of communicative interaction among students, teachers, government officials, and the public were extremely complex. Thus, at this scale, Habermas's working model in analyzing the late capitalist society was appropriated in seeing the interchange relation between private and public spheres on one hand and the government administration on the other. There were two sets of interchange relations, the one between the private sphere and economic subsystems, and the one between the public and the government administration. In the first set, on the one hand, the private sphere sought more learning opportunities related to equality of education in various dimensions, such as in access, in participation, and in consequences, and on the other hand, the government administration, representing the economic subsystems, sought provision of sufficient human resources to the economy related to continuous growth of society, or capital accumulation. The second set, the public sphere, sought rational motivation of consensus related to whole person development of youngsters on one side, while on the other side, the government administration sought empirical motivation of consensus related to legitimation of their public policies, such as education policies, or political legitimation or legitimation of capitalist mode of production. The private sphere and the public sphere sought social integration based on shared understanding on education issues or rational motivation of consensus, while the economic subsystems and the government administration sought system integration based on functional or instrumental rationality or empirical motivation of consensus.

Teachers, principals, and students belonged to the private sphere, whereas mass media belonged to the public sphere. In view of Teacher Competence Framework for teachers, Continued Professional Development for school principals, and Student Learning Profile for students, the government administration set a respective framework to monitor their respective performances, translated them in terms of employability, in relation to school education. Thus, the performances or the employability of teachers, principals and students were monitored based on their respective framework by the government administration. Moreover, the interchange relation, between teachers, principals, and students on one hand, and the government administration on the other hand, were guided by the medium of power. Through teaching and leading performances based on respective TCF and CPD teachers and principals contributed to school education through nurturing students and opted for exchange of salaries from the government administration. The government administration monitored their performances or the employability of the teachers through the medium of money. By the same token, students strived for learning performance or employability through SLP and the public examination, and hoped to climb the careers ladder in the future. Thus, the interchange relation between student and the government administration representing future employers was guided by the medium of money. Thus, in view of the above illustrations, the media of power and money monitored the interchange relations. It was a colonization of the lifeworlds by the systems. However, from the perspective of the lifeworld, teachers and principals, through school education, had their critical viewpoints based on the teacher's education in seeing how students should be nurtured, and how education should be

developed. From this viewpoint, it was a germ in resisting the colonization of the lifeworld by the systems conducted by the government administration.

Moreover, the general aims of school education served as a platform on which the frameworks, TCF, CPD, and SLP, were set up. The public sphere and the government administration agreed on the general aims of school education, and were accepted through empirically motivated consensus, through instrumental rationality. Thus, the government administration was successful in seeking system integration, and then fulfilled its roles of capital accumulation and legitimation of political administration.

6.5 Historical analysis of school education: how school education is developed

The analysis of historical development of school education from 1945 to 2008 in Hong Kong was based on Habermas's working model, with modification, in analyzing the advanced capitalist society. There were two sets of interchange relations, the one between private sphere and economic subsystem, and the one between public and the government administration. These two sets have already been described in the above section.

The historical development of school education in Hong Kong was divided into four periods. As a whole, there was a trend of increasing quantity of provision of school places as well as improving quality learning and teaching practices through increases in government expenditure and the associated measures. In the year 2008, the government had achieved free education up to Secondary Seven level. In responding to the expansion of provision, the government also implemented an education policy of recruiting new teachers with degrees and training in education. This was an example illustrating a trend of quantitative expansion accompanying quality improvement in the development of education. It was a process of rationalization.

However, through examining the evolutionary development depicted in the four periods from 1945 to 2008, the government administration solved problems in each individual period through learning, and paved the way for the periods that followed.

The first period is from 1945 to 1965. It was a period of reconstruction after the Second World War, as well as a period of transformation of basic school education. In the interchange relation between private sphere and economic subsystem, the government administration, through providing more financial support and putting more commitment on education expansion, attained an increasing quantity of education on access, and provided more human resources for the economy. The government administration did fulfill its role by the capital accumulation of economy in society. However, in the public sphere, opinion on adopting qualitative development related to whole person development was encouraged, and sought for rational motivation of consensus on education development. In the interchange relation between public sphere and the government administration, the government administration adopted an apoliticized education policy and began a process of decolonization, sought to collect credits of legitimation in public sphere through cultural hegemony, and sought empirical motivation of consensus on education development. The government administration, through satisfying increasing demand of education provision and implementing cultural hegemony, succeeded in attaining system integration based on empirically motivated consensus. It fulfilled the roles of state through learning, through solving problems stemmed from capital accumulation and legitimation of the capitalist mode of production.

The second period began in 1965 and ended in 1982, and was a period of rapid expansion of basic and compulsory school education. Due to the decreasing student population in the 1980s and increasing government expenditure on education, the government attained the target of universal basic education early. Moreover, the government began to switch its focus to qualitative provision of education, with

increasing attention paid to planning school curriculum and enhancing teacher education. In the interchange relation between private sphere and economic subsystem, through moving focus to qualitative provision of education, the government administration performed the role of capital accumulation through providing higher quality of human resources to the market. However, the public sphere began to be concerned with discourse of an elitist form of schooling education on the era of universal education, concerned whether school education was becoming a site of social exclusion. In the interchange relation between the public sphere and the government administration, the government, through cultural hegemony, succeeded in motivating the public to reach an empirical consensus on the greater importance of providing universal and free basic education, than providing whole person development in education at this stage. Furthermore, the government administration also earned credits and political legitimation through the emergence of people's Hong Kong identity. Through these two issues, the provision of universal basic education and the emergence of a Hong Kong identity, the government administration succeeded in reaching empirically motivation of consensus with the public sphere and performed the role of the legitimation of capitalist mode of production. The government administration sought system integration through succeeding in providing increased equality of access in education and forged a Hong Kong identity in people. It fulfilled the roles of state through learning, through solving problems stemming from capital accumulation and legitimation of capitalist mode of production.

The third period began in 1982 and ended in 1997, and was a period of rapid expansion of school education with emphasis on quality provision. Owing to a decreasing student population, and emerging education issues in universal and free basic education, such as student behaviour problems, integrated education of less privileged students, medium of instruction, the government administration switched the focus to quality provision of education. In the interchange relation between the private sphere and economic subsystem, the government administration enhanced teacher education and provided more school support, such as introducing a counselling curriculum in teacher education and increasing the numbers and roles of school social workers. The government did attain the role of capital accumulation through providing higher skills of human resources, especially in the third sector of commerce and finance so as to cope with transforming the Hong Kong economy from an industrial economy to a commercial and financial economy. Hong Kong would become part of China in 1997. The issue of changing sovereignty weakened the confidence of Hong Kong people, and a wave of emigration started. The government administration attempted to restore the confidence through implementing large projects in different economic and social sectors. In the education sector, it expanded tertiary education rapidly so as to cope with problems stemming from the emigration of highly skilled and trained human resources. In the interchange relation between the public sphere and the government administration, the government, through restoring confidence of Hong Kong people in the period of transition of sovereignty, succeeded in gaining empirical motivated consensus on political legitimation from the public. The government administration succeeded in achieving system integration through steady progress in solving issues arising from mass education and through restored confidence of Hong Kong people after implementing rapid expansion of tertiary

education. It fulfilled the roles of state through learning, through solving problems stemming from capital accumulation and legitimation of capitalist mode of production.

The fourth period began in 1997 and ended in 2008, and was a period of implementing quality school education. Hong Kong people had mixed feeling to the return of Chinese sovereignty. Moreover, the new government administration faced a rationality crisis related to the administration after it performed unsatisfactorily in the Asian financial turmoil and bird flu crisis, and thus lost the confidence of Hong Kong people in the dimension of public policy. Furthermore, the government administration faced the same situation in dealing with education reform. In view of restoring people's confidence, the government administration adopted the model of incremental decision making, and attempted to gain empirical consensus before implementing education reform. The education reform signaled a stage of quality provision of education in Hong Kong. In the interchange relation between private sphere and economic subsystem, the government administration continued to provide more financial resources to learning opportunities of both students and teachers, with the announcement of free 12-year education in the school year 2009, and increasing provision of teacher education at tertiary level and the associated job titles in schools. Thus, there was a continuous supply of human resources with higher learning levels to society. The government administration continued to tackle the problem of capital accumulation successfully. Moreover, the medium of instruction in secondary school remained a controversial and hot issue. Other education issues, such as the widening of parental choice of schooling and quality assurance measures on school performance, aroused more debates than consensus. However, the government

administration, through promising to provide more financial resources, attained empirically motivated consensus. In the discourse on aims of school education in education reform, the public sphere sought for rationally motivated consensus in nurturing the youngsters, while the government administration emphasized empirically motivated consensus through cultural hegemony, in view of coping with the increasing competitiveness of the coming knowledge society. After 1997, Hong Kong experienced a steady progress of democracy, with gaining momentum in the public sphere. In the interchange relation between public sphere and the government administration, the government overcame controversial education issues such as medium of instruction through providing more financial resources for learning enhancement so as to gain empirically motivated consensus, and strived for political legitimation. However, the issue was not solved yet and would emerge from time to time. Thus, the government administration continues to provide more financial resources to education so as to attend the empirically motivated consensus, and strived with difficulty to achieve system integration.

In sum, the public sphere, from time to time, sought rationally motivated consensus on school education, where as the government administration, through cultural hegemony, providing more financial support, opted for empirically motivated consensus. The most obvious one was the discourse on aims of school education during the period of consultation on education reform at the end of last century. The public sphere proposed aims of education related to the education ideals of equalitarianism and humanism, whereas the commercial sectors urged utilitarianism in capitalist economy and the government administration cried out for crisis in education. The former sought for rationally motivated consensus and opted for social

integration, and the latter urged empirically motivated consensus and opted for system integration.

Moreover, the government administration provided a continuous supply of human resources for economic development, and fulfilled its role of capital accumulation for society. Furthermore, it solved problems and crises at different periods of development, and attained its legitimation of administration. Thus, the government administration attained system integration, and fulfilled the roles of ongoing economic development, that is, capital accumulation, and of successfully solving problems and emerging crises, that is, legitimation of administration.

6.6 Concluding summary

The theory of communicative action articulated the five paradigms of theories of social reproduction into its reference framework. It depicted a full picture of how society was reproduced, while the five theories only depicted parts. The theory of communicative action equipped with communicative rationality proposed an undistorted communicative interaction, while other paradigms, making use of their respective concepts, such as cultural hegemony, just described and explained how distorted communicative interaction was without proposing ideal or undistorted ones. The study continued to employ the theory of communicative action in examining the research foci. The following research foci set in the previous chapter will be discussed.

The first research focus was how symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld was worked through school education. At classroom scale of school education, a picture of symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of students based on communicative rationality was depicted. It showed symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of the students free of distortion in communicative interaction.

The second research focus was how school education in general was worked. It was depicted in the three-scale analysis of school education in view of increasing complexity of networks of communicative interaction among actors.

Firstly, at classroom scale of school education, a picture of reproducing symbolic lifeworld of the students based on communicative rationality emerged.

Moreover, secondly, at school scale of school education, there were two dimensions, one was communicative interaction among teachers and students, and the other one was encountering among teachers and government officials. In the first dimension, from the perspective of action, teachers and students interacted communicatively and symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of the students continued at the school scale. However, in the second dimension, from the perspective of the systems, there was tension on one hand between teachers striving for the nurturing of student-based rational motivated consensus based on the working normative assumption of undistorted communicative interaction, and, on the other hand, the government officials opting for provision of human resources for society based on empirical motivated consensus. Thus, an uncoupling of lifeworld and the systems was found.

Furthermore, thirdly, at regional scale of school education, a colonization of the lifeworld by the system was depicted through cultural hegemony exercised by the government administration.

A question remains unresolved in the analyses: how was resistance of a colonization of the lifeworld by the system in school education possible?

The third research focus was how is historical development of school education narrated? In the historical development of school education, the public sphere, based on communicative rationality, opted for rationally motivated consensus, aimed at social integration, while the government administration, based on

instrumental or functional rationality and cultural hegemony, strived for empirically motivated consensus, aimed at system integration. There was a picture of societal integration based on a colonization of the lifeworld by the systems.

The three research foci showed a trend in the growing complexity of network of communicative interaction, from classroom scale, to school scale, and then to regional scale. Accompanying the respective scales, there were pictures depicting different scene of societal reproduction, from symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld free of distorted communication, to an uncoupling of the system from the lifeworld based on distorted communication, and then to a colonization of the lifeworld by the systems based on the dominance of empirical motivated consensus conducted by the government administration. Thus, with the growing complexity of a network of communicative interaction, the degree of distortion in communicative interaction increases simultaneously at the same time, there was an ascendancy of empirically motivated consensus based on contingent considerations such as cultural hegemony other than reason based on rationally motivated consensus.

In view of the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld at classroom scale, the students and the teachers involved adopted communicative attitudes and exercised communicative rationality in the on-going communicative interaction. Moreover, in view of the three-scale analysis of school education, both the perspectives of action and the systems were employed simultaneously in the analysis of seeing what happens in school education and how school education contributed to society. Furthermore, in view of the historical analysis of school education, a picture of change from

quantitative to qualitative provision was shown, that is, it was a process of rationalization.

In view of this summary, the following concluding chapter attempts to answer three questions: how is a colonization of the lifeworld by the systems resisted in school scale of school education, how is a colonization of the lifeworld by the systems resisted at regional scale of school education, and how is education reform interpreted?

CHAPTER SEVEN CONCLUSION: THE LOGIC AND DYNAMIC OF DEVELOPMENT OF SCHOOL EDUCATION

Hong Kong developed from a small fishing village to an Asian commercial and financial centre. There is a common conviction amongst Hong Kong people, that human resource is the most important asset for social and economic development. Some people consider human resource as just a factor or a tool in social and economic development. It is a perspective emerging from the systems. However, when human resource is restored to its original and essential character, it is man with flesh and mind. Man is a unique individual and an agent for social and economic development. This viewpoint serves as the basis for the perspective of action. Thus, nurturing and training of man is decisive for the future and betterment of Hong Kong.

In the situational analysis of school education, this study adopted a three-scale analysis of school education, in which the complexity of the network of communicative interaction among actors changed from a simple network of communicative interaction at classroom scale, to a complex one at school scale and finally to an extremely complex one at regional scale. However, an increasing degree of distortion in the communicative interaction was accompanied simultaneously.

In examining the historical development of school education in Hong Kong, there were moving pictures of change from a quantitative provision to a qualitative one, and this was seen as a process of rationalization. The students enjoyed twelve-year free school education in 2008, and more than 60% of the secondary school

graduates would further be enrolled in their post-secondary studies. This was a picture painted by both the people and the government administration.

As seen from the summary chapter, with the growing complexity of the network of communicative interaction in the three-scale analysis of school education, there was an increase in the degree of distortion in communicative interaction simultaneously; at the same time, there was also an ascendancy of empirically motivated consensus based on contingent considerations other than reason. Thus, at classroom scale and school scale, the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of the students free of distorted of communication based on rationally motivated consensus was depicted, whereas at school scale, the public sphere strived for humanitarian direction of education development based on rationally motivated consensus. This depicted the direction of development of school education for the whole person development of the students. This was the logic of development of school education based on rationally motivated consensus achieved. However, at school scale and regional scale, the government administration attempted to fulfill the roles of capital accumulation and legitimation of capitalist mode of production, and sought for empirically motivated consensus. This aimed at fulfilling its roles in the direction of development of school education. This was the dynamic of development of school education based on empirically motivated consensus achieved.

This study appropriated the theory of communicative action and adopted its associated concepts of logic and dynamic of developments of social evolution in examining the situational and historical analyses of school education.

7.1 The logic of development of school education

7.1.1 A symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld at classroom scale and school scale

This study employed a situational analysis of school education at classroom scale and school scale in seeing how symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld was possible. At these two scales of school education, symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of students was envisaged. The communicative interaction between the students and the teachers was based on rationally motivated consensus reached through communicative rationality, and was an ideal facet of social reproduction. It was the desired direction to which the development of school education was geared and hence the logic of development of school education. Moreover, it was the site where teachers exercised their professional autonomy to strive for educational ideals, and nurtured a new generation with ideals of humanitarianism through communicative rationality. In sum, it was a germ to resist the colonization of the lifeworld by the systems.

7.2 The dynamic of development of school education

7.2.1 An uncoupling of the lifeworld and the system at school scale

This study employed a three-scale analysis of school education in seeing how school education was worked in general. At classroom scale of school education, a symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of the students was depicted. At school scale, teachers carried out their educational ideals of humanism in their daily practices, and the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of the students carried on. However, it was also the site where the struggle between education ideals of humanism of teachers and empirical standpoint of utilitarianism of government officials met. The government officials, equipped with financial resources and education policies and measures, that is, media of money and power, carried out the will or political will of the government administration through empirically motivated consensus based on instrumental or system rationality. Moreover, utilitarianism was based on instrumental or system rationality. The concrete labour of learning and teaching activities was changed or transformed to an abstract one in favour of the assessment conducted by government officials. Thus, there was an uncoupling of the lifeworld and the systems. This was an undesirable facet of social reproduction in favour of the will of the government administration. It was the dynamic of development of school education.

7.2.2 A colonization of the lifeworld by the system at regional scale

This study employed a three-scale analysis of school education in seeing how school education was worked in general. At regional scale of school education, it was where public sphere and the government administration meet. The public sphere strived for rationally motivated consensus based on communicative rationality on the development of school education, such as the humanitarianism, whereas the government administration opted for empirically motivated consensus based on system or instrumental rationality in the development, such as utilitarianism. Through cultural hegemony carried out by the government administration, there was a colonization of the lifeworld by the systems. This was an undesirable facet of social reproduction in favour of the government administration in fulfilling its roles of ongoing economic development, that is, facilitating capital accumulation, and of solving problems and crisis of society, that is, achieving legitimation of administration. It was the undesired direction of the development of school education and hence was the dynamic of development of school education.

7.2.3 A colonization of the lifeworld by the system in the historical development of school education

This study employed a historical analysis of school education in seeing how school education is developed. In the historical analysis of school education, the government, in the four stages, strived for reaching system integration based on empirically motivated consensus through cultural hegemony. This was based on

system rationality. The historical analysis of school education depicted a colonization of the lifeworld by the systems through cultural hegemony conducted by the government administration. This was a derivative facet of social reproduction in favour of the government administration in carrying out its roles of capital accumulation and political legitimation. It was the dynamic of development of school education.

7.2.4 *Interpreting education reform in Hong Kong*

This study was intended to interpret education reform in Hong Kong based on the theory of communicative action.

In the historical development of school education in Hong Kong, there has been a trend from a quantitative provision of school places to a qualitative provision of school practices, and is a process of rationalization. Tse (2005: 99) analyzed the education reform in Hong Kong as a quality education movement based on a framework of managerialism and marketization. He conceived that in the education reform under the framework of analysis of, “quality, competition, control and standard were often pursued at the expense of equality, cooperation, autonomy and diversity”. From the perspective of the logic of development, a quality education should be geared to the dimension of equality, cooperation, autonomy and diversity of school education. However, the reform was oriented in the opposite way, to the dimensions of quality, competition, control and standard, and was a way to the dynamic of development of school education. His analysis of the education reform, though he apparently was not aware of this, did consist of both the perspectives of the

logic and dynamic of developments. Moreover, the analytic framework of managerialism and marketization could be illustrated from the working model of the advanced capitalist society. The government administration adopted strategic and educational measures, such as accountability of school performance to the public, so as to raise the efficacy and effectiveness of school education. School education could be improved, based on managerialism, by the government administration through media of power. The schools were divided according to different categories of financial provision, from government run, government subsidized, direct subsidize, to wholly privately owned. Thus, it was a creation of a quasi-market of competition between schools, based on marketization, by the government administration through the media of money. This was the dynamic of development.

Thus, the dynamic of development of school education could be seen at school scale, at regional scale, as well as in the historical development of school education in a nutshell.

7.3 A resistance to the dynamic of development of school education

From the above discussion, the dynamic of development of school education could be seen at school and regional scales of school education. However, there were resistances occurring at these scales of school education. Moreover, there is a global perspective in seeing how school education is developed in the trend of logic of development. The scholars of UNESCO propose the idea of four pillars of learning envisaging how school education should be developed.

7.3.1 A resistance to a colonization of the lifeworld by the system in school education itself

How is resistance to the dynamic of development of school education possible? There are three dimensions for the resistance.

Firstly, at the classroom scale, there is a germ of resistance to the dynamic of development of school education. In the situation analysis of school education, at classroom scale, the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of students is depicted and is based on rationally motivated consensus through communicative rationality. This is a germ for the resistance. When students grow up, they become members of collectivities and the public sphere. Then, they are equipped with what they have learnt and strive for rational motivation of consensus in the future and the betterment of school education.

Secondly, at school scale, there is a germ of resistance to the dynamic of development in school education. In the situational analysis of school education, at school scale, teachers, though under bureaucratic organization, strive if possible for education ideals of humanism based on their teacher education received. In teacher education, there are two streams, one is the Bachelor of Education for non-degree holders, and the other is the Post Graduate Diploma of Education for degree holders. The former stream is criticized for not emphasizing academic training and education of subjects. However, through debate, the discourse of teacher education around programmes of the Bachelor of Education and the Post Graduate Diploma of Education came to an end with a rationally motivated consensus on designing curriculum (Tsang, 1998: 72). The curriculum for teacher education should be based on four dimensions of knowledge: philosophy of education, psychology of education, sociology of education, and history of education. Based on the knowledge and nurturing from teacher education, teachers would be able to have the competence to exercise their professional autonomy. They could make use of collegial domination, that is, the aggregate effort of teaching in exercising their professional autonomy, in daily school practices of school organization (Tsang, 1998: 52-53). Thus they carry out learning and teaching activities with a nature of concrete labour, encountering each student as a unique individual. The learning and teaching activities are, through exercising the professional autonomy of the teacher, not reduced to abstract labour for manipulation, and return to the essence of nurturing individuals.

Thirdly, at regional scale, there is a germ of resistance to the dynamic development in school education. In the situational analysis of school education, at regional scale, a colonization of the lifeworld by the systems is depicted. It is also the

case in the historical analysis of school education. However, the public sphere, as shown in the discourse on aims of school education, strives for rationally motivated consensus on issues and measures in school education based on the perspective of humanitarianism. The grown up students join the public sphere in counter-balancing the empirically motivated consensus opted by the government administration. It is a germ in resisting a colonization of the lifeworld by the systems through school education.

Furthermore, teachers could organize themselves as agents of resistance. The Visiting Panel suggested the Hong Kong Teaching Service as a professional body to promote the betterment of school education in Hong Kong. (Llewellyn, Sir John et al. 1982: III 8.33) The Hong Kong Teaching Service, as suggested by the Visiting Panel, would be a professional body, would register all teachers, concern itself with pay and working conditions, safeguard public interest, enforces all schools to employ teachers through the body, and participate in designing teacher education programmes. However, the suggestion was turned down by the government administration and was replaced by and reduced to the Council on Professional Conduct in Education. What would a professional body of teaching service be? The power mode of essentials of a profession provides a good reference for the discussion. (Tsang, 1998: 31) There are four characteristics of profession, all teachers should register with the professional body and all schools should employ teachers through the body, the body should participate in designing and implementing teacher education programmes, take up leadership and dominance on daily school practice, and take responsibility for designing the curriculum of school education based on rationally motivated consensus. Through setting up a body with the above characteristics, then, the

teaching profession would be a member of the public sphere in resisting colonization of the lifeworld by the system conducted by the government administration.

7.3.2 Open classrooms of progressive education movement and four pillars of learning

In the progressive education movement in the United States, the concept of open classrooms provides a clue to the concept of shared understanding in communicative interaction at classroom scale of analysis, and to the working normative assumption of undistorted communicative interaction among teachers and students. The characteristics of open classroom are as follows: concern over quality of teacher-child interaction; warmth, acceptance, and children's thoughts taken seriously; emphasis on cooperation, not competition, and few behaviour problems; freedom of movement and use of materials, within certain boundaries, and communication between children; other factors related to positive self-image and willingness to take risks and persist. (Ballantine, 1997: 348)

The concept of open classrooms also addresses to the three structural components of the lifeworld in the learning and teaching situation. The emphasis on "freedom of movement and use of materials" is related to the cultural component, the "quality of teacher-child interaction" is related to the social component, whereas the "positive self-image" to the personality component. Moreover, Ballantine envisages that, based on child-centred strategies, teachers performs facilitating and supporting role in the learning and teaching interaction. Thus, the communicative interaction

among teachers and students is based on shared understanding and coordinate their subsequent action accordingly. Moreover, it helps to depict the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of students.

Furthermore, what should school education be? This question, if answered, provides a theoretical foundation for teachers to exercise their professional autonomy at school scale, and the teaching profession to exercise its professionalism at regional scale. The four pillars of learning proposed by UNESCO provide the essentials in constructing this theoretical foundation. These four pillars of learning, learning to live together, learning to know, learning to do, and learning to be, are the paradigms of school education in the twenty-first century (Delors & et al, 1998). Delors's work is illustrated from a global perspective on what ideal education should be.

Delors suggests "Learning to live together is the foundation of education, the overall aims of education. It is the development of 'an understanding of others and their history, traditions and spiritual values and, on this basis, creating a new spirit which, guided by recognition of our growing interdependence and a common analysis of the risks and challenges of the future, would induce people to implement common projects or to manage the inevitable conflicts in an intelligent and peaceful way.'" (Delors & et al, 1998)

"The foundation of education, the overall aims of education" shows a relation between society and education, and derives the other three pillars of education. In the communicative interaction in "learning to live together", the students adopt communicative attitude based on "an understanding of others and their history",

coordinate their plans of action situations oriented to “manage the inevitable conflicts in an intelligent and peacefully way”. The description is essential to the conception of communicative action, that is, the actors coordinate their plans of action situation based on shared understanding. The essential features of the version of communicative interaction proposed by Delors echoes that of the conception of communicative action proposed by Habermas, and is in a paradigm of communication or subject-subject relation.

“Learning to know concerns with ‘combining a sufficiently broad general education with the possibility of in-depth work on a selected numbers of subject. Such a general background provides, so to speak, the passport to lifelong education... to learning to do a job of work ...’” (Delors & et al, 1998: 23). Learning to know is related to the cultural component of the symbolic lifeworld.

Moreover, “Learning to do is related to ‘the acquisition of a competence that enables people to deal with a variety of situations, often unforeseeable, and to work in teams, a feature to which educational methods do not at present pay enough attention’” (Delors & et al, 1998: 23). Learning to do is related to the social component of the symbolic lifeworld.

Moreover, “Learning to be is related to ‘every one will need to exercise greater independence and judgment combined with a stronger sense of personal responsibility for the attainment of goals. none of the talents which hidden like buried treasure in every person must be left untapped’” (Delors & et al, 1998: 23). Learning to be is related to the personality component of the symbolic lifeworld.

Furthermore, “education is also a social experience through which children learn about themselves, develop interpersonal skills and acquire basic knowledge and skills” (Delors & et al, 1998: 25). Education, indeed, is a communicative interaction, so called social experience, among teachers and students adopting communicative attitudes, and thus through it, the symbolic lifeworld of the students is reproduced.

These four pillars of learning, indeed, depict the essential features of symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld. It also supports the working normative assumption of undistorted communicative interaction at classroom scale of analysis. Moreover, they provide a blueprint for school education based on rationally motivated consensus of the public sphere, to which the teaching profession belongs. Furthermore, they also provide a blueprint for what school education should be for social reproduction in terms of logic of development, and to a bold new world.

CHAPTER EIGHT CONSTRUCTING A NEW CRITICAL APPROACH IN SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

8.1 What is the current approach in sociology of education?

The research works of Meighan and Dale do point out that a fuller picture of relation between society and education can be got if both perspectives of action and the systems are employed in the inquiry. Moreover, Habermas employs both perspective of internal participants and perspective of external observers simultaneously in constructing a theory of society, and does get a fuller picture of society, a fuller picture of the relation between society and education.

In the chapter of literature review, the research works of Meighan and Dale point out that a more complete picture showing the relation between school education and society can be depicted if the perspectives of action and the systems are employed simultaneously in the inquiry. In his theory of communicative action, Habermas integrates these two perspectives in constructing his theory of society. Moreover, this study employs Habermas's theory on exploring the relation between school education and society in the Hong Kong context, and does provide a fuller picture of the relation. Thus, the integration of the perspectives of internal participants or action and of external observers or the systems depicts a viable approach in sociology of education.

8.2 What does sociology of education examine?

Morrow and Torres (1995) see that the conception of social reproduction provides a “synthetic reference point” for the theories of sociology of education. Thus, a theory of society depicts how society is reproduced. Moreover, sociology of education examines how society is reproduced through education. Many sociologists of education explain the object domain of study either from the perspective of external observers or from that of internal participants. However, Habermas examines how symbolic and material reproductions of the lifeworld of actors are got from both perspectives simultaneously. As discussed above, it needs to examine what happened in education from the perspective of internal participants and what education contributes to society from the perspective of external observers.

Therefore, sociology of education should take both perspectives of action and the systems simultaneously, accordingly, its object domain consists of what education contributes to society as well as what happened within education.

8.3 How is school education examined?

This study had appropriated Habermas's theory of communicative action and, from it, adopted its associated concept of logic and dynamic of developments of social evolution in seeing the situational and historical analyses of school education.

The symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld at classroom and school scales of school education had been conceived as the logic of development, or the normal development, of school education free of distortion of communicative interaction based on rationally motivated consensus through communicative rationality. It was what the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of the students should be in the direction of development of school education.

Moreover, at school scale of school education, two directions were noted, one was the carrying on symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld in the communicative interaction among teachers and students, and the other one was an uncoupling of the lifeworld and the systems when the teachers and the government official encountered each other with distorted communicative interaction. Furthermore, at regional scale of school education, a colonization of the lifeworld by the systems was depicted.

Thus, at one direction of school scale, and regional scales, the social reproduction conducted was considered to be the dynamic of development, or the abnormal development, of school education, with distorted communicative interaction based empirically motivated consensus based on instrumental or system rationality. Moreover, in the historical analysis of school education, the social reproduction

conducted was considered to be the dynamic of development, with distorted communicative interaction based on empirically motivated consensus based on instrumental or system rationality.

8.4 Constructing a new and critical approach in sociology of education

This study has followed what Habermas does in formulating his theory of society based on the theory of communicative action in constructing a critical approach in sociology of education. He formulates his theory of society with a three-level analysis, at meta-theoretical, methodological, and empirical levels. Moreover, he examines three concerns in formulating his theory of society, the rationality problematic, a two-level concept of society, and a critical modernity of society.

8.4.1 The three level analyses of sociology of education

Habermas develops a theory of society via ontological, epistemological, and empirical analysis of communicative action. Moreover, Denzin and Lincoln (2000: 18) agree with Habermas and support the three-level analysis in conducting qualitative research. Therefore, this study follows this line of inquiry in constructing a critical approach in sociology of education.

Firstly, at the meta-theoretical or ontological level of analysis, in his theory of society, Habermas replaces social action with communicative action as the basic interaction among actors, and envisages the rationality problematic is the communicative rationality. In sociology of education, communicative action is the communicative interaction through language between actors in the learning and teaching situation of action in school education context. The actors aim at reaching shared understanding and coordinate their subsequent plans of action. At a simple network of communicative interaction, the actors consist of students, teachers, and

principals. Aiming at shared understanding means that the actors involved reach agreement based on communicative rationality. Furthermore, the actors will carry out their subsequent actions based on achieved agreement.

Secondly, at methodological or epistemological level of analysis, the object domain of social phenomena is symbolically pre-structured and antecedently constituted by the interpretive understanding of the actors. This is the same as in the inquiry of school education. Thus social scientists gain access to the object domain of education phenomena through interpretive understanding.

Thirdly, at empirical level of analysis, Habermas sees modernization of society as a process of rationalization. Moreover, in this study, the development of school education shown is a process of rationalization, a process of the dynamic of development of education instead of the logic one.

8.4.2 Three concerns for sociology of education

There are three concerns, which are the significant elements and insights, found in examining the course of development in sociology in the theory of communicative action.

Firstly, in the theory of communicative action, the rationality problematic of a theory of society is communicative rationality, and serves as the theoretical level of

analysis of society. In sociology of education, communicative rationality also serves as the theoretical level of analysis of school education.

Secondly, in the theory of communicative action, society is analyzed through a two-level concept, in which society is analyzed simultaneously from both perspective of action and that of the system. In sociology of education, it should examine what happens in school education, together with what school education contributes to society. Thus, school education should be examined from both the perspective of internal participants and the perspective of external observers simultaneously, that is, from both the perspective of action and the perspective of systems simultaneously. A full picture of school education can be got through joining the perspective of action and the perspective of systems.

Thirdly, in the theory of communicative action, a critical theory of modernity of society is envisaged. In a critical approach to sociology of education, the historical development of school education depicts a dynamic of development of education, that is, a colonization of the lifeworld by the systems. The historical development of school education should not identify the dynamic of development as such, other than a logic of development as the desired one.

In the analysis of historical development of school education of Hong Kong in the study, it depicts a colonization of the lifeworld by the system. The development of school education is a distorted one, and is based on the empirically motivated consensus of aims of education in favour of the capitalist society, and is the dynamic of development of school education. What is the logic of development of school

education? It would be based on the rational consensus of aims of education in public sphere in favour of the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of students. Moreover, germs are found at the three-scale analysis of school education, and they strive for resistance to the colonization of the lifeworld by the systems in school education.

The three-level analysis and the three concerns of sociology of education form the reference framework in constructing a new and critical approach in sociology of education. It is critical because the new approach provides an ideal picture for what school education could be. Sociology of education concerns two key components, what happens in school education and what school education contributes to society. Furthermore, the inner logic of school education, that is, the situational and historical analyses of school education form the object domain where this approach sets off in its inquiry.

8.4.3 The normative foundation for a critical approach of sociology of education

The normative foundation of school education should be based on the rationally motivated consensus through communicative rationality on aims of education arrived in the public sphere.

In the situational analysis, at classroom scale, professional autonomy, not considering their extra-educational interests, exercised by teachers, is appropriated to guide the communicative interaction between students and teachers. It is the

normative foundation to nurture the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of students.

At school scale, professional autonomy exercised by teachers and principals is appropriated to guide the communicative interaction among themselves and with government officials who implement education. There is a tension between teachers and government officials. Teachers represent students, reach rationally motivated consensus on educational phenomena, whereas government officials represent government administration, implement education policy based on the empirically motivated consensus. Thus, professional autonomy of teaching profession is appropriated as the normative foundation of the communicative interaction between teachers and that between teachers and government officials.

At regional scale, the public sphere proposes general aims of school education based on rationally motivated consensus as a guide for the development of school education, whereas the government administration counter-proposes general aims of school education based on empirically motivated consensus as an alternative for the development. However, the conception of four pillars of learning of the UNESCO is a relevant reference for aims of school education based on rationally motivated consensus. These two based on rationally motivated consensus are appropriated as the normative foundation of development of school education.

In the historical analysis of the development of school education, there is a tension in societal integration, a tension between social integration based on rationally motivated consensus on aims of school education and system integration based on

empirically motivated consensus on general aims of school education. In the interchange relation between private sphere and government administration related to school education, the private sphere concerns the equality of education whereas the government administration concerns providing human resources for capitalist society. Moreover, in the interchange relation between public sphere and government administration, the former aims at rationally motivated consensus on general aims of school education, whereas the latter at empirically motivated consensus. The public sphere concerns social integration related to rationally motivated consensus based on communicative rationality, whereas the government administration concerns itself with system integration related to empirically motivated consensus based on media of money and power, or instrumental or system rationality. The rationally motivated consensus on general aims of school education reached in the public sphere is appropriated as the normative foundation for development of school education.

In sum, the normative foundation of a critical approach of sociology of education should be based on the rationally motivated consensus reached on the aims of education based on communicative rationality among actors in the private sphere as well as in the public sphere.

8.4.4 *The logic and dynamic of development of school education*

The logic of development of school education means that the development of school education should be guided by rationally motivated consensus on general aims of school education, and is aimed at social integration of society, whereas the dynamic of development of school education means the development of school education is guided by empirically motivated consensus on general aims of school education, and is aimed at system integration of society. The dynamic of development is the side track of the logic of development, and is the colonization of the lifeworld by the systems in school education. Thus, the logic of development of school education should be guided by rationally motivated consensus on general aims of school education, guided by the communicative rationality exercised by actors in the private sphere and the public sphere, that is, people in society.

8.4.5 *The education reform in Hong Kong as a case study of the new and critical approach of sociology of education*

The education reform in Hong Kong can be served as a case study for the new and critical approach of sociology of education. Based on the reference framework, that is, the three level analyses and three concerns of sociology of education, an inner logic of school education is set off. The inner logic of school education consists of situational as well as historical development of school education in Hong Kong.

The education reform in Hong Kong can be depicted in the inner logic of school education, that is, the general work of school education.

In the situational analysis, communicative interaction becomes complex as the analysis moves from classroom, to school, and to regional scales. Moreover, interpreting understanding is employed in the analysis. Firstly, at the classroom scale of analysis, symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of the student is shown, which is based on communicative rationality. It shows the logic of development in school education. Secondly, at the school scale of analysis, two dimensions are seen. One is the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld of the students based on communicative rationality carried on in the communicative interaction among students, teachers, and principals. It shows the logic of development of school education. The other is an uncoupling of the system from the lifeworld based on distorted communicative interaction in the interaction between teacher and principals in one hand and the government officials on the other. It shows the dynamic of development of school education. Finally, at the regional scale of school education, a colonization of the

lifeworld by the systems based on cultural hegemony is found. It shows the dynamic of development of school education. The above discussion, indeed, unfolds a process of rationalization of school education, in spite of a derailing of the logic of development to the dynamic of development of school education.

In the education reform in Hong Kong, the government administration exercises cultural hegemony, and strives for system integration, through which the dynamic of development of school education is seen, and with a consequence of a colonization of the lifeworld by the systems. However, there are resistances from teachers and principals exercising their professional autonomy, from students as future citizens in the public sphere, and from the public sphere striving for aims of school education based on rationally motivated consensus.

At different scales of analysis of school education, communicative rationality is the foundation for the logic of development of school education, and is imbedded in different conceptions, such as professional autonomy of teachers, rational consensus on aims of school education, four pillars of learning, etc. They serve as resistance to the invasion of the systems to the lifeworld. Moreover, both perspectives of action and the systems are employed in the situational analysis of school education. Furthermore, the logic of development versus the dynamic of development of school education provide a conceptual framework in seeing the derailing of development based on rationally motivated consensus to that based on empirically motivated consensus.

8.5 A new and critical approach in sociology of education

Sociology of education examines what happens in school education as well as what school education contributes to society. This study proposes a new critical approach in sociology of education, and appropriates Habermas's theory of communicative action as the conceptual framework of the approach in setting out inquiry in school education.

The new critical approach in sociology of education sets out its inquiry through the following paths. Firstly, it builds on a paradigm of communication with a subject-subject relation. From here, it adopts a linguistic turn in sociology, and reason is situated among subjects, or in intersubjectivity. Following Habermas, the new approach in sociology of education does adopt a philosophy of history with logic of development versus dynamic development of school education.

Secondly, the new critical approach in sociology of education adopts a three-level analysis in setting out the inquiry. At meta-theoretical level, it appropriates learning and teaching activity as a form of communicative action in the education context as the most basic unit in the inquiry. Lifeworld is used as the complementary concept of the learning and teaching activity. Moreover, the object domain of education phenomenon is symbolically and linguistically pre-structured interpretations. Thus, at epistemological level, it appropriates interpreting understanding in examining the educational phenomenon. Furthermore, at empirical level, it conceives the development of education as a process of rationalization.

Finally, the new critical approach in sociology of education appropriates three critical concerns in constructing its inquiry. It makes use of communicative rationality as the rationality problematic rather than the other types such as instrumental rationality. Moreover, it adopts a two-level concept of society on which education phenomenon are articulated. Related to this, the new approach also employs the perspectives of action or internal participants and the systems or external observers simultaneously in the inquiry. Furthermore, it sketches out a critical theory of what the direction of development of school education is, with a view of the logic of development of school education.

A new and critical approach in sociology of education does tell what the desired development of school education would be, and to where a bold new world would be.

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