

# Civic Education Policy of Decolonization in Hong Kong and Macau: A Documentary Analysis

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Both Hong Kong and Macau issued civic education documents before their sovereignty was returned to China. These two internationalized cities aimed to prepare for the future when their colonial governance was coming to an end. Having taken decolonization policies into consideration, it is understandable that sovereignty regimes have their own self-designed citizenship education plans. Judgments with selective commentaries on public and political events could transmit various and crucial political messages. Their proposed curriculum might differ in contents but their essential qualities of civic education targeted at facilitating students' core values and positive attitudes. Deficiencies are thus identified and how such deficiencies are later reflected in history is noted. The new concepts of citizenship were merely prominent in these two areas and the contents were no longer creative. It is observable that the lack of adoption of recommendations on education concerned with the nurturing of young people and their empowerment with self-determinism is clearly perceptible, under the so-called "one country, two systems" governance. Or, it may well be that something was overlooked. If so, it may be that there may be a lack of planning for social harmony and sustainability of these metropolitan cities. The problem is quite thought-provoking.

*Keywords:* comparative analysis, civic education, sovereignty transfer

The sovereignty of Hong Kong and Macau has been handed over to China for 20 years after years as the colonies of Britain and Portugal respectively. The two territories were under the administration of colonisers for a long time and were scheduled to reunite with China 30 years ago. Before the handover, the two countries issued documents of civic education. These were not coincidental, but they intended to make and educate the future citizens who would no longer be governed by them. The two areas would now belong to China, and before the transfer of sovereignty, they ensured that they implemented decolonized policies to a certain extent. It is now crucial to review the circumstances of these two regions today following 20 years of Chinese rule. This historical search is distinct in its historical context of the political transition of the two places.

The theme of this paper concerns colonial transition. Since education is an important part of building the nation and its development, the decolonizing civic education policies were adopted for these two places to address their transition from their colonial states to their forthcoming future. The civic education policy was selected for this study because the teaching and curriculum of civics are intrinsically valuable and substantially political. Understanding and analysis of these policy documents by reviewing the historical context provide a

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more in-depth interpretation of the situation, while also projecting the plight of the coming stage of governance in these two territories. These were particularly remarkable for the retrocession of sovereignty of Hong Kong and Macau to China at the end of the 20th century.

Under the different contexts of Hong Kong and Macau, the two regions drafted and issued the documents of civic education before the transfer of sovereignty. Citizenship education is important for the future masters of the cities. To achieve this, Hong Kong underwent a long consultation period in 1996, during which they undertook discussions with social communities and education institutions. After the public consultation, the Hong Kong Curriculum Development Council issued “Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools”. At the same time, Roberto Carneiro edited and the *Leal Senado* (Municipal Council) of Macau issued the “Civic Education and Education City” (in Portuguese, *Educacao para a cidadania e cidades educadoras* and in Chinese) in 1998. Consultation was not common in Macau. As a matter of fact, the two policy papers represented an education of the decolonizing and empowering strategies of the two territories during the transition period. This paper is a comparative analysis of the citizenship education policy documents of the two places, studied in their historical contexts during their last stages of political transition, exploring the meaningfulness of these policy contents in empowering the citizens of these two places.

### **Civic Education and Historical Contexts of Hong Kong and Macau**

Civic education makes use of schools to mould the future citizens of society. The contents of civic education are extensive and contain many controversial perspectives. For building open-minded citizenship, they tend to emphasize citizenship education related to democracy, human rights, and rule of law. This tends to cause contradictories when taken together with the other influences of Chinese traditional culture in the Chinese society. Many values based on Chinese ethic values are proposed: spiritually Confucianism and morally behaviourism such as benevolence, righteousness, ritualism, intelligence, and trust. The issue may be so controversial. Moreover, these were applied with the aim of enhancing the citizens’ state and national identity during the transition of sovereignty between these two territories. This was an act that was obviously welcomed by China. Patriotic and national education should be implemented through the political arenas. The interesting backgrounds of these two places lay in the fact that more than half of schools are Catholic or Christian simultaneously. Western religions and their thoughts on ethics should be an inevitable part of educational values, being antithesis with Confucian moral and character education.

The context must be noted that Hong Kong and Macau have been geographically significant bases through which the West entered China. They were bridges for Britain and Portugal to penetrate China for economic exploitation and cultural dissemination throughout history. The two territories are linked by ethnicity, geography, Western colonization, and post-colonial fate (Adamson & Li, 1999, p. 54). Both territories are located in the estuary of Pearl River, existing in a situation of mutual support.

Hong Kong and Macau are asymmetrical with different circumstances in history. The pivotal point of Macau is its lack of attainment of any treaty document to certify its colonial status in more than 400 years. Hong Kong colonial sovereignty was in contrast, certified by cession and lease for more than 150 years. Essentially, and historically speaking, Macau could not be classified as a colony. Portugal carefully recognized its situation; the Chinese government owned its supreme sovereignty and the Portuguese merely had constrained administrating power to govern the place for a long time. For Macau, Portugal continued to pay rent to China until 1849. It was not until the British gained Hong Kong Island as a colony and it was called the

Hong Kong effect when the Portuguese acquired stronger administrative power in governing Macau and later, they extended and obtained more areas gradually. These included more areas of the Macau Peninsula in 1849, control over Taipa in 1851 and Coloane in 1864. On the other side, Hong Kong Island was ceded to Britain in 1842, the Kowloon Peninsula was acquired in 1860, and the New Territory was leased for a 99-year period in 1898. These actions created the differences in the governmentality of two areas. Based on this crucial factor or more, Britain differed from Portugal, ruling Hong Kong in a more determined manner.

After the establishment of the People's Republic of China by the Chinese Communist Party in 1949, Beijing was not ready to settle the treaties question, leaving the maintenance of "the status quo" until a more appropriate time. There were also policies on achieving full use of Hong Kong and Macau which were in the long-term plans in history. The leasing of the New Territories ended on June 30, 1997 and after negotiation, the British government agreed to transfer the sovereignty of Hong Kong to China upon the expiration of the lease. However, Hong Kong and Macau were products of colonialism (Bray & Koo, 1999, p. 2) which were settled in the end of the 20th century. The discussion of Hong Kong's future was quite time-consuming with 17 rounds of negotiations while the consensus between China and Portugal was gained within merely four rounds of talks, based on the previous experiences of negotiations between China and Britain. Hong Kong's agreement was made in September 1984 between China and Britain and Macau's agreement was justified in April 1987. Britain transferred the sovereignty in governing Hong Kong on July 1, 1997 and Portugal gave back the administration to China on December 20, 1999.

Similarities in the political histories of Hong Kong and Macau should not be confined to colonial origins. The "one country, two systems" formula was applied in both areas for the subsequent reversion of sovereignty in Hong Kong and Macau. Both territories have a greater majority of inhabitants who are Cantonese-speaking Chinese. The two territories are characterized by efficient financial infrastructures and free market economies with a low-rate and simple taxation system. The separation of Hong Kong and Macau from mainland China and the different rules of governance by the British and the Portuguese respectively, led to the distinctive socio-economic development and extraordinary vernacular and indigenous cultures of Hong Kong and Macau. Hong Kong and Macau were populated with migrants seeking access to and egress from mainland China. There was an atypical "centremost" sense of Hong Kong and Macau and their self-identities.

The international influence of the Portuguese culture and power had diminished greatly since its peak four centuries ago. The Macau government's administration did not have enough power to control social affairs in Macau after the 1966 conflicts and riots. On the contrary, Hong Kong's government maintained its legitimacy under the communist challenge in the 1967 riots and acquired popularized support at the aftermath. However, Hong Kong and Macau experienced rapid economic, social, cultural, and political development in the last quarter of the 20th century. Moreover, the effects of the social origin and structure of the Macau plural centred system should not be ignored. For the transfer of sovereignty, Britain extensively intended to evacuate gloriously by the implementation of democratic reforms and expected to deliver their power directly into the hands of the Hong Kong people. This was not so for Macau; it was absent-minded and disinclined. Table 1 below lays out other comparisons between Hong Kong and Macau. It is clear that their situations and conditions were very asymmetrical—Hong Kong advanced and Macau lagged behind.

Political reforms in Hong Kong and Macau after the signing of the Joint Declarations generated demands for citizenship education in these two communities. With the introduction of political reforms towards representative governments in Hong Kong and Macau and the stipulation of the communist "one country, two

systems”, citizenship education was introduced and considered a means of providing citizens in the future with sufficient and necessary political orientation and competence to prepare for the political change.

Table 1

*The Characteristics of Hong Kong and Macau in 1998*

	Hong Kong	Macau
Area (km <sup>2</sup> )	1,097	24
Population	6,806,000	430,000
Population density (per km <sup>2</sup> )	6,200	17,900
Ethnic population	98% Chinese; 2% others	95% Chinese; 3% Portuguese; 2% others
Languages	bi-literacy and tri-lingualism	tri-literacy and tetra-lingualism
Currency	HKD	MOP
Current exchange	US\$ 1 = HK\$ 7.8	US\$ 1 = MOP 8.0
GDP (US\$)	24,700	15,900
In educated population	1,126,141	96,077
Education expenditure in % GDP	3.0%	0.8%*

*Notes.* Bi-literacy refers to Chinese and English, with addition of Cantonese. Portuguese is added for Macau. \* The figure in 1996.

The power and knowledge that regime proposed how school knowledge was selected, organized, and assessed should be invested in relation to the distribution of power. Schools marked a key point where the Chinese nation met and represented either contested cultural territory or a melting point. Educational settings of a similar political background located on opposing sides of the estuary of the Pearl River were very different. Dominant education patterns in Hong Kong were distinctly different from those of Macau and this difference was enhanced by the variation in colonial policy. The British approach tended to include the local population in educational provision but the Portuguese enclave system excluded them (Adamson & Li, 1999, p. 57).

The asymmetrical situation revealed itself simultaneously through education. The number of schools in Hong Kong was more than a thousand before the handover. Hong Kong managed slightly more than a million students, and had a fairly unified schooling system. Hong Kong established a healthy education system which was regulated institutionally. The initial provision of schooling in colonial Hong Kong had been made possible by charitable bodies branching out from Macau. However, Macau was influenced by educational practice and curriculum materials from Hong Kong rather than vice versa. Educational transfer took place directly from Hong Kong to Macau because of Hong Kong’s more rapid development of a unified system of mass education (Adamson & Li, 1999, p. 35) after the Second World War.

Various curriculum and examinations at various levels were well organized in Hong Kong. Schools were mainly aided and funded by the Hong Kong government, and were managed by charitable or religious bodies with financial support from the Hong Kong government. Hong Kong had nine years compulsory education and the majority of the population could have school places provided up to senior forms. Teaching staff were organized with various grading, salary scales, and occupational protection. The government had instigated review of the education systems by the institutionalized organizations as well as implementing revisions.

Unlike Hong Kong, the role of the Macau government in education had been very limited. The situation of the educational management in Macau was contradictory. Macau contained merely 70 schools or so, of which the majority were private schools. The school curriculum showed more uniformity in Hong Kong than its

pluralistic counterpart in Macau (Adamson & Li, 1999, p. 55). Education provision in Macau obviously lagged behind that in Hong Kong. Moreover, Macau lacked a unified school system, and had a small student population that followed a curriculum. There was no compulsory or free education and it was not until the end of colonial governance that they could merely provide free, but not compulsory, education. The bottle-neck was felt after students completed junior secondary school and found it difficult to progress with further education. The educational policy, investment and development in Macau were rather underdeveloped; lagging behind and stagnant under Portuguese administration. The development of the curriculum was uncoordinated in Macau compared with Hong Kong. And its organization appeared immature compared with its Hong Kong counterpart. Positions of teaching staff, salaries, and occupational protection were all *laissez-faire*. The improvements to reform of education by the Macau government merely depended on social requests and appeals.

The different styles of the British and Portuguese colonial rule had resulted in significant contrast in educational provision in Hong Kong and Macau respectively. The larger amounts of resources devoted to education in Hong Kong led to more control of managing, teaching, and learning than use of these in Macau. The disparity in the rate of educational development stemmed from the different modes of colonialism and the different impact of socio-economic changes (cited in Adamson & Li, 1999, p. 54). Portuguese authorities generally limited the provision of education to their own citizens in the enclave, whereas, the British embraced vernacular education for the local population of Hong Kong.

Educators in both places had to consider their present education and citizenship curriculum for dealing with their local problems and identifying national trends and global citizenship. However, their responses to these challenges in particular, clearly outlined the differences in social-historical background and perception of citizenship educators in Hong Kong and Macau respectively. The change in political membership and citizenship became a pressing issue as the change of sovereignty meant that the people of Hong Kong and Macau would acquire new national identities as being the Special Administrative Regions' citizens of the People's Republic of China.

### **Research Method: Textual and Comparative Analysis in Historical Context**

Comparative studies can be conducted through the identification of differences and similarities of various characteristics and issues. The civic education policies of Hong Kong and Macau are taken as a pair for comparison as they are comparable in the field of comparative education. Comparisons with other regions show that the experiences of Hong Kong and Macau are particular but not unique (Adamson & Li, 1999, p. 56) with each other. Major questions exist and require analysis in this civic education system over the reasons why the education systems in different parts of these two territories are similar to or different from each other. Additional questions concerning the interactions between the education systems and the border societies exist. This is like the comparison of the societies of Hong Kong and Macau in which these education systems are situated, and which they serve (Bray & Koo, 1999, p. 1). Most importantly, these systems are not independent importantly, but rather they interact with one another.

It is a historical comparative analysis. Analysis of the features of civic education must be couched within the framework of contextual features. They were preparing for the retrocession of sovereignty to China at the end of the 20th century. It is therefore important to commence with the outline of historical contexts of political, social, economic, and cultural similarities and differences (Bray & Koo, 1999, p. 1). Judgments could be made, assessed, and evaluated on nationalist, ethnic or racial, moral, cultural, and religious grounds. From the

documents, a textual reading, understanding, and interpretation of these contents of civic education policy can be developed. The sovereignty of these two places gave similar and also different historical contexts. The policy analysis is put into these contexts for understanding. Moreover, there are four pivotal concepts of civic education to be noted. These concepts are Western religious ethical, Confucian spiritual moral, citizenship related and state national, and patriotic. These concepts mediated with history, to give an understanding and analysis of the civic education conducted in schooling of these two areas. The relative importance of them should be noted in this study.

### **Content of Study: Textual Analysis of Civic Education Documents**

After the signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984 and the Sino-Portuguese Joint Declaration in 1987, growing concerns were triggered over the issue of citizenship education in Hong Kong and Macau respectively. The transitions were not implemented immediately after the Second World War, rather, they took place at the end of the 20th century rather than earlier. The timescale of decolonization in Hong Kong and Macau was exceptionally longer than those in other colonies. These political transitions were organized to reintegrate with the People's Republic of China from which the places had previously detached rather than achieving sovereign independence. During the early stage, it was the merchants, missionaries, educators, and colonial administrators who brought multi-centric perspectives of the purposes of schooling (Adamson and Li 1999, p. 35). The role of education in transition had been of great concern in the new millennium. Reorientation of the education systems might be conducted in order to reflect the new political circumstances. Efforts went into making the education systems more competitive to ensure that they cater for the turn of the century on the international and globalized stage.

Civic education gained new momentum in Hong Kong and Macau meeting at the end of the 20th century. Due to the existing system in Hong Kong, they could start school civic education much earlier (in 1985), and the transformations of the curriculum and pedagogy were much better prepared. Continuous reviews of every area of education were conducted—this was distinctively different from those of Macau. The exploration of the civic education policy of the two territories is based on their initiatives, opportunities, historical contexts, contents, and education visions which were required to gain an understanding, and to be able to compare and analyze them. Basically, these explorations could answer the contents of policy implementation, the reasons for it, and the question of how to implement the civic education policy.

### **Initiative of Civic Education Issues**

Even if there were some similarities in the policies proposed and advocated, there were differences between two areas in the schooling policies for a long time. To address the differences in the policy generating processes, Hong Kong processed public opinion consultations which led to the policy being edited and issued by the related organization—the Curriculum Development Council. The schools of Hong Kong were expected to follow and implement the school civic education system based on the “Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools” after the document was issued. In Macau, *Leal Senado* (Municipal Council) of Macau owned the function of practicing education, transportation and environment, and culture and recreation. For the reasons of autonomy of private schools, there were certain limits for the Macau government on influencing education. Although the policy document was proposed by the Former Portuguese Minister of Education, Roberto Carnerio, and issued by *Leal Senado* of Macau, they could not force the Macau education institutions to implement the policy. It is

one of the greater differences that exist between the two territories that are of their influential power on education.

Therefore, “Civic Education and Education City” was seldom mentioned or discussed on how to implement civic education in Macau. It was a problem that was related to the way they operated. On the contrary, the Guidelines in Hong Kong were widely adopted in school teaching, and at the pivotal moment of transformation of the globe. In terms of teaching, learning, and deliberating the world of citizenship, the Guidelines in Hong Kong were widely adopted into the school education system.

### **Educational Opportunities Education for a Future**

The chairman of the Curriculum Development Council, Cheng Hon-kwun, highlighted that in attempting to meet the challenges of the 21st century and in preparing to be the Special Administrative Region of the People’s Republic of China in 1997, the schools in Hong Kong took up the mission to equip the young people with the attitudes, beliefs, and competence which would help them become contributing citizens to society, the country, and the world (Curriculum Development Council, 1996, p. 1).

On the other hand, the Chairman of *Leal Senado* of Macau, José Luis de Sales Marques (Mak Kin-chi), pointed out that civic responsibility is very important. In a city that interacted with the Eastern and Western world, nobody should be evitable with their citizen responsibility. The formation of future new concepts of knowledge is pedagogy for human learning and the world of deliberation of civic obligation in making a public sphere of the cities. Historical transformation is the turning point of promoting civic education for the future. It was expressed by de Sales Marques, the Chairman, that Macanese should have critical reform on the place where they lived in meeting with the standards and opportunities of Macau and other international cities. It was the target that they hoped to achieve in offering the article of civic pedagogy and education city.

Moreover, it was understandable and desirable that civic education would suit the situations of Hong Kong and Macau from the view point of educational opportunities of these two territories during the political transition. Better education, making (global) citizenship and its reform should cater for the wellbeing of the regions. Both would be able to express the desires of education for their future. However, the Hong Kong government took a faster step towards promoting civic education in Hong Kong but the response of the Macau government was quite slow in implementation of the decolonization policy.

### **Aims of Civic Education**

From the aspect of educational opportunities, comparison of how civic education suited the circumstances of Hong Kong and Macau was understandable. Faced with the promises of implementation and practicing of the “one country, two systems”, the governments had to provide pupils with citizenship education. They had inevitable responsibility. As such, the notification subsequently turns to their aims of education.

In Hong Kong, it was suggested that the school should shoulder the responsibility of developing in young people a basic level of political knowledge, as well as the skills, attitudes, and competence necessary for them to observe their civic rights and responsibilities, to acquire critical thinking dispositions and civic awareness, and to become rational and responsible. Developing positive attitudes and values conducive to the development of a sense of belonging to Hong Kong and patriotic China, they are made ready to contribute to the betterment of the society, the state, and the world. It helps students understand the characteristics of the Hong Kong society and the importance of democracy, liberty, equality, human rights, and the rule of law, and how to employ these concepts in daily life. It should also develop in students a thinking disposition and

problem-solving skills that would allow them to analyze social and political issues objectively and to arrive at a rational appraisal of these issues (Curriculum Development Council, 1996, pp. 5-6). On the other side, civic education of Macau should equip the new civic consciousness with sufficient theoretical support to accomplish communitarianism, to create equal conditions in the cities, and not to exclude the majorities. It is democratic to accept the majority (not only the minority). Unlike most sovereign governments with their own instrumental, dominated, and cultural agenda of education to follow, the two governments had not tried to impose their own core values on the populace in Hong Kong and Macau (Bray, 1999, p. 234). Moreover, education often demands a form of collaboration with the existing and the coming political regime. The Hong Kong and Macau identities have been evolving after British and Portuguese rule and cultural influence on these two territories. Differences emerged between Hong Kong and Macau. The domestic power was not promoted too noticeably through these educational policies.

### **Reasons in Historical Context**

The transition to the 21st century and the resumption of the exercise of sovereignty by China over Hong Kong in 1997, made the Hong Kong context extraordinary. During this political transition period (1984-1997) while experiencing rapid changes in social, economic, and political development, there was a special need for schools to strengthen civic education. Preparing students to become rational, active, and responsible citizens was expressed in facing the challenges arising from the changes. Therefore, "School Education in Hong Kong: A statement of Aims" indicated earlier this need to develop social, political, and civic awareness among young people in 1993. The context of Hong Kong was in it.

De Sales Marques of Macau used a paragraph to describe the metropolitan crisis and conflicts in human historical context. It made cities full of contradictory trauma, unrest, and disturbance. Macau had to transit to a place with new civic consciousness and reformed cultural order. The "Civic Education and Education City" of Macau enhanced the historical contextuality including the contents of a knowledge information society and globalization phenomenon. The greater contents were in cultural plurality and ethnicism, the crisis of representative government, social exclusion and new suffering, social stratification to collapse and fall apart, and population centralization with the decline of living qualities.

Globalization of Hong Kong and Macau made these two territories more internationalized. Citizenship building and civic education increased in importance for the future of these international metropolitans, after the retrocession of sovereignty to China. These opportunities were important in the development of human good goals of Hong Kong and Macau in context. They generated a citizenship civilization which was the continuous maintenance of future roles of these two cities. While Macau was an international city in the world and in the historical context, it was brimming with crisis. The pivotal challenge and opportunity were related to what this international city should focus on in terms of its human civilization. Under the circumstances of Macau and concerning the sovereignty transfer, its major concerns were very important. It was an issue that was inevitable and should not be evitable. It could speak for the civic education policy of Macau, being more superior when compared with those of Hong Kong. It mentioned the change of the developmental context of the international city in catering for human public goodness and harmony. Or Hong Kong was not straightforward and honest in their actions.

### **Contents of Civic Education**

These were differences in standing for propositional levels and ideas of civic education contents in these



two territories. While Macau proposed different levels of civic consciousness, Hong Kong advocated essential qualities of citizens (see Table 2).

Table 2

*Comparison of Proposed Contents of Civic Education in Hong Kong and Macau*

Guidelines on civic education in schools	Civic education and education city
Essential qualities of the civic learner:	Perspectives of new civic consciousness:
Civic values	Democratic civic consciousness
Self-realization and common good	Communitarian civic consciousness
Civic attitudes	Civic consciousness for equity
Civic beliefs	Trans-cultural civic consciousness
Civic competence	Civic consciousness for the environment

The first and the foremost is democracy in Macau. It mentioned democratic consciousness related to human rights, essential freedom, and cultures of advocating peacefulness. In addition, it should contain the ability of critical reading and judgement. Communitarian citizens have their rights and responsibilities in balance with the justice foundation for dealing with social poverty, exclusiveness, and marginalization. It can help the consolidation of our society building equality, building free from discrimination and prejudices, and implementing equality between the genders. Trans-cultural civic consciousness should enable respectfulness of the various cultures. The practice is cooperative and interactive, constructing relationships and communication for the achievement of mutual prosperousness. Moreover, citizens with consciousness of environmental protection concentrate on sustainable development, and on their behaviours and moral values being interlinked with the nature of the earth.

Essential qualities of the civic learner in Hong Kong aim at facilitating students to acquire certain values, attitudes, beliefs, and competence that are essential for individual wellbeing and societal wellbeing respectively. In order to become a responsible, responsive, and contributable citizen in Hong Kong, values that are commonly or universally emphasized are the basic qualities for human existence, the common elements in human civilization, and also the common characteristics of human nature. Emphasizing the sanctity of life is an acknowledgement of the intrinsic value of human existence. To allow a person to exercise the qualities of being honest, upholding the truth, having the courage to do so, and their individuality being respected are for one to become dignified and to be mature in rationality, affectivity, aesthetics, and creativity. It is the perpetuation and wellbeing of society, such that equality can be achieved and everyone's freedom is respected with the belief in mutuality and bringing about the common good for the betterment of humankind. Individual and social core values should not be mutually exclusive and should be seen as mutually supportive and inter-dependent. Self-realization is best achieved in the common good. We need a commitment among the students to implement or apply the civic values in daily life and a civic learner needs to develop an attitude of civic and social concern. To be a participative citizen, one needs to hold attitudes such as being positive, empathetic, able to respect and appreciate different views, and optimistic. For the civic learner to develop certain civic beliefs, the beliefs in the betterment of human societies as well as individual responsibility, responsiveness, participation, and contribution are action prone. A civil society should at the same time be an educated society. Competence can provide the civic learner with the capability of putting beliefs into practice and the learner should be competent in critical thinking and creative thinking. Overall, the civic learner should be able to make independent judgments, to be competent in self-reflection and self-cultivation, while also possessing the ability of self-determination and regulation.

Consciousness and quality are two different levels of descriptions. While quality is a foundation, we can implement individual civic consciousness and cope with psychological consciousness (proposed by Macau), and we can have instinct to promote quality of civic education (proposed by Hong Kong). Macau's proposal was also more advanced in this aspect but, unfortunately, it was hardly implemented in Macau context. People's perceptions and feelings are expected to differ when they reread civic education documents published 20 years ago.

### **Vision for the Future**

Moreover, the civic education of Macau mentioned the capability of living together. It was the collaboration of communitarianism. The creation of a perpetual civilization was based on people's civic consciousness for constructing real and sustainable harmony of human beings. The visions of Hong Kong's civic education were concentrated on the transition to the 21st century and the resumption of the exercise of sovereignty by China. As such, there were special needs for schools to strengthen civic education, with a view to preparing students to become rational, active, and responsible citizens in facing challenges arising from the changes.

The two places could simultaneously concentrate on the new century rather than merely having knowledge on the new century. Moreover, it should be the skills, behavioural attitudes, and enriching capability that enable the attainment of the common vision. However, the hidden curriculum and agenda of these two places were not only concerned with making citizens knowledgeable. Planned, non-violent decolonization has been experienced in many places, and preparatory adjustments have been made to the school curriculum (cited in Adamson and Li, 1999, p. 56). Since political education was utilized to cultivate a sense of national identity and patriotism, it was so uncertain that civic education could not be done during this prominent political transition stage. It was so doubtful that formal education institutions were expected to supplement and replace local societies to socialize with the new generation in the new role of national citizenry rather than in the traditional, domesticated, and political authorities (Tse, 1999, p. 157). In the process of the decolonization of Hong Kong and Macau, civic education could not perform the functions of nation building, nation integration, and impartment of patriotism education for the reversal of sovereignty in the future. That is because civil rights were mentioned but there was no direct policy of promoting citizenship education and mentioning patriotic nationalistic education. For the new regime, the implementing of the "one country, two systems" formula in the two territories, and building up national unity and Chinese traditional values and a new political order were pressing needs, fairly speaking.

### **Discussion and Conclusions**

This observation would apply to both Hong Kong and Macau. The histories in Hong Kong and Macau are not exceptions to that statement. This paper compares the contents of two civic education documents of Hong Kong and Macau which were issued just before the time of retrocession of the two territories' sovereignty to China. There were policies for preparing students as citizens of the two Special Administrative Regions of China: Hong Kong and Macau. The contents of civic education advocated in these two places were rich and colourful, aiming to prepare well for the right future of China in creating open societies at the estuary of the Pearl River in the southern part of China. Despite the similarities between them in terms of ethnicity and reintegration with mainland China, the characteristics, nature, and implementation of citizenship and political education in Hong Kong and Macau remained markedly distinct and different.

The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region was established in July 1997 and the Macau Special Administrative Region was formed soon after in December 1999. Two decades after retrocession of the sovereignty to China, civic education in Hong Kong and Macau was once defined in the quite broad and pluralist sense and it was treated as a compound of moral understanding, citizenship and life-wide education. Based on these two civic education documents, the decolonization policy of the two territories had this observable foresight. It has been 20 years since the transfers of sovereignty. Examination of the policies now reveals the superior and brilliant governance of decolonization.

The sharp criticism of social unequal issues and the area of social disputes, directed both the historical development and transformation. The special situations of these two areas were foreseeable. It is what these two documents repeatedly mentioned for our notifications. The descriptions of the situations in Hong Kong and Macau were applied over the period of the Special Administrative Region's governance over 20 years. After the handover of the sovereignty to China, political education was essentially conducted for the purposes of cultivating state patriotism and national identity for the new generation. The values of civil liberty, democracy, and human rights were so important a fact that should not be completely ignored in citizenship education. Civic education guidelines in Hong Kong accommodated different opinions while reserving differences to acquire extensive recognition and acceptance from all groups and stakeholders in the society of Hong Kong. On the contrary, civic education in Macau was regarded as a moral education which was based on legal norms to cultivate required citizens.

The visions for the future (citizenship) of Hong Kong and Macau were no longer catered for. Democratization was suspended and stoppage took place in these two areas after their radical(ized) and masticated social movements in 2014 (Movement Against the Bill of Greed and Privilege in Macau and the Occupy Movement in Hong Kong). A group of Macau's university students informed the author directly that universal suffrage would not and will not be their mission on their accessible future. The economic circumstances of Macau developed quite fast such that their Gross Domestic Product increased prominently in this period. The per capita income caught up with that of Hong Kong in 2006, and its figures and attainments had transcended and outclassed those of Hong Kong already. However, the economic wealth was merely inclined to the political and social elites of Macau, as social injustice and inequality were deepened and intensified largely after the handover of sovereignty. It is considered to be of greater seriousness when the issues are compared with those of Hong Kong.

Hong Kong and Macau witnessed poverty diversification and life world recolonization simultaneously. In Hong Kong, the biggest issue laid in the fact that more than a million of the people of Hong Kong lived below the poverty line after its setup in 2013; whereas, the problems of social inequality in Macau were severe, turbulent, and harmful. The issues surrounding poverty in both areas were unprecedented. The relief policy of Macau in catering social discontents was achieved by means of cashing out (the Wealth Partaking Scheme) annually, from MOP\$ 5,400 in 2008 to MOP\$ 9,000 in 2016. However, the economic growth of Macau declined recently. The gambling industry is responsible for the taxation of Macau heavily and has recently led to a slump. The maintenance of high income in Macau is now questionable as its cashing out policy is the same as well. The social and economic problems of the two areas were still uncertain and challenging in the future. A common example is the rising prices of housing properties that set properties at unaffordable levels for the people of Hong Kong and Macau respectively. The retrocession of sovereignty of these two areas has not

resulted in better lives for people. Conflicts are common in these two areas and inclusiveness and harmonic society will not be easily maintained.

Two decades after the sovereignty and administrative transfer of Hong Kong and Macau, it is perhaps a suitable time to study the question of what constitutes the identities of Hong Kong and Macau and how these have developed since handover. Or we can really observe and study what other elements apart from political and cultural ones can be found in the identities of both Hong Kong and Macau.

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