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香 港 教 師 中 心

香港教師中心(中心)是根據1984年教育統籌委員會第一號報告書的建議而於1987年成立的，中心的總部位於北角百福道四號，由前身為一所小學的建築物改建而成，於1989年6月開幕，是一所多元化和多用途的中心。中心成立的目標是不斷促進教師的專業發展和在職培訓，並為他們提供一個富鼓勵性、中立的及沒有階級觀念的環境，使他們更能團結一致，發揮專業精神。中心的目的包括為教師提供互相切磋和交流經驗的機會，推動教學專業發展、發放教育資訊和宣傳教育意念。

中心不單為教師而設，也由教師管理。他們可以通過教師中心的三層管理架構參與教師中心的管理工作。這管理架構包括一個諮詢管理委員會、一個常務委員會和數個工作小組，負責中心的決策，監察和執行中心的不同工作及活動。

諮詢管理委員會（諮管會）的工作主要是決定中心的策略和監察中心的運作。諮管會由71名委員組成，其中34位由教育團體提名及選出；34位由教師提名及選出，另外三位由教育署署長委任。

常務委員會（常委會）是諮管會的行政架構，與中心的日常運作和活動有著密切的關係。常委會的主席和兩位副主席由諮管會的主席和兩位副主席兼任；其他成員包括三位代表教育署的諮管會委員及九位由諮管會提名及選出的諮管會委員。

各工作小組負責中心內不同範疇的工作，其工作性質可顧名思義。它們是出版小組、圖書館及教學資源小組、活動推廣小組、章程小組、教育研究小組及專業發展小組。各小組的成員是諮管會的委員或增聘委員。

目前，有130個教育團體登記為中心會員。中心除了單獨主辦各類型活動外，亦經常與本港的教育團體合作，籌辦推動教育專業的活動，中心亦贊助這些團體的活動。由2001年至2002年度，中心已經與40多個教育團體，合辦了超過200項各類教師專業發展和康樂活動，參加人數超過四萬人次。

香港教師中心（北角會所）

位於香港北角百福道四號的香港教師中心(北角會所)佔地約九百平方公尺，設有一間大型演講室/展覽室、一個會議室、三間講堂、一間資訊科技教育室、一間教育團體綜合辦事處、一間教育專業圖書館和一間休息室，歡迎學校、教育團體預訂借用。

香港教師中心（九龍會所）

香港教師中心在九龍紅磡鶴園街十九號，設有另一會所，名為香港教師中心 (九龍會所)，於 2000 年 1 月開始供學校、教育團體預訂使用。此中心佔地約一千六百平方公尺，各項研習、會議設施與北角會所的相若。

Hong Kong Teachers' Centre

The Hong Kong Teachers' Centre (Centre) was established in 1987 in accordance with a recommendation of the Education Commission Report No. 1 published in 1984. Its base or headquarters, a multi-facet and multi-purpose Centre housed in a former primary school building at 4 Pak Fuk Road, North Point, was opened in June 1989. The Centre aims to promote continuous professional development and enrichment among teachers, and to foster among them a greater sense of unity and professionalism in an encouraging, neutral and non-hierarchical environment. Specific objectives of the Centre include the provision of opportunities for teachers to meet and exchange ideas and share experiences; the promotion of in-service education; the promotion of curriculum development; the development and trying out of new teaching aids and approaches; the provision of resources; the dissemination of news and ideas concerning education; and the organisation of social, cultural and recreational activities for teachers.

The Centre has a three-tier management structure to help plan and run its activities - an Advisory Management Committee (AMC), a Standing Committee (SC) and several Sub-committees.

The AMC is a policy-making and monitoring body with a total membership of 71. These include 34 members nominated by and elected from educational organisations or teaching-related organisations; 34 members nominated by and elected from teachers; and 3 members appointed by the Director of Education.

The SC is the executive sub-structure of the AMC. It is concerned with the day-to-day functioning of the Centre and the running of its activities. The SC comprises the AMC Chairman and 2 Vice Chairmen, the 3 ED representatives, and 9 other members elected by and from the AMC.

The various sub-committees are working groups responsible for specific areas of work of the Centre. The names of the sub-committees, such as Publication, Library and Teaching Resources, Activities Promotion, Constitution, Educational Research and Professional Development, reflect the work of the sub-committees. Members of the sub-committees are either members of the AMC or co-opted members.

At present, 130 educational bodies are registered members of the Centre. The Centre organises activities either by itself or jointly with non profit-making educational organisations for teachers in Hong Kong. It also sponsors activities organised by these organisations. During the financial year of 2001 to 2002, the Centre has organised, jointly with more than 40 educational organisations, over 200 professional development and cultural activities for teachers, with a total attendance frequency of more than 40000.

Hong Kong Teachers' Centre (North Point)

The Hong Kong Teachers' Centre (North Point), with a total area of about 900 square metres, has a large exhibition / seminar hall, a conference room, three lecture rooms, an information technology education room, a composite office for educational organisations, a multi-media professional library and a lounge, which schools and educational organisations are welcome to use on a booking basis.

Hong Kong Teachers' Centre (Kowloon)

The Hong Kong Teachers' Centre has a branch at 19 Hok Yuen Street, Hung Hom, Kowloon, known as the Hong Kong Teachers' Centre (Kowloon). It was opened in January 2000 for use by schools and educational organisations on a booking basis. This branch has a total area of about 1600 square metres, with facilities for conducting seminars and conferences similar to those at the North Point Centre.

署長序

二十一世紀是一個知識爆炸、變化急劇的時代。因此，社會及教育均須作出相應的改革。香港政府遂於二零零零年，定下「終身學習、全人發展」的長遠教育目標。學校教育的重點亦日漸轉為培養學生善於批判、敢於創新的學習態度，以迎接知識型社會的挑戰。站在學校教育最前線的教師，當然亦要不斷自我充實，與時俱進，才能適應社會對教育工作者的專業要求。

我們若要幫助學生養成終身學習的態度，首先必須以身作則，持續提升本身的專業修養和能力。自我提升的其中一個途徑，就是多參考有關的資訊，多與同工分享經驗，以及汲取教學方面的最新訊息。「開卷有益」這句話，確實是至理名言。

《香港教師中心學報》(《學報》)的文稿分為兩大部分，包括「專題研究」和「學術研討與經驗交流」。「專題研究」部分的作品，著重從學術角度對教育專題進行探討和分析，並且反映教育的時代現況和發展軌跡。「學術研討與經驗交流」部分的文章，則是業內學者及教師的實際經驗和體會。作者會提出現有的問題及建議改進的策略或方法。儘管這兩類文稿論題不一、篇幅長短有別，但都觀點明確，思維縝密；內容更是豐富而廣泛，所涉及的範疇包括教育思想、教育改革、師資培訓、高等教育、特殊教育、語文教育、科學教育、比較教育、價值教育、環境教育、性教育、思維教育、創意學習和全方位學習等等，對教育界同工當有一定的參考價值和借鑑意義。

《學報》的出版，實有賴教育界名位學者和同工的協作和努力。我相信理論可指導實踐，而實踐又有助建立理論；兩者互相結合，定可使教學成效事半功倍。我希望《學報》日後充分發揮橋樑作用，幫助教育界同工把教學理論和實踐有效地結合，提升教育成效。本人謹祝《學報》邁出成功的第一步，為教師的專業發展和教育改革作出貢獻！

教育署署長
張建宗
二零零二年二月

主席序

《香港教師中心學報》面世了！

我懷著由衷的喜悅，興奮地向全港教師同工報告這個大喜的訊息。雖然前來參加我們教師中心工作的教師同工全部都是義務性質，他們在應付繁忙的教學工作之餘，仍然不辭勞苦，撥出寶貴的時間，為香港自己的教師中心效力；為全香港的教師服務，今次出版了《香港教師中心學報》(《學報》)的創刊號，更是負責《學報》編輯和出版的教師和學者，經過長時間的努力，克服了多方面的困難，辛勤擘劃的成果。在此，我謹衷心祝賀《香港教師中心學報》創刊成功！

香港教師中心成立的主要目標是透過本港教師自己的團結和互助，豐富教師的專業知識，提高教師的專業精神，促進我們的專業發展。因此，除了舉辦各個教學範疇的專業發展活動、推動和輔助教師同工持續學習和教學研究之外，我們還需要有一本屬於全港教師自己的《學報》;《學報》園地向全港教師開放，服務的讀者對象亦涵蓋全港每一位教育專業的工作者。

《學報》的作用在於分享知識和經驗、促進理論和實踐的結合，提升教師的教學效能。我們期望這份《學報》能夠肩負這個責任，向全港教師提供一個教學知識和經驗交流的園地；亦可以方便教師將他們寶貴的教學經驗作出歸納或演繹，使這些寶貴的前線經驗得到研究分析和總結；更進一步，《學報》十分歡迎所有教師發表他們的論文，將他們的教學實踐，提升為「假說」，甚至通過驗證而成為理論。《學報》也歡迎大專教育同工，將他們的教育理論或研究發現投稿，好使教師獲得前衛的知識，用以參考和改善實務工作。我衷心期望這本《學報》會對香港教師中心和教師的專業發展產生積極的和正面的作用。

最後，我謹代表教師中心誠意地多謝各位投稿的教育工作者，多謝本期學報編委會各委員及執行編輯、本屆出版小組等的努力協作，同時多謝教師中心各位職員的鼎力襄助。我更要多謝香港多間師訓機構的院長和其他大專界的教授和講師，擔任《學報》的榮譽顧問和編輯顧問，給我們的寶貴學術意見，使《學報》能夠成功踏出第一步。謹此祝願《香港教師中心學報》不斷成長，為香港教育界作出積極貢獻！

香港教師中心諮詢管理委員會主席
譚秉源
二零零二年二月

主編序

香港教師中心是一個教師專業的中心，目標是促進教師的專業發展，與及加強教師之間的團結。當前教育改革浪潮之中，香港教師中心將發揮中流砥柱的作用，促進教師積極參與教育改革。資訊及思想交流是教育創新及改革的重要泉源，香港教師中心擬出版《香港教師中心學報》(以下簡稱《學報》)，以作為教師專業學術研究及經驗交流的苗圃。《學報》主要收容圍繞教師作為中心的教育理論與實踐問題，來稿可分兩大類：(一) 專題研究，由專門學者隱名評審；(二) 學術研討與經驗交流文章，由編委評審。目標是對普及與專門兩方面的文章兼容並包，教師可從廣博和精專兩層次去探討教育更新問題，希望集腋成裘，集思廣益，能為未來教育改革找出發揮最佳教育效益及效能的對策。

在沒有大量增加特別資源前題下，《學報》能夠面世，是香港教師中心諮管委員會委員上下通力合作的成果，沒有教育署方面 $\boxed{\text{唐修裕}}$ 先生、雷其昌先生、黃沛滿先生及廖成波先生等任勞任怨，悉力以赴，協助聯絡及校訂，《學報》是難以趕製出版的。《學報》編輯李子建教授，容萬城先生及顏龍先生等亟力編輯審校文稿，更是勞苦功高，為《學報》發展奠定良好基礎。

本期由於草創維艱，雖無主題，然而本期大多數文章均對教育改革浪潮中理論或實踐方面細致問題針砭時弊，洞若觀火，甚有參考價值，讀者不妨仔細玩味，歡迎略加回應，以助推廣切磋學問風氣，為教育改革浪潮增添源頭活水。論文格式方面，由於作者應用美國心理學會(APA)格式及芝加哥大學(社會、歷史科)格式，各有千秋，《學報》本期重收容視體多於外型格式，且尊重作者原意，故不便強行統一，唯望讀者見諒。

《香港教師中心學報》園地絕對公開，任何仝仁有一得之見，敬希賜稿以饗讀者，我們期望您的熱心支持！讓我們並肩攜手將《學報》耕耘成為教師分享經驗，交流心得，辯論真理的青葱園地。

《香港教師中心學報》主編
葉國洪
二零零二年二月

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New Conceptions of Teacher Effectiveness and Teacher Education in the New Century

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INTRODUCTION

In the last two decades, policy-makers, teacher education institutions and schools had implemented numerous initiatives in teacher education and development with aims to improve teacher performance. Although a lot of efforts have been made in this aspect, people, if not disappointed, still doubt very much whether the competence and performance of teachers can meet the challenges and needs in the new century. They begin to be aware of the limitations of the traditional paradigms and efforts on improving teacher performance and educational quality in schools (Cheng, 1998).

Traditionally, teaching process is often assumed to happen only at the individual level and only in classroom. That is, individual teachers perform teaching and individual students receive teacher's instruction and learn. This simplistic approach is reflected in the approaches to teacher education and development but also in most studies on teacher effectiveness which examine teacher effectiveness mainly at individual level. However, the narrow conception of teacher effectiveness is changing owing to the induction of broader concepts of educational process (Cheng, 1996b; Cheng & Tsui, 1996). School education is usually planned and implemented at the program level or the whole school level. Currently school management reforms and effective school movements emphasize whole school approach to improvement of school performance and student learning outcomes. Students are often taught not only by individual teachers but also by groups of teachers or by whole school teachers. In order to maximize school effectiveness, more attention should be given to the overall teacher effectiveness at the group level and school level. Therefore, teacher education and development should not focus solely on the individual level but also at the group, program and school levels.

The new century is an era of globalization, high technology and transformation in nearly every aspect of each society and the whole world. Schools and teachers have to face numerous new changes, uncertainties, and challenges rising from their internal and external environments. They are expected to perform a wide range of new functions to support the rapid developments in individuals, local communities, societies, and international relations (Cheng, 1996a; Tsui & Cheng, 2000). Teachers are often required to take up expanded roles and responsibilities including curriculum developer, new teacher mentor, staff development facilitator, action researcher, pre-service teacher educator, team leader, member of management board and etc. (Boles & Troven, 1996; Fessler & Ungaretti, 1994; Murphy, 1995). Also, they

are expected to be responsible for providing education quality in seven different models including the process model, the goals and specification model, the resource-input model, the satisfaction model, the legitimacy model, the absence of problems model, and the organizational learning model (Cheng & Tam, 1997).

In order to understand the changing and complex nature of teacher effectiveness and develop relevant and effective approaches to teacher education and development in a new era of globalization and information technology, this paper aims to propose that teacher education as a field of inquiry, practice and development in the new millennium should include the new conceptions of total teacher effectiveness, multiple models of education quality and multiple school functions at different levels and draw implications from them.

TOTAL TEACHER EFFECTIVENESS AND TEACHER EDUCATION

The Framework of Total Teacher Effectiveness

Based on Cheng (1996a) and Cheng & Tsui (1996), the framework of total teacher effectiveness is proposed, as follows:

Levels of Teacher Effectiveness: As teachers work as teams or groups may not only use their energy effectively but also create new energy. It is obvious that when teachers act as a whole, they may have a better chance to influence and change the constraints given by the external and internal teaching contexts. Therefore, the consideration of teacher effectiveness should include not only the individual level but also the group and school levels.

Domains of Effectiveness: The consideration of teacher effectiveness should include the quality of teacher competence and performance in various domains such as the behavioral domain, the affective domain, and the cognitive domain; and that this teacher quality may exert effects on students in various domains accordingly.

Total Teacher Effectiveness. Taking the three domains (affective, behavioral, and cognitive domains) and the three levels (individual, group, and school levels) into consideration, the nature and characteristics of teacher effectiveness should be studied at multi-levels and multi-domains. The conceptual framework of *total teacher effectiveness* for describing the complicated nature of teacher effectiveness is illustrated as shown in Figure 1. (Cheng & Tsui, 1996).

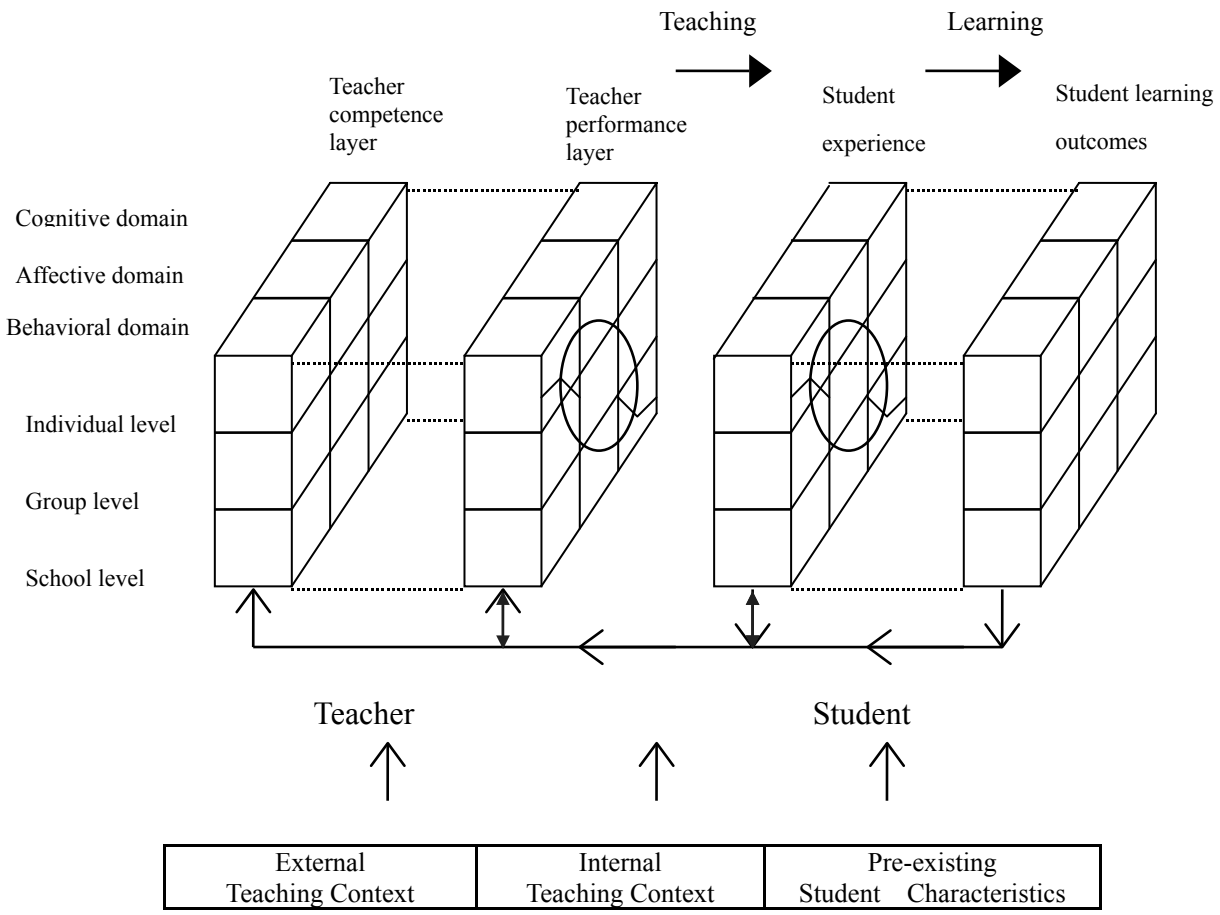

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework of Total Teacher Effectiveness

(Adapted from Cheng & Tsui,1996)

The conception of total teacher effectiveness involves two important categories of actors (teachers and students) at three different levels (individual, group, and school). The processes and effects of teaching and learning may happen in the behavior, affective, and cognitive domains of different actors at different levels. Specifically, teacher effectiveness should involve the behavioral, affective, and cognitive performance of all teachers and students at individual, group, and school levels. As shown in Figure 1, it is related to the teaching and learning process involving teacher competence layer, teacher performance layer, student experience layer, and student learning outcome layer. The teacher competence layer is the total behavioral, affective, and cognitive competence of teachers at the individual, group, and school levels. This layer represents the total static quality of teachers. The teacher performance layer is the total performance of teachers in the three domains at the three levels. It represents the total dynamic quality of teachers in teaching process. In general, the quality of teacher performance layer is positively associated with the quality of teacher competence layer. In addition, the relationship between these two layers can be moderated by the influence of external teaching context (e.g. organizational factors, leadership, and school environment, etc.).

The student experience layer represents the total learning experience of students in the three domains at the individual, group, and school levels. And the student learning outcomes layer represents the total learning outcomes of students in the three domains at the three levels. In general, the quality of teacher performance layer as a whole has a

positive impact on the quality of student learning experience layer and the latter has a positive relationship with the quality of student learning outcomes layer. Again, these relationships may be affected by the characteristics of internal teaching context (including student subculture, classroom climate, student ability grouping, learning environment, etc.).

Implications for Teacher Education and Development.

In order to maximize teacher effectiveness, teacher education should aim to develop whole teacher competence layer and whole teacher performance layer in addition to individual teacher competence or performance. In other words, teacher education or staff development should cover the affective, behavioral, and cognitive domains at the individual, groups, and school levels.

According to the concept of congruence in system (Cheng, 1996a), whether teacher competence is congruent across the affective, behavioral, and cognitive domains and across the individual, group, and school levels (i.e. congruence within the teacher competence layer) can affect the contribution of the teacher competence layer to the teacher performance layer. The more the congruence of teacher competence across domains and across levels, the more the contribution of teacher competence layer to teacher performance layer. The congruence across domains represents the extent to which affective competence, behavioral competence, and cognitive competence of teachers are mutually supported and reinforced in contributing to teachers' action and performance. The congruence across levels represents the extent to which the competence of individual teachers, groups of teachers, and whole school teachers is mutually supported and reinforced in contributing to teachers' action and performance. Similarly, the more the congruence of teacher performance across domains and across levels (i.e. congruence within the teacher performance layer), the more the contribution of the teacher performance layer to the student learning experience layer. Also the more the congruence of student learning experience across domains and across levels (i.e. congruence within the student learning outcomes layer), the more the contribution of the student learning experience layer to the student learning outcomes layer.

Based on the concept of congruence within layer, the approach to developing teachers and their effectiveness should include assurance of congruence within the teacher competence layer and within the teacher performance layer. This holistic approach is very different from the traditional thinking of teacher development that focuses only on fragmentary and overt aspect of teacher performance without taking totality and congruence into consideration.

According to Cheng and Tam (1994) and Cheng (1996a, b), development cycle can be used to strengthen the quality of teacher layers and ensure congruence within teacher layers. Specifically, a long-term program of teacher education and development may be established at the individual, group, and school levels to facilitate their reflection on the congruence between values and beliefs of education and management in school and the congruence of performance in their affective, behavioral or technical, and cognitive domains. And the development program supports them to make a continuous self learning cycle for their own development and improvement. This is in line with literature in the field of teacher development and school changes (Cheng, 2001; Fullan, 1992; Hargreaves, 1994; Mok & Cheng, 2001; Rosenholtz, 1989; Rosenholtz & Simpson, 1990; Whitaker, 1993).

The development cycle may start at individual teacher level and focus on overt performance, mastering teaching and classroom management techniques. Then, teachers should be supported to have opportunities at the individual, group, and school levels to reflect on their values, beliefs and meanings of education and school management. From the

reflection by themselves or among themselves, they can reorganize their cognitive structure, re-shape their teaching styles and re-establish their professional confidence and commitment. Through self-learning as an individual or as a group, they are more willing to cooperate and capable to achieve better teaching performance (Fullan, 1992; Mok & Cheng, 2001; Sergiovanni and Starratt, 1993). A substantial literature supports that no matter whether at individual level, the group level, or the whole school level, teachers' performance is linked with their beliefs, attitudes, satisfaction, commitment, sense of achievement (Cheng, 1996c). Therefore, the development cycle should include a strong component on the affective and cognitive domains in addition to the behavioral or technical component for teachers at multi-levels. Various forms of activities for teacher education and development can be designed to achieve different development objectives for teachers as well as administrators at different levels. Table 1 summarizes some examples of activities and objectives (Cheng and Tam, 1994).

In sum, from the implications of total teacher effectiveness, teacher education and development should be conceptualized as a continuous life-long process involving not only pre-service but also in-service education; not only individual teachers but also groups of teachers and the whole school; and developing not only skills or behavioral competence but also affective and cognitive domains as a community of teaching professionals.

Table 1. Activities and Objectives for Teacher Education and Development (examples)

		For teachers	For administrators
INDIVIDUAL	**Behavioral**	• Increase knowledge, techniques and specialty of teaching and learning • Find out the factors hindering the full play of teacher's competence • Improve teaching performance • Encourage participation and development • Assist the work of colleagues	• Enhance administrative effeciency • Improve leadership • Master technigues of planning and management • Improve supervision style • Encourage open mind and learning • Assist the development of colleagues
	Affective	• Reinforce confidence as a teaching professional • Enhance satisfaction in teaching • Increase personal commitment to education	• Reinforce confidence as an administrative leader • Enhance satisfaction in administration • Increase the concern and support for colleagues • Increase personal commitment to education and administrative work
	Cognitive	• Understand current educational trends • Understand current school policies and objectives of school functions • Recognize the values of teaching and establish personal beliefs about education • Provide teachers with opportunities for role clarification • Identify with the school mission • Self-evaluate and reflect on educational work • Responsible for outcomes of teaching	• Understand current educational trends • Reflection on current school policies and objectives of school functions • Recognize ethical and moral issues on administration • Recognize the values of administration • Establish personal beliefs about leadership • Clarify the role of administration • Self-evaluate and reflect on administration • Responsible for colleagues' performance and administrative results •
GROUP	**Behavioral**	• Provide opportunities for members to learn from each other • Work together to teach and develop curriculum • Inter-class visit • Learn to share and participate	• Solve internal conflicts and improve communication • Lead group/team work • Learn to delegate and distribute work
	Affective	• Establish team spirit • Encourage mutual trust of members • Foster friendship	• Establish team spirit • Encourage mutual trust of members • Foster friendship
	Cognitive	• Discuss and understand the relationship between group work and school policies • Evaluate the effectiveness of group work • Analyze strengths, weaknesses and development of the group • Ensure the role and value of group work • Commitment to group effectiveness	• Discuss and ensure the relationship between groups and school policies • Recognize the values of collaborative management and participative decision-making • Evaluate strengths and weaknesses of each policy • Ensure the role and value of the administrative group • Commitment to policy effectiveness
SCHOOL	**Behavioral**	• Provide opportunities for whole-school teaching collaboration • Improve the use of whole school resources • Find out whole school factors unfavorable for teaching	• Provide opportunities for whole school collaboration for teaching and management • Improve the management of whole-school resources • Find out and prevent factors unfavorable for the full development of staff • Develop the whole school image
	Affective	• Foster a sense of belonging to the school • Establish whole school collaborative climate among teachers • Develop a homely atmosphere in the school	• Establish whole school climate and a sense of belonging • Establish close relationship between administrators and teachers • Develop a homely atmosphere in the school
	Cognitive	• Evaluate school effectiveness • Participate in developing school mission and goals • Ensure the values of school education • Identify with the unique mission and vision of the school	• Lead the discussion and reflection on school policies • Lead the staff to develop school mission and goals • Lead and ensure the values of school education • Lead and ensure the unique mission and vision of the school

Multi-models of Education Quality and Teacher Education

As discussed above, teachers work not only in classrooms but also in a context of school organization. Responding to the worldwide movements of quality assurance in education, inevitably there is an urgent need to understand the complex nature of teacher performance and teacher education from a broader perspective of education quality.

According to Cheng & Tam (1997), there are seven models of education quality which researchers and practitioners often use in understanding the quality of school education. Table 2 summarizes the meanings, conditions of usefulness, and key areas of identification of these models. Each of the seven models of education quality has its own characteristics, and yet they are inherently linked to each other. School goals can reflect the expectations, needs, and specifications of school constituencies. Ensuring smooth and healthy internal school process and fruitful learning experiences (i.e. the process model) is critical to achieve the school goals and produce high quality educational outcomes. The achievement of stated school goals and conformance to given specifications (i.e. the goals and specifications model) can bring satisfaction to the school constituencies (i.e. the satisfaction model). Also, by establishing relationship with the community, building up school image, and showing accountability, the school can achieve its legitimate position (i.e. the legitimacy model) for school survival and quality reputation. Then, by carefully monitoring its programs and checking signs of ineffectiveness, the school can ensure that no endemic problem is threatening the quality of school program (i.e. the absence of problems model). Finally, the school continues to improve and develop itself in all important aspects through learning from its errors and its environment (i.e. the organizational learning model). Then it can achieve all around education quality for students, parents and the community.

These seven models highlight different aspects of education quality. For different models of education quality, the types of teacher quality and competence for achieving education quality are often different. If teacher education aims to develop teachers to have the necessary professional quality, competence and commitment to provide education quality in school, then these models of education quality should have important implications for teacher education and development.

Each model of education quality demands teachers as well as administrators to have a specific set of knowledge, skills, behaviors, attitudes, values, and beliefs to enhance and ensure education quality. Some of these are related to the school context, some are pertained to group functioning, and some have relevancy to the individual performance. In other words, the functions of teacher education and development should serve the needs of the models of school education quality. The relationship between models of school education quality and the purpose of teacher education and development is summarized in Table 3. The implications of multi-models for teacher education are explained as follows (Tam & Cheng, 1996):

Implications of The Goal and Specification Model

This model assumes that school education quality is determined by the extent to which the stated school goals have been achieved and the given specifications have been conformed to. Therefore, teacher education and staff development should help teachers as well as education leaders:

- to understand the importance of school goals and specifications to school functioning and education quality;
- to have the competence to set clear, meaningful, long-term and short-term goals and standards for the school, work groups and individual staff to pursue;
- to communicate these goals and standards to all school constituencies and form collective forces to achieve them ;
- to have the knowledge, skills, and commitment to achieve these school goals and standards; and
- to have competence to monitor and assess whether the school, groups, and individual members have achieved stated goals or conformed to given standards or specifications.

Table 2. Models of School Education Quality

Models of education quality	Conception of School Education Quality	Conditions for Model Usefulness	Indicators / Key Areas for Quality Evaluation (example)
Goal and Specification Model	• Achievement of stated school goals and conformance to given specifications	• When school goals and specifications are clear, consensual, time-bound, and measurable; • When resources are sufficient to achieve the goals and conform to the specifications	• School objectives, standards, and specifications listed in the school/program plans, e.g. academic achievements, attendance rate, dropout rate, etc.
Resource-Input Model	• Achievement of needed quality resources & inputs for school	• When there is a clear relationship between school inputs and outputs; • When quality resources for school are scarce.	• Resources procured for school functioning, e.g. quality of student intake, facilities, financial support, etc.
Process Model	• Smooth internal process and fruitful learning experiences	• When there is a clear relationship between school process and educational outcomes	• Leadership, participation, social interactions, classroom climate, learning activities and experiences, etc.
Satisfaction Model	• Satisfaction of all powerful school constituencies	• When the demands of the constituencies are compatible and cannot be ignored	• Satisfaction of education authorities, management board, administrators, teachers, parents, students, etc.
Legitimacy Model	• Achievement of School's legitimate position and reputation	• When the survival & demise among schools must be assessed • When the environment is very competitive and demanding	• Public relations, marketing, public image, reputation, status in the community, evidence of accountability, etc.
Absence of Problems Model	• Absence of problems and troubles in school	• When there is no consensual criteria of quality but strategies for school improvement are needed	• Absence of conflicts, dysfunctions, difficulties, defects, weaknesses, troubles, etc.
Organizational Learning Model	• Adaptation to environmental changes & internal barriers • Continuous improvement	• When schools are new or changing; • When the environmental change cannot be ignored	• Awareness of external needs and changes, internal process monitoring, program evaluation, development planning, staff development, etc.

Adapted from Cheng & Tam (1997)

Implications of The Resource-input Model

This model emphasizes the importance of procuring resource-input to school education quality. It assumes that the high quality the resource-input, the high quality the school education. Therefore, teacher education aims at helping teachers:

- to recognize and understand the critical impacts of quality resource-input on the whole school functioning, educational outcomes, and education quality;
- to have the necessary competence to conduct environmental analysis and develop effective strategies to identify and attract scarce resource input to the school;
- to have sufficient knowledge and competence to use resource efficiently to achieve school goals;
- to design effective induction or orientation programs for new school members and help them become competent because they are the scarce human resources for school education quality; and
- to have social power and skills to win the support and resources from alumni, parents or the community for the school.

Implications of The Process Model

This model assumes that smooth and healthy internal process and fruitful learning experiences are necessary conditions for school education quality. Inevitably, teacher education and development aim at helping teachers:

- to understand the meaning and contribution of school process to school education quality;
- to have the competence and commitment to ensure the quality of school process and learning process;
- to have the relevant knowledge and skills to design and strengthen the school's internal process which encourages participation, team work, staff collaboration, and trusting relationship;
- to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the school operation;
- to monitor and evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of internal activities of managing, teaching, and learning; and
- to develop a positive school culture and a high quality work life for school members.

Implications of The Satisfaction Model

This model emphasizes the satisfaction of powerful school constituencies as the major criterion of school education quality. Teacher education should help teachers to have competence to perform those school activities that can increase the satisfaction of school constituencies. Particularly, teacher education programs teachers:

- to identify who are the school's important constituencies and understand how these constituencies can influence school goals, inputs, processes, and outcomes;
- to identify and understand what are the major expectations and needs of powerful school constituencies;
- to have knowledge and skills to perform tasks that can meet the needs and expectations of major constituencies effectively;

- to have professional commitment and positive attitudes to serve the needs of major constituencies particularly students, parents, and the community;
- to have sufficient competence to influence the perceptions of power constituencies and win their support to the school;
- to have knowledge and skills to encourage participation of important constituencies and involve them in making decisions and developing school goals.
- to be aware of the changes in needs and expectations of different constituencies particularly students and parents and have the ability to adapt to these changes;
- to monitor and evaluate whether the school activities can satisfy the needs of major constituencies; and
- to have sufficient social skills to work with different school constituencies.

Implications of The Legitimacy Model

This model assumes that achievement of school's legitimate position and reputation in the community as the critical indicator of school education quality. The assurance of school education quality is closely related to the activities of public relations, community services, marketing, promotion of school image, status, reputation, and evidence of accountability. Therefore, teacher education should inevitably have strong contribution to these activities. Specifically, it helps teachers:

- to understand the significance of community services, public relations, school image and accountability to perceptions of the public on the school education quality;
- to have positive attitudes towards promotion of school images and public relations and establishment of clear accountability system for school performance;
- to have the necessary knowledge and skills to build up school image and reputation and ensure accountability at the individual, group and the school levels;
- to be aware of the needs of the community and provide appropriate services to meet their needs;
- to foresee the environmental changes and policy changes in the community and make strategic plan to prepare these changes;
- to have competence to develop internal and external social networks to support the status of the school; and
- to maintain a good relationship with different types of bodies and organizations in the community.

Implications of The Absence of Problems Model

This model emphasizes the absence of problems as the main criterion of school education quality. It is often assumed that the major role of teacher education and development to help teacher to avoid or prevent problems, defects, dysfunctions, and weaknesses in process of management, teaching and learning. Specifically, teacher education should help teachers:

- to be aware of the existing or potential problems and defects that may post as threats to school education quality;
- to have the knowledge and skills to monitor, identify, evaluate, and prevent different types of problems existing in processes of management, teaching, and learning;
- to have positive attitudes towards problem identification and solving;
- to form a constructive climate among staff for staff appraisal and program evaluation;
- to have competence to establish an effective mechanism for monitoring and evaluating performance of members at the individual level, the group level, and the school level; and
- to establish a clear reporting system that can provide systematic information for school improvement and quality control.

Table 3. Teacher Education for Multi-Models of School Education Quality.

Models of Education Quality	**Teacher Education for Teachers……..**
Goal and Specification Model	• to understand and develop school goals and standards and have the competence and commitment to achieve them.
Resource-Input Model	• to recognize the importance of resources to school education quality and have the competence to procure, manage, and use scarce resource input effectively and efficiently
Process Model	• to understand the contribution of school process and learning experience to education quality, have the competence to improve them, and develop healthy school culture and high quality work life
Satisfaction Model	• to identify needs and expectations of important constituencies and have competence and commitment to satisfy them
Legitimacy Model	• to recognize the significance of community services, public relations, school image and accountability to perceptions of the public on school education quality and make contribution to the related activities
Absence of Problems Model	• to have ability to identify and avoid potential problems, defects, dysfunctions, troubles, and weaknesses in school
Organizational Learning Model	• to foresee and analyze environmental changes and internal difficulties and develop appropriate strategies to make continuous improvement and development

Adapted from Tam & Cheng (1996)

Implications of The Organizational Learning Model

Since the education environment is changing quickly and producing a great impact on school functioning, schools have to adapt to the changes and face up to challenges from the environment. The organizational learning model assumes that school's adaptation to environmental changes and internal barriers and continuous improvement are critical elements for assurance of school education quality. Therefore, teacher education should help teachers:

- to be aware of environmental changes, society developments, policy trends, and community needs;
- to have techniques to collect relevant information and perform the SWOT (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats) analysis of school's situation;
- to have the competence to plan actions for school development and educational improvement according to the results of environmental analysis;
- to create opportunities and school climate for learning from each other among staff;
- to reflect on the strengths and weaknesses of existing beliefs, values, attitudes, and practices shared at the individual level, group level, and the school level;
- to identify the gaps between espoused theory and theory-in-action and change school operations or governing values of individuals and groups of staff (Arygris & Schon, 1974, 1978); and
- to establish monitoring and evaluation system at different levels to provide feedback information for improvement and development of individuals, groups, and the whole school.

To a great extent, different models of education quality need different teacher quality, competence, and performance and correspondingly different aims and content of teacher education and development. Traditionally, teacher training programs often emphasize subject content knowledge, learning theories, and pedagogical techniques as the most important components for ensuring quality of school process. Yet, from the perspective of multi-models of education quality, there are so many important and necessary areas in teacher education that have been ignored if education quality has to be pursued and ensured. Of course, it is impossible to prepare a teacher, particularly a new teacher in a short time to be ready in providing all aspects of education quality. It seems to be *a life long process for teacher education and development to meet the needs of multi-models on teacher quality and competence* because the education environment is changing so quickly and schools as well as teachers at different stages of life cycle may have different needs in development (Cheng, 2001). Generally, in order to pursue total education quality in the seven models, the needs and characteristics of multi-models should be taken into consideration in designing teacher education and development.

Multiple School Functions and Teacher Education

In the new century, schools have different functions such as technical-economic, human-social, political, cultural, and educational at individual, institutional, community, society, and international levels as shown in Table 4 (Cheng, 1996a). To a great extent, teacher effectiveness and education quality should be intimately linked with the achievement of these school functions. If teachers can help their schools to perform and achieve these school functions, they can be perceived as effective and their quality as high. Therefore the development of teacher education and development programs should aim at enhancing teacher effectiveness to achieve these school functions (Cheng & Walker, 1997; Cheng, 1998).

Implications from Technical-economic Functions

Technical-economic functions refer to a school's contribution to the technical or economic developments and needs at each of the five levels. At the individual level, teachers help students acquire the knowledge and skills necessary to survive and compete in a modern society. At the institutional level, schools provide quality service for clients, employers and others connected with the organization. At community and societal levels, schools aid the economic and instrumental needs of their local community and economy, modify or shape economic behaviors and contribute to the development and stability of the broader society. These then feed the international level through teachers and schools providing economically, technologically and environmentally sensitive adults to the constantly shrinking world community. Teacher education programs should be relevant to the development of technical-economic school functions. Through these programs teachers can further understand the economic and technical functions of school education and develop sufficient competence to help perform these functions.

Implications from Human-social Functions

Human-social functions refer to the contribution of schools to human development and social relationships at different levels of the society. At the individual level, teachers help students to develop as fully as possible psychologically, socially and physically. At the institutional level, teachers help invent and reinforce the quality human relationships which frame organizational behavior. From a Functionalist perspective, teachers serve certain social functions in their local community. These functions include social integration of diverse constituencies, facilitation of social mobility within existing class structures and reinforcement of social equality. From the alternative viewpoint of Conflict Theory, teachers reproduce the existing social class structure and perpetuate social inequality (Cheng, 1995a; Blackledge & Hunt, 1985). Due to the growing global consciousness (Beare & Slaughter, 1993), teachers need to prepare students for international harmony, social co-operation, global human relationships, and work toward the elimination of national, regional, racial, and gender biases at the international level. As a whole, a new set of knowledge about the human-social school functions at multi-levels is needed to develop teacher education programs that can help teachers to understand the nature and significance of human development and how cater for this in schools.

Implications from Political Functions

Political functions refer to the contribution of schools to the political developments at different levels of society. At the individual level, teachers help students to develop positive civic attitudes and skills and to exercise the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. At the institutional level, teachers support their schools to act as places for encouraging critical discussion of political issues. At the community and societal levels, schools and teachers play an important role in promoting awareness of democracy and facilitating political developments and changes. The growing awareness of international dependence reinforces the need for school education to contribute to international understanding and elimination of international conflict. In areas such as these, few teachers possess the appropriate knowledge, attitudes or competence to help their schools to perform the political functions. This appears particularly true in the rapidly developing political environment of Hong Kong or other Asia-Pacific areas. Teacher education, therefore, may be one important way to empower teachers to face this challenge from the political developments.

Implications from Cultural Functions

Cultural functions refer to the contribution of schools to the cultural transmission and development at different levels of society. Teacher education and development programs can provide opportunities for teachers to understand and reflect on these cultural functions and build the skills necessary for their transmission. At the individual level, teachers help students to develop creativity and aesthetic awareness, and to become familiar with the dominant values underpinning their society. At an institutional level, teachers and schools act as agents for systematic cultural transmission, cultural integration among their multiple and diverse constituencies, and cultural re-vitalization. At the community and society levels, schools often serve as a cultural unit carrying the explicit norms and expectations of the local community. Again, Conflict Theory provides an alternative view. It suggests that schools and teachers socialize students from different levels of society with different sets of values and beliefs and, in the process, benefit some groups more than others. At the international level, schools and teachers can encourage appreciation of cultural diversity and acceptance of different norms, traditions, values, and beliefs in different countries and regions.

Implications from Education Functions

Education functions of schools refer to the contribution of schools to the development and maintenance of education at different levels. Traditionally, education has been perceived as a means for achieving the economic, social, political, and cultural values only. Rapid and widespread change, however, has prompted now an acceptance that education in and of itself is a crucial goal. The content, system, and structure of education, then, need to be developed and maintained. At the individual level, teachers help students to learn how to learn, and colleagues to learn how to teach. At the institutional level, teachers work together to improve learning and teaching through mutual support and shared innovation. At the community and society levels, teachers provide service for different educational needs within their communities, facilitate developments of education as a profession, disseminate knowledge and information to the next generation, and contribute to the formation of a learning society. In order to encourage mutual understanding among nations, teachers can contribute to the development of global education and international education exchange and co-operation. Teacher education is an important means not only for teachers to learn and develop themselves, but also to understand this increasingly recognized need in school's education functions at multi-levels.

As a whole, the knowledge of above functions and accompanying levels is crucial for teacher education and development on two interrelated fronts. First, they provide a frame for teacher educators to understand and operationalize teacher education programs. And, second, the framework is useful for increased theoretical understanding of teacher education and development and may form the basis for research in this important area. Clearly, as the functions of schools become more complex, administrators and teachers need to be better prepared to face their changing roles. At present, it is unlikely that teachers have the appropriate knowledge, attitude, commitment and competence to support the multiple functions in their schools and carry out tasks effectively. Therefore, strengthening the relevance of teacher education and development to the changes in the school's role and of the multiplicity of her functions in the new century should be an important direction for educational reforms.

CONCLUSION

The framework of total teacher effectiveness in school expects teachers effectiveness not only at the individual level but also at the group and whole school levels; not only in the behavioral domain but also in the affective and cognitive domain. The multiple models of education quality have different sets of internal and external criteria for quality that require different sets of teacher competence and knowledge to achieve them and ensure education quality. The pursuit of multiple school functions in the new century such as technical, human, political, cultural and educational functions at different levels demands different teacher roles and performance. All these new conceptions and expectations related to teacher effectiveness inevitably generates new paradigms and implications for teacher educators and policy makers to reconceptualize and redesign the policy and practice of teacher education and development. If teachers are expected to be effective in such a complex and changing environment, the aims, content, process, methodology, as well as the culture of teacher education should be changed towards a new paradigm, particularly there is an urgent need to have globalization, localization and individualization in education for the new century (Cheng, 2000).

Within the constraints of time framework and resources, it is unrealistic to expect teachers to be prepared totally effective in terms of performance in the affective, cognitive, and behavioral domains at all individual, group and school levels; or in terms of contribution to the seven models of education quality or the five school functions at different levels, through certain one off pre-service or in-service training. But, from the new conceptions of teacher effectiveness, we can identify the missing areas and linkages in our existing frameworks and programs of teacher education and development and redesign them. Also, it is clear that teacher education and development should be a life-long self learning process during which teachers can learn to become totally effective in a rapidly changing new century (Cheng, 2001).

Table 4. Implications from Multiple School Functions at Multi-levels

	Technical-Economic Functions	**Human-Social Functions**	**Political Functions**	**Cultural Functions**	**Educational Functions**
Individual	• Knowledge & skills training • Career training	• Psychological developments • Social developments • Potential developments	• Development of civic attitudes and skills	• Acculturation • Socialization with values, norms, & beliefs	• Learning how to learn & develop • Learning how to teach & help • Professional development
Institutional	• As a life place • As a work place • As a service organization	• As a social entity/system • As a human relationship	• As a place for political socialization • As a political coalition • As a place for political discourse or criticism	• As a centre for cultural transmission & reproduction • As a place for cultural re-vitalization & integration	• As a place for learning & teaching • As a centre for disseminating knowledge • As a centre for educational changes & developments
Community	• Serving the economic or instrumental needs of the community	• Serving the social needs of the community	• Serving the political needs of the community	• Serving the cultural needs of the community	• Serving the educational needs of the community
Society	• Provision of quality labor forces • Modification of economic behavior • Contribution to the manpower structure	• Social integration • Social mobility/ social class perpetuation • Social equality • Selection & allocation of human resources • Social development & change	• Political legitimization • Political structure maintenance & continuity • Democracy promotion • Facilitating political developments & reforms	• Cultural integration & continuity • Cultural reproduction • Production of cultural capital • Cultural revitalization	• Development of the education professions • Development of education structures • Dissemination of knowledge & information • Learning society
International	• International competition • Economic co-operation • International trade • Technology exchange • Earth protection • Sharing information	• Global village • International friendship • Social co-operation • International exchanges • Elimination of national /regional /racial /gender biases	• International coalition • International understanding • Peace/ against war • Common interests • Elimination of conflicts	• Appreciation of cultural diversity • Cultural acceptance across countries/regions • Development of global culture	• Development of global education • International education exchanges & co-operation • Education for the whole world

Adopted from Cheng (1996a)

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Hong Kong Preservice Teachers' Achievement Goal Orientations - are they related to their gender and electives?

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Survey study by means of a questionnaire on achievement goal orientations was conducted with four hundred and seventy-three pre-service student teachers of the Hong Kong Institute of Education. Two contrasting goals were identified, namely: learning goals and performance goals. Psychometric properties of the questionnaire gave support to its applicability in the local context. Statistical analyses indicated there was no significant difference in achievement goal orientations with courses and electives but sex. Female students were found to be more performance goal oriented than male students. Explanation of the differences in achievement goal orientations within sex group was sought in terms of socio-cultural factors. Implications were drawn for teacher educators to consider in the future planning and development of teacher education programmes.

INTRODUCTION

Research has indicated that the motivational orientations and affective variables are important factors influencing learning achievement at tertiary level education (Minnaert & Janssen, 1992). Possibly, there is a close relationship between motivation, achievement and the goals set by the students. Based on literature and research findings, it is anticipated that achievement goal orientations would be prominent determinants of students' motivation and achievement behaviour. Basically, there are two contrasting achievement goals, namely: learning goals and performance goals (Ames & Archer, 1988; Archer, 1994; Elliott & Dweck, 1988; Maehr & Braskamp, 1986). Learning goals refer to the goals in which individuals tend to increase one's mastery of new tasks and competence. Hence learning goals are also known as tasks goals or mastery goals. People who hold learning or mastery goals want to develop their competence on a task or increase their understanding of a subject and anticipate this to be achieved by hard work. Performance goals are the goals in which individuals seek to maintain judgment by trying to prove their competence. People holding performance goals are concerned primarily with demonstrating their ability (or concealing a perceived lack of ability) by outperforming others, particularly if success is achieved with little effort. Performance goals are considered ego incentives or ego involved (Dweck, 1986; Dweck & Leggett,1988; Maehr & Braskamp, 1986; Nicholls, Patashnick, & Nolen, 1985). Dweck (1986) and Nicholls (1989) have argued that a learning goal orientation is more

desirable than performance goal orientation, which concentrates on outperforming others.

Achievement goal orientations are expected to relate to motives and strategies of learning. The situation of how the achievement goal orientations were related to students' learning motive and strategies were explored by a number of empirical studies (Ames & Archer, 1988; Elliott & Dweck, 1988; Meece, Blumenfeld, & Hoyle, 1988; Nolen, 1987b). Also, whether one is oriented toward a learning or performance goal has been demonstrated to be a function of individual differences or to be induced by situational constraints (Ames, 1992; Dweck, 1986).

Nolen (1987a) investigated the developmental differences in learning goals, studying strategy beliefs and their inter-relationship among school graders and college students. She administered questionnaires to the students to measure the levels of task orientation (aligned with a mastery orientation), ego orientation (performance orientation), work avoidance, as well as belief in the utility of two types of strategies: those requiring deep processing of information, and those requiring only surface-level processing. Results indicated that of the three goal orientations, only task orientation was significantly positively correlated with belief in the value of deep-processing strategies. This was the case at all three age levels. Moreover, valuing of the two strategy types was positively correlated for younger, but not college students, who appeared to more clearly differentiate the two strategy types on the basis of utility for learning than did the younger groups. Therefore, the hypotheses that students' personal goals for learning influencing which strategies they used in studying were supported.

Greene and Miller (1996) studied the relationships among college students' self-reported goal orientation, perceived ability, cognitive engagement while studying, and course achievement. Results indicated that both perceived ability and learning goal scores were positively correlated with meaningful cognitive engagement which included self-regulation and deep strategy use. In addition, learning goals and perceived ability were positively correlated with each other and performance goals were correlated with shallow cognitive engagement. A causal model in which perceived ability and learning goals influencing meaningful cognitive engagement, which in turn influence midterm achievement was supported. Finally, shallow processing, which was influenced by performance goals, negatively influenced midterm achievement. All these studies have suggested that the more adaptive learning goal orientation is related positively to the more desirable deep approach to learning.

In summary, researchers in achievement motivation have highlighted and regarded achievement goal orientations to be prominent determinants of students' motivation and achievement behaviour. Also the general emphases on learning (mastery) goals and performance (ego) goals that students perceive in schools and the goals they adopt appear to be important factors in students' school behaviour and may have broader implications for adaptive development. While the role of goals has been primarily demonstrated in the realm of learning and achievement, task and ego goals may also influence a wide range of action, thought and affect, including those associated with general well-being – general self-evaluations and patterns of behaviour, coping, and emotion (Kaplan & Maehr, 1999). Given the current concerns about the quality and professional development of preservice teachers, it is worthwhile to examine the achievement goal orientations of our future teachers who would be influential on their pupils' learning. Hence the study of achievement goal orientations of preservice student teachers is expected to generate useful information and implications for the teacher educators in the education of preservice student teachers.

OBJECTIVES

This paper is a report on one of several research studies conducted to investigate the relationship among achievement goal orientations, self-concept and causal attributions, study approach and achievement of teacher education students. The aim of this paper is to explore the achievement goal orientations of preservice teachers in Hong Kong and to examine if achievement goals are related to sex and electives. Two groups of student teachers were chosen for study, one at degree level and the other at sub-degree level. A questionnaire on achievement goal orientations was administered to the two groups of students to complete. The questionnaire was adapted from the measuring instrument developed by Roedel et al. (1994) and comprised 10 items. Psychometric properties such as reliabilities and construct validity of the scale were determined to verify the applicability of the scale to the local context. Statistical analyses were applied to examine if there were any significant differences between the degree and the sub-degree course students in their goal orientations, as well as any differences in gender and elective groups.

Based on the objectives of this study four specific research questions were drawn:

1. What are the achievement goal orientations of preservice teachers in Hong Kong?
2. Are the achievement goal orientations dependent on sex?
3. Are the achievement goal orientations different for electives/discipline groups?
4. Are the achievement goal orientations different for degree and sub-degree course students?

Answers to the specific research questions would generate findings which were expected to provide useful information and implications for teacher educators and researchers in understanding the learning goals of students and hence in planning learning activities so as to assist the students' learning.

SUBJECTS OF STUDY

473 preservice student teachers from the Hong Kong Institute of Education were chosen for study. Excluding the missing cases, the sample consisted of 289 students from the Certificate in Education (Primary) course (abbreviated as C.E. (Pri.) and 170 students from the Bachelor of Education (Primary) course (abbreviated as B.Ed. (Pri.). All were first year students. The former is a two-year full-time sub-degree course and the latter a four-year full-time degree course. Both courses require students to have two “A” level subject passes as entry requirement and consists of more female than male students. Most of the sample students were around 19 to 23. Students were offered different subjects to be taken as their electives and these subject electives were classified into five major categories, based on the subject nature and convenience of statistical analysis. The five major categories included Language Subjects, Social Studies, Science and Mathematics, Cultural subjects, Technology and Computer.

METHODS OF STUDY

Survey study by means of questionnaire on achievement goal orientations was conducted with the preservice student teachers of the Hong Kong Institute of Education. Purposive sampling was adopted with students chosen from degree and sub-degree courses. The questionnaire used was adapted from the measuring instrument developed by Roedel et al. (1994) and comprised of 10 Likert scale items. Psychometric properties such as reliabilities (Cronbach alpha) and construct validity of the scale were determined to verify the applicability of the scale to the local context. Exploratory

factor analysis (maximum likelihood, followed by oblimin rotation) was applied to investigate the factor structure and construct validity of achievement goal orientations existing within the group of preservice student teachers under study. Multivariate analyses by means of MANOVA at .05 level of significance were applied to examine if there were any significant differences between the degree and the sub-degree course students in their goal orientations, as well as any differences in gender and elective groups. Implications were drawn from the results so as to help teacher educators and researchers to understand the achievement goals of preservice student teachers and hence develop appropriate programmes and learning activities to assist students' learning.

RESULTS

Achievement Goal Orientations of preservice student teachers

By means of maximum likelihood and oblimin rotation, two factors (with item factor loading equal or greater than .3) were extracted from 10 items on achievement goal orientations. The two factors accounted for 42.11% of the initial variance. Table 1 shows the extracted factors and the factor loading of respective items.

Table 1: Factor structure of achievement goal orientations of Hong Kong preservice teachers

Pattern Matrix (maximum likelihood and oblimin rotation)

Question Items	Factor	
	1	2
Achievement goal orientation question 3	.736	
Achievement goal orientation question 4	.687	
Achievement goal orientation question 5	.478	
Achievement goal orientation question 7	.377	.239
Achievement goal orientation question 9	.375	
Achievement goal orientation question 10		.633
Achievement goal orientation question 2		.482
Achievement goal orientation question 8		.468
Achievement goal orientation question 6		.401
Achievement goal orientation question 1		.313

Goodness-of-fit test

Chi-square	df	Sig.
103.337	26	.000*

* p <.05

Internal consistency/reliability of achievement goal orientation scale (Cronbach alpha) :-

Alpha = .6720 Standardized item alpha =.6752 (10 items)

Achievement Goal Orientations and Sex Groups

The sample consisted of 91 male and 368 female students. Table 2.1 shows the mean scale score, standard deviation and number of male and female students for different achievement goals. Tables 2.2 and 2.3 show the results of MANOVA study of the sex groups effect on achievement goals at .05 level of significance.

Table 2.1 Mean scale score and standard deviation of male and female students' achievement goals

	Sex	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Learning Goal	Male	16.1648	2.8098	91
	Female	16.6821	2.6982	368
	Total	16.5795	2.7254	459
Performance Goal	Male	17.0000	3.6968	91
	Female	18.5870	2.9965	368
	Total	18.2723	3.2065	459

Table 2.2 Multivariate tests: Sex groups

Effect	Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
Sex					
Pillai's Trace	.040	9.483	2.000	456.000	.000*
Wilks' Lambda	.960	9.483	2.000	456.000	.000*
Hotelling's Trace	.042	9.483	2.000	456.000	.000*
Roy's Largest Root	.042	9.483	2.000	456.000	.000*

*p <.05

Table 2.3 Tests of between-subjects effects: Sex groups

Source	Dependent Variable	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Sex	Learning Goal	19.518	1	19.518	2.637	.105
	Performance Goal	183.741	1	183.741	18.556	.000*

* p <.05

Achievement Goal Orientations and Elective/Discipline Groups

Subject electives were categorized into five elective or discipline groups for MANOVA study:

1. Language Subjects
2. Social Studies
3. Science and Mathematics
4. Cultural Subjects
5. Technology and Computer

Table 3.1 shows the mean scale score, standard deviation and number of different achievement goals held by students in the five elective or discipline groups. Results of MANOVA analyses of achievement goal orientations of the electives or discipline groups at .05 level of significance are given in Tables 3.2 and 3.3 respectively.

Table 3.1 Mean scale score and standard deviation of achievement goals for different elective/discipline groups

	Discipline	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Learning Goal	1	16.6000	2.7544	215
	2	17.3889	2.1731	18
	3	16.1538	2.5115	13
	4	16.4643	2.7769	168
	5	16.7317	2.7297	41
	Total	16.5802	2.7297	455
Performance Goal	1	18.4884	3.1886	215
	2	18.1111	2.1390	18
	3	18.6923	2.4962	13
	4	17.9405	3.4323	168
	5	18.5122	3.0176	41
	Total	18.2791	3.2153	455

Table 3.2 Multivariate tests : Elective/Discipline groups

Effect	Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
Discipline					
Pillai's Trace	.013	.709	8.000	900.000	.684
Wilks' Lambda	.988	.708	8.000	898.000	.685
Hotelling's Trace	.013	.706	8.000	896.000	.686
Roy's Largest Root	.007	.838	4.000	450.000	.502

P>.05

Table 3.3 Tests of between-subjects effects: Elective/Discipline groups

Source	Dependent Variable	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Discipline	Learning Goal	17.417	4	4.354	.582	.676
	Performance Goal	33.635	4	8.409	.812	.518

p>.05

Achievement Goal Orientations and Course Groups

Table 4.1 shows the mean scale score, standard deviation and number of learning and performance goals shown by students in the degree and sub-degree courses. Results of MANOVA analyses of achievement goal orientations of the degree, B.Ed.(Pri.) and sub-degree, C.E. (Pri.) course groups at .05 level of significance are given in Tables 4.2 and 4.3 respectively.

Table 4.1 Mean scale score and standard deviation of achievement goals for the degree and sub-degree courses

	Course Attending	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Learning Goal	CE Student	16.7586	2.6641	290
	BEd Student	16.2824	2.8037	170
	Total	16.5826	2.7232	460
Performance Goal	CE Student	18.2345	3.1359	290
	BEd Student	18.3588	3.3345	170
	Total	18.2804	3.2077	460

Table 4.2 Multivariate tests : Course groups

Effect	Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
Group					
Pillai's Trace	.009	2.011	2.000	457.000	.135
Wilks' Lambda	.991	2.011	2.000	457.000	.135
Hotelling's Trace	.009	2.011	2.000	457.000	.135
Roy's Largest Root	.009	2.011	2.000	457.000	.135

p>.05

Table 4.3 Tests of between-subjects effects : Course groups

Source	Dependent Variable	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Group	Learning Goal	24.310	1	24.310	3.295	.070
	Performance Goal	1.657	1	1.657	.161	.689

p>.05

Achievement Goal Orientations and Interaction effect : Sex * Course Groups

The mean scale score and standard deviation of interaction sex * course groups on achievement goal orientations are shown in Table 5.1. Results of MANOVA analyses at .05 level of interaction effect of sex* course groups on achievement goal orientations, if any, are given in Tables 5.2 and 5.3 respectively.

Table 5.1 Mean scale score and standard deviation of different sex * course groups on achievement goal orientations

Sex	Course Attending	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Learning Goal				
Male	CE Student	16.1429	2.9175	63
	BEd Student	16.2143	2.6014	28
	Total	16.1648	2.8098	91
Female	CE Student	16.9248	2.5749	226
	BEd Student	16.2958	2.8504	142
	Total	16.6821	2.6982	368
Total	CE Student	16.7543	2.6677	289
	BEd Student	16.2824	2.8037	170
	Total	16.5795	2.7254	459
Performance Goal				
Male	CE Student	17.1746	3.6568	63
	BEd Student	16.6071	3.8233	28
	Total	17.0000	3.6968	91
Female	CE Student	18.5133	2.9139	226
	BEd Student	18.7042	3.1302	142
	Total	18.5870	2.9965	368
Total	CE Student	18.2215	3.1335	289
	BEd Student	18.3588	3.3345	170
	Total	18.2723	3.2065	459

Table 5.2 Multivariate tests : Sex* Course groups

Effect	Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
Sex*Group					
Pillai's Trace	.006	1.279	2.000	454.000	.279
Wilks' Lambda	.994	1.279	2.000	454.000	.279
Hotelling's Trace	.006	1.279	2.000	454.000	.279
Roy's Largest Root	.006	1.279	2.000	454.000	.279

p>.05

Table 5.3 Tests of between-subjects effects : Sex * Course groups

Source	Dependent Variable	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Sex*Group	Learning Goal	7.781	1	7.781	1.057	.304
	Performance Goal	9.122	1	9.122	.919	.338

p>.05

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

As shown in Table 1, exploratory factor analysis by means of maximum likelihood and oblimin rotation extracted two factors, each consisted of five items of loading values equal and greater than .3. Chi-square value was significant at both .05 and .01 level, and rejected the null hypothesis. However, chi-square is dependent on sample size such that large sample is very likely to produce a significant result even when there is a reasonably good fit to the data (Bentler & Bonnett, 1980). Separate analyses of the items in two groups (3, 4, 5, 7, 9) and (1, 2, 6, 8, 10) did give support to the two-factor structure generated for the achievement goal orientations of the Hong Kong preservice student teachers under study. On examination of the nature and clustering of items, factor 1 was labeled as performance goal orientation and factor 2 learning goal orientation. The loading of related items on respective factors and the two identified goal orientations matched with previous western findings reported in research literature supporting the replicability of the measuring instrument in non-western cultural context. In short, there are two achievement goal orientations identified within the sample of preservice student teachers in the Hong Kong Institute of Education, namely, the Learning Goals and the Performance Goals. Also, the reliability of the 10-item scale for achievement goal orientation was found satisfactory (Cronbach alpha = .6720). The psychometric properties of the scale e.g. construct validity and reliability indicated that the scale adapted from Roedel et al. (1994) in measuring achievement goal orientations was applicable to the local context.

Students of both C.E. (Pri.) and B.Ed. (Pri.) courses exhibited higher mean scale scores for performance goals than learning goals suggesting the preservice student teachers under study had higher tendency towards performance goals than learning goals. Multivariate analysis such as MANOVA indicated that there was a statistical significant difference of achievement goal orientations within sex group at both .05 and .01 level (Refer table 2.2 :- Pillai's Trace = .040, F(9.483, 2) and Wilks' Lambda = .960, F(9.482, 2)). Further test indicated the significant difference lied in the performance goals of the sex groups, F(18.556, 1), *p <.05 whereas learning goals showed no significant difference across sex groups (refer Table 2.3). Study of the mean scale scores of the sex groups in Table 2.1 indicated that female students had higher mean scale scores and lower standard deviation than male students in both learning and performance goals. This implied that many of the female students had stronger inclination towards learning and

performance goals than male students and the spread within the female students were not as large as the male students. While the male and female students showed little difference in their learning goals, female students were significantly different from male students in their performance goals (male, M = 16.1648, S.D. = 3.6968; female, M = 16.6821, S.D. = 2.9965). In other words, female students under study tended to be more performance goal orientated than male students and male students were more varied in their performance goals than female students. A possible factor which accounted for the higher performance goal orientation of female students might be due to the impact of gender stereotype in the traditional Chinese culture. In the traditional Chinese society, males were usually regarded as dominant figures and capable; females were considered to be dependent on males and were destined to be housekeepers to look after the family and children. Very often females were offered little opportunities of education and advancement. Given limited resources, the son has higher priority to get schooling than the daughter. To get her way through, the daughter had to demonstrate high ability and perform well in studies and achievement. The motive to learn and perform would be much stronger within a female if she wished to get educated and advancement in study and career. The situation in Hong Kong has changed with increasing influence of western culture and philosophy. More and more opportunities including education and career advancement are open to females. Nevertheless, the influences of traditional Chinese culture and gender stereotype still existed and females might try to demonstrate their competencies/abilities or perceived lack of abilities through outperforming their male counterparts in study. Both male and female students knew the importance of understanding and mastery of tasks in the process of learning and there was no significant differences in their learning goals orientation as reflected by the close mean values of the scale scores in learning goals.

As regards the effect of electives or disciplines on achievement goal orientation, there was no statistically significant difference across different elective/discipline groups (see Tables 3.2 and 3.3). Variation of scale scores in achievement goal orientations was small as shown by the values in Table 3.1. That is, there was no significant effect of electives/disciplines on the achievement goal orientations, viz. learning and performance goals of the sample of Hong Kong preservice student teachers under study. Hence, electives or disciplines seemed not to be a determining factor on students' achievement goal orientations. The study of effect of electives/disciplines on achievement goal orientations by multivariate analysis was limited by the small number attached to certain categories of electives/disciplines such as social subjects, science and mathematics, technology and computer. Further research in this area with larger number of each category would confirm the result obtained in this study.

Regardless of degree or sub-degree courses, there seemed to be no course effect on the achievement goal orientations of preservice student teachers as reflected from the MANOVA analyses shown in Tables 4.2 and 4.3. There was no statistically significant differences in goal orientations across courses (CE and B.Ed) at .05 level (e.g. Pillai's Trace = .009, F(2.011, 2), p >.05). That is, students from both the Certificate in Education (Primary) and Bachelor of Education (Primary) courses showed no significant differences in their achievement goal orientations.

Similarly, there was no statistically significant interaction effect of Sex * Group on the achievement goal orientations as indicated in the mean scale scores and MANOVA analyses in Tables 5.1 to 5.3. The results seemed understandable as both courses recruit students with similar entry requirements and in general, there might not be a wide variation in terms of abilities and achievement goal orientations among students of the degree and sub-degree courses.

On comparison of the mean scale scores of learning and performance goals of preservice student teachers, both students of the Certificate in Education (Primary) and Bachelor of Education (Primary) courses had higher scores for performance goals than learning goals. The results implied that the students tended to seek and maintain judgment by trying to prove their competence in learning rather than increase their understanding and mastery of learning tasks and competence. Possibly the students might rely on rote learning and surface approach of study in order to achieve favourable judgment in their performance. This requires further verification in examining their adopted study approach or strategies.

CONCLUSION

In summary, measurement by a 10 Likert scaled item questionnaire instrument (adapted from that of Roedel et al.,1994) showed that the sample of Hong Kong preservice student teachers of both degree and sub-degree courses exhibited two types of achievement goal orientations. These achievement goal orientations included learning goals and performance goals. The result was similar to previous western findings in research literature. The identification of similar factor structure of the achievement goal orientations in this study to that of previous ones in western countries suggested the achievement goal orientations are similar in both western and Hong Kong Chinese students. In turn, the established construct validity of the scale adapted from the instrument developed by Roedel et al. (1994) for measuring achievement goal orientations in western cultures indicated the measuring instrument is also applicable to the Hong Kong context. Psychometric properties include reliabilities (Cronbach alpha) of the scale instrument also gave support to its applicability in other cultural context.

While there was no significant difference in achievement goal orientations within course and elective/discipline groups, there was a significant difference in achievement goal orientations between sex. Female students appeared to be more inclined towards performance goals than male students in the sample under study, while learning goals remain similar between the two sex groups. A possible explanation for the performance goal difference between sex groups might be due to the influence of tradition and gender stereotype within the Hong Kong (Chinese) culture.

IMPLICATIONS

The fact that students of both degree and sub-degree courses showed higher mean scale scores of performance goals than learning goals was not an encouraging sign in terms of the motivation of students' learning. The result suggested that the preservice student teachers tended to demonstrate their performance (to exhibit their abilities or conceal their perceived lack of ability) rather than pursuing understanding and mastery of their learning tasks. Female students showed greater mean scale scores than male students in both learning and performance goals implied that female students were possibly more achievement motivated than male students in their study. In turn, female students might had a stronger desire to learn and to achieve than their male counterparts although females tended to be more performance goals orientated. The phenomenon suggested the need of further investigating the causes of the goal orientations of the students, in particular the females, coupled with analysis of the curriculum/teacher education programme, as well as the teaching/learning approaches adopted. Further research may be done in investigating the relationship or cause-effect of achievement goal orientations of students with their learning approaches and

achievement.

The higher inclination of female students towards performance goals compared with male students implied that there might not be enough provisions for the females, such as the opportunities of education and career advancement in Hong Kong. Males are still better catered for than females, due to the impact of traditional Chinese culture and philosophy, including gender stereotype. Males are in a better position, enjoyed the privilege of having greater chance and choices of education/study. To achieve equal opportunity of education, more have to be done to improve the situation in policy making and structuring of the education system in Hong Kong.

As discussed in the previous section, preservice student teachers in Hong Kong tended to be more performance goal than learning goal oriented. This is understandable in terms of the keen competition in Hong Kong, in search for better educational opportunity in the tertiary sector and career advancement. In addition, it is often perceived that students of higher abilities would consider other courses, such as medicine, engineering, and information technology in universities as their first choice of studies. Students who choose teacher education as their programmes of study are considered of lower abilities and little choice. This could have an influence on the motivation and achievement goal orientations of student teachers. It is well understood that such kind of feelings are unhealthy and may lead to the less desirable qualities (performance goals) developed within preservice student teachers in their learning. The worse cases would result in the tasks avoidance phenomenon, and not willing to spend effort in their study. Quality education looks for increased internal drives and learning goals within students, while learning based on external motives and performance goals may not last for long. It is expected to have some changes or restructuring in the course/curriculum planning and teaching/learning processes in order to enhance the learning goals of preservice student teachers, subsequently to promote a positive attitude of learning within the students. The need to understand and master the learning tasks should be the goals to be developed within the preservice teachers, who in turn would exert similar influences on their pupils when the preservice teachers take up classroom teaching.

In short, the ultimate aim in teacher education is to develop within student teachers a strong desire to learn and master their learning task so as to promote their competence rather than simply to learn for the sake of positive judgment by others. Subsequently, rethinking and analysis of the current curriculum deems necessary, together with careful planning in the future development of the teacher education programmes and implementation of appropriate teaching strategies. This would require further research and collaborative analysis by the teacher educators of the current practices in the teacher education institute.

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Community College : A new born baby of the Hong Kong education system for the new millennium

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In the new millennium, there is an increasing global recognition of the importance of widening the access to higher education for accommodating students from all strata of the society for an equal educational opportunity as well as fostering the idea of life long learning and learning society (OECD, 1999a, 1999b, 2001; UNESCO, 1998). Responding to this global education reform, the SAR Education Commission proposed to encourage the establishment of various types of post-secondary colleges, while accommodating the existing institution (Education Commission, 1999, p. 22). The immediate result of the proposal was the establishment of several community colleges in early 2000, offering mainly Associate Degree programs. From the public, there are voices raising queries over the role of community college in the higher education system as well as whether community college can serve the similar function of traditional university in the provision of undergraduate education. The present paper attempts to introduce the different roles and models of community college in mass higher education systems in North America to highlight the merits and the functions of community college in mass higher education. The ultimate aim is to make some reflections on the development of community college in Hong Kong.

COMMUNITY COLLEGE: A NEW BORN BABY OF HONG KONG EDUCATION SYSTEM

Community college emerged as a new type of post-secondary institution in Hong Kong as the last millennium came to a close. In less than five months after the publication of the "*Education Blueprint for the 21st Century*" by Education Commission which proposed to encourage the establishment of various types of post-secondary colleges (Education Commission, 1999, p. 22), several community colleges were established by the University of Hong Kong (HKU School of Professional and Continuing Education -- Community College), the Hong Kong Baptist University (HKBU International College), the Chinese University of Hong Kong respectively to offer Associate Degree programs.

Following the announcement in his Annual Policy Address (Tung, 2000, p. 22) by the Chief Executive of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region Government that within ten years, 60% of the senior secondary school leavers will receive tertiary education, more community colleges began to mushroom. The College of Higher Vocational Studies of the City University of Hong Kong (established since 1996), the School of Professional Education of the Hong Kong Polytechnic University, the University of Science and Technology, Lingnan University, the Hong Kong

Open University, the Hong Kong Institute of Education and various other private higher education institutions announced that Associate Degree (AD) programs will be launched in the school year of 2002.

In fact, Associate Degree programme is only one form of post-secondary qualification. The SAR government envisages the emergence of a wide range of self-financing sub-degree programmes leading to Associate Degree, higher diploma and professional diploma (EMB, 2001, pp. 2-10). The current and planned intakes to full-time, self-financing post-secondary places (Associate Degree and Higher Diploma) in 2000/01 and 2001/02 are shown in Table 1. The SAR government also takes active initiative to support the development of many of these providers into community colleges.

Table 1: The current and planned intakes to full-time, self-financing post-secondary places (Associate Degree and Higher Diploma) in 2000/01 and 2001/02

	2000/01	2001/02
Federation for Continuing Education in Tertiary Institutions (FCE)		
UGC-funded institutions and Open University of Hong Kong	1070	3910
Caritas Francis Hsu College and Vocational Training Council	140	1680
Sub-Total	1210	5590
Post-secondary college (i.e. Hong Kong Shue Yan College)	980	980
Registered schools offering post-secondary courses (courses are subject to successful external accreditation)	1600	2400
New providers (courses are subject to successful external accreditation)		300
Grand Total	3790	9270

Source: Education and Manpower Bureau (2001:3)

According to the Education and Manpower Bureau, the SAR government will offer loans to assist non-profit-making providers with their start up expenses to establish new community colleges. This policy on establishing more community colleges aims to develop a diversified higher education system, widen students' choice and encourage healthy competition (EMB, 2000, p. 10). By the end of 2001, a number of school sponsoring bodies such as, Vocational Training Council, Hang Seng School of Commerce, Po Leung Kuk, Caritas Adult and Higher Education Services, Tung Wah Group of Hospitals etc. has shown interest in establishing community colleges and offering Associate Degree programs.

To the public of Hong Kong, the establishment of community college is a rather new concept. During the British administration, undergraduate education in Hong Kong was strictly controlled by the University Grants Committee funded degree granting institutions and the Open University. Students who wished to pursue for a degree locally must enroll into one of the degree granting institutions. The policy strictly adhered to the tradition of the British higher education system prevalent in the 1950s. University was the only chartered institution for granting degrees and offering undergraduate education. This traditional concept of undergraduate education remains a popular and the mainstream thinking in Hong Kong.

It is not surprising, therefore, when the idea of community college was introduced to the pubic, doubts on the role and the function of community college were raised. At the open consultation sessions organized by Education Commission, responses were mixed. There were different interpretations about the nature and the functions of community college. Some considered community college as a post-secondary institution which offers adult education and leisure courses for the community, as a means to promote life long learning; others regarded it as a new interface

between senior secondary education and undergraduate education. Similarly, there were queries on the feasibility and effectiveness of setting up community college based on geographic location of the community, since the proximity of communities, population density, and the well developed mass transportation system of Hong Kong reduce the heterogeneity of community college in different communities. Indeed, not many people realized that community college carries a diverse range of educational functions and missions as university performs. In fact, community college in many other nations performs just as well as a miniature university and many have eventually transformed into a full size university. Many such experiences can easily be found in the development of community college in North America which will be described in the following sections.

COMMUNITY COLLEGE IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

While community college is a fresh idea to the Hong Kong public, it is a rather common feature of higher education in North America. It can be said that the concept of community college originated there and its mode of operation has produced far and wide influence on higher education systems in other nations as it has on Hong Kong now. Currently, there are 3,595 higher education institutions in the United States, with 43.8% are public and 56.2% are private. These institutions are classified into six different categories. They are: (1) Doctorate-Granting Institutions, (2) Master's Colleges and Universities, (3) Baccalaureate Colleges, (4) Associate of Arts Colleges, (5) Specialized Institutions, and (6) Tribal Colleges and Universities (Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1994). Community college belongs to category (4). In 1999, there were the 1471 public and private community colleges in the United States (Digest of Educational Statistics, 1999). They provide a diverse range of programs from sub-degree, degree, to post-graduate degree for learners (McLaughlin, 2001). The huge community college sector supplements the university system; together, they constitute the mass higher education in the United States.

To a large extent, the present landscape of the mass higher education system in the United States set out from community or regional college. Its historical root can be traced from the chartered colleges established in different British colonies on the eastern coast of North America in the 17th century colonial period. For example, the Harvard College, established in 1636 and the College of William and Mary in Virginia established in 1693, were two of the oldest chartered colonial colleges by modeling after the medieval European universities, such as Oxford University and Cambridge University. Others, like the College of New Jersey and the College of Rode Island were established based on the geographical location of the community. From 1636 to 1769, nine such colleges were established by religious organizations in the east coast (Graham & Diamond, 1997) (Table 2). These colleges were founded after many years of effort in petitioning to a royal body or the civil authorities in the colonial period. After the break from colonial status, colleges continued to grow in the 18th century. With the support from the civil government in land provision, charters were viewed as a relatively easy way to reward special interest constituencies, for building colleges might promote growth and development.

Table 2: Colleges in North America before the Independence and Formation of the United States

Present name of institutions	Original name	Year of establishment
Harvard University	Harvard College	1636
College of William and Mary	College of William and Mary	1693
Yale University	Yale College	1701
Princeton University	New Jersey College	1746
Columbia University	King's College	1754
University of Pennsylvania	Philadelphia College	1755
Brown University	Rode Island College	1746
Rutgers the State University	Queen's College	1766
Dartmouth College	Dartmouth College	1769

Source: Rippa. S. (1984:84)

The development of community or Liberal Arts College reached its peak when the United States Congress passed the Morrill Act in 1862 for establishment of at least one land grant colleges in every state in the country (Thelin, 1994, pp. 24-31). Soon after, a huge network of colleges was established in different parts of the United States. One of their chief missions was providing teacher training. Other vocational programs, such as agriculture and mechanical engineering were also offered. Community colleges paved the path of building more public universities in the following century. Clark Kerr (1990) summarized these changes over time that the public comprehensive colleges and universities were mostly originally community colleges and state teacher colleges which added many additional programs.

Currently, the mass higher education system of United States consists of junior colleges (mainly community based), colleges, institute of technology, and universities. To the American public, the meaning of college and university is often interchangeable. They share an equal status in undergraduate education. The major difference is that community college provides the foundation stage of undergraduate education where students are exposed to liberal education, while university provides the stage of completion where students develop their specialties. Under the credit unit transfer system, junior colleges offer university transfer programs. Students may flexibly begin the first two years of degree programs at junior colleges (two years) and then transfer to other four years institutions to complete their degrees. It is not unusual for students to attend more than one institution before settling on a specialized program (Hilmer, 1997; The Boyer Commission on Educating Undergraduates in the Research University, 1998, p. 22). This effectiveness of the transfer function demonstrates that community colleges are successful in preparing students for undergraduate education.

The marked difference between the role of college and university in undergraduate education also rests on the research capability of the institutions. Generally, (four years) colleges and universities offer undergraduate programs, while universities offer both undergraduate and post-graduate programs. In other words, colleges are strong in teaching but weak in research; universities are strong in both areas. But, occasionally some highly reputed colleges also offer high quality post-graduate education programs. Among one of the most noticeable private institutions of this kind is Boston College which is highly reputed in research in higher education. Reasons behind this odd phenomenon is that the administration of Boston College insists on maintaining its name as a hallmark of historical tradition, despite that its mode of operation is equivalent to a comprehensive university.

COMMUNITY COLLEGE IN CANADA

According to Statistic Canada, there were 206 public and private community colleges in 1994 (Statistic Canada, 1994). The largest community college network was found in Quebec (94), then followed by Ontario (32), Alberta (18), Newfoundland (12), British Columbia (10). Among them, 61 had enrollments of over 3,000 full-time students. Similar to the United States, the community college system plays an important role in the provision of undergraduate education (Jones, 1997, p.5).

In Canada, 'community' is defined as "the interaction of individuals who share common concerns that produces a social dimension. This community, in turn, influences the people within it" (Faris Report, Saskatchewan, 1972, p. 8). Hence, one basic principle of community college has been that "it should assist in community development by offering programs of community education and service. In rural areas, it will serve as a mechanism for the maintenance and development of a viable way of life" (Faris Report, Saskatchewan, 1972, p. 59). On top of that, community college also acts as "brokers" for other agencies such as technical institutes and university and provides courses and credits on a contract basis.

Community and regional colleges appeared in Canada in the early 20th century due much to the American influence. From the outset, most of them were privately run by religious organisations. From the 50s to 70s, some of these institutions were taken over by provincial governments and turned into a new type of public institution. Most of them maintained close affiliation with provincial university and in their early years, mainly enrolled students in university transfer program. For example, the Lethbridge Junior College, the first such public institutions in Canada, was founded in 1957 on the initiative of local school districts. The college maintained close affiliation with the University of Alberta until it was subsequently transformed into University of Lethbridge in the late 60s (Andrews et al., 1996, pp. 62-63).

As a matter of fact, most of the public and private community colleges in Canada were founded in rural areas outside of bigger cities. The chief original purpose was to extend higher education opportunity to the rural population, so that students residing in the rural community would not be deprived of undergraduate education just because of the long distance from bigger cities, where most of the major universities were located. This rationale still holds true for current community colleges in Canada. The policy aims to facilitate not only access, but equity of access. By increasing the traditional low participation rates in rural areas, it will indirectly strengthen local enterprise, contributing to the development or creation of new activities. In the long run, it will sustain or help create local or regional culture. A higher education institution which requires staff with motivation, scientific culture, methodological rigour and experience of active life can become the embryo of culture life of a community.

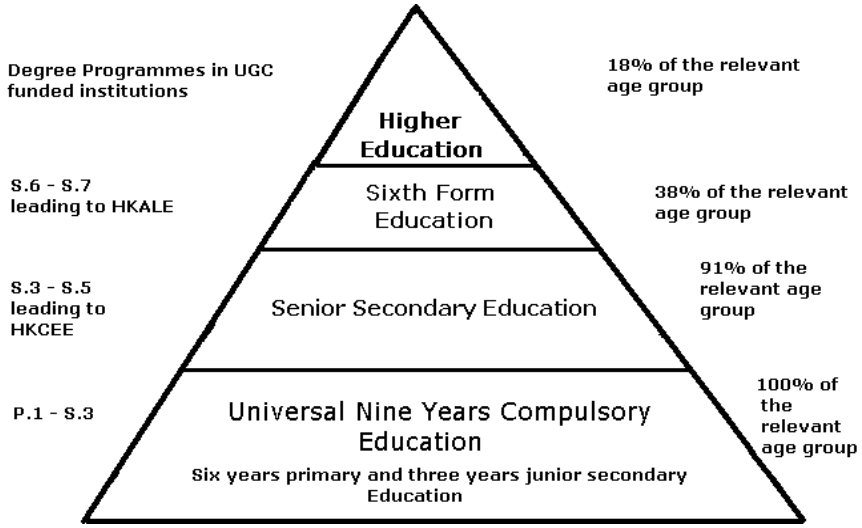
Recent development in community college in Canada has been encouraging. After successful operation for several decades, a number of public community colleges have been allowed to be upgraded as university colleges with degree granting power. For example, Fraser Valley Community College and Okanagan Community College in British Columbia were renamed as University College of the Fraser Valley and Okanagan University College respectively in the late 80s. In the private sector, Private Colleges Accreditation Boards were set up to approve program leading to a baccalaureate. From 1994 onward, four non-profit private colleges in Alberta have received authority to grant baccalaureate degree in approved programs. In other words, community college becomes a platform for higher education expansion for Canada.

REFLECTION ON COMMUNITY COLLEGE IN HONG KONG

Community college is surely a new born baby in the education system in Hong Kong. It is certainly the main focus of development in the coming decade. In May 2001, the SAR Government, in explaining the fulfillment of the target of providing 60% of the relevant age group with tertiary education, announced that the Associate Degree places will be expanded to around 30,000 in number in the next 10 years. Community college will be developed as one of the main providers of these places. To date, these newly founded community colleges in Hong Kong are modeled after the community or regional colleges in North America, since they have much resemblance on their counterparts in North America in terms of programs offered. They mainly launch associate or sub-degree programs. Upon completion of the associate degree, students can transfer to other universities to complete their degree programs, based on a credit unit transfer system. For instance, over 10 overseas universities have agreed to accept graduates of Hong Kong Baptist University's Associate Degree programmes for direct admission to their degree programmes. Similarly, 28 local and overseas universities (including the University of Hong Kong) have agreed to accept Associate Degree graduates of HKU SPACE's Community College (EMB, 2001, pp. 1-3). This new arrangement indeed has widened access for those students who possess the ability and the will to pursue for a degree but have failed to enroll in degree programs at local universities because of the highly selective admission conditions.

As illustrated in Figure 1, the highly selective nature of Hong Kong education system has created many barriers for those who aspire for a degree. Public examination (Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination and Hong Kong Advanced Level Examination respectively) has always been the sole device for screening students for sixth form education and admission to higher education in Hong Kong. Despite higher education expansion since the 90s, keen competition for undergraduate education remains. Data in 1996 indicated only 38% of students entered sixth form courses after secondary five (UGC, 1996, p. 1), while only half of the students who sat for the Hong Kong Advanced Level Examination were admitted to degree programmes funded by the University Grants Committee (UGC). This bottle neck phenomenon is expected to remain for some time as degree places has been strictly restricted to 14,500 (in number) by UGC since 1996.

Figure 1: Profile of Hong Kong Education System in 1999



With the introduction of community college, students are given more options to consider and the higher education progression path becomes highly flexible. Students will no longer be restricted to a narrow choice of programs and institutions simply because of the availability of places or due to performance of a single public examination. Community college also provides flexibility to those students who do not wish to enter higher education immediately after senior secondary education but would like to work or travel for a few years upon completion of senior secondary education. Community college allows students to enter higher education at their most desirable time.

Nevertheless, at present, some courses offered by the local community colleges have not received approval from the local degree granting institutions yet. It seems that the only option for students is to continue their study at overseas institutions where credit transfer agreement exists.

It is very crucial that local community colleges resolve this issue in the near future as the flexibility of community college lies in the credit unit transfer system. Based on this system, courses taken at community colleges will be recognized by universities, as long as the result achieved an above average level. This may mean a grade C or above, or it depends on the negotiated arrangement between institutions. This flexible arrangement enables students to enter program and to transfer to another one when the risk is lowest. During the first two years at college, students may choose between courses of generic or interdisciplinary nature which enables them to discover more deeply about the nature and content of the subject discipline before deciding on the final and most desirable subject discipline that matches one's own career goal, personal interests and needs in the subsequent degree programs.

After all, one of the goals of the current education reform in higher education is how to encourage universities to adopt a genuine system for fully transferable credit units (Butler and Hope, 2000; Education Commission, 1999, p. 22). Should this goal be realized, it will have tremendous implication on the future development in higher education in Hong Kong. Briefly speaking, it would reduce unnecessary competition between institutions and widen up individual choices of programs and institutions. The success of credit unit transfer system in community college is an important advancement leading to a comprehensive introduction of credit unit transfer system in all the degree granting institutions.

For Associate Degree programs to be recognized by universities as well as by the public as a whole, quality assurance is of utmost significance. One important step to ensure quality before a course is conducted is accreditation. At present, Associate Degree programmes offered by the UGC-funded institutions and the Open University of Hong Kong, which are self-accrediting institutions (except Hong Kong Institute of Education), have their own internal accreditation mechanisms. Associate Degree programmes offered by other institutions are to be accredited by the Hong Kong Council for Academic Accreditation (HKCAA) to ensure consistency and comparability.

Apart from providing more tertiary learning opportunities, the SAR Government must also encourage student participating by support measures by expanding financial assistance to qualified needy students. The SAR Government propose to introduce a means-tested grant scheme for most needy students, offer means-tested low-interest loan for other needy students and extend non-means-tested loan to all students.

The total amount of financial assistance will depend on the pace of development acting on market force, the number of applicants and the financial circumstances of their families. Based on the projected student number in Table 2, and assuming that the number of student places will increase progressively on a straight-line basis over the remaining 9 years, the rough estimates by the EMB (2001) are summarized in Table 3.

Table 3: Estimated number of student financial assistance in Associate Degree programmes 2001-2012.

	2001	2010	2012 (Full Effect)
Additional Student Number			
Additional first-year student intake	6 570[1]	30 600	30 600
Additional student enrolment	8 760[2]	68 960	82 400
(1) Means-tested grant for most needy students[3]			
No. of beneficiaries	760	5 990	6 470
Estimated amount of grant ($mil)	46	360	388
(2) Means-tested loan for other needy students			
No. of beneficiaries	3050	23970	25 900
Estimated amount of loan ($mil)	93	734	793
otal no. of beneficiaries of (1) and (2)	*3 810*	*29 970*	*32 370*
(3) Non-means-tested Loan Scheme[4]			
No. of beneficiaries	700	5 520	5 960
Estimated amount of loan ($mil)	52	412	445
(4) Student Travel Subsidy			
No. of beneficiaries	3 810	29 970	32 370
Estimated amount of subsidy ($mil)	11	86	93

Source: Education and Manpower Bureau (2001, p. 8)

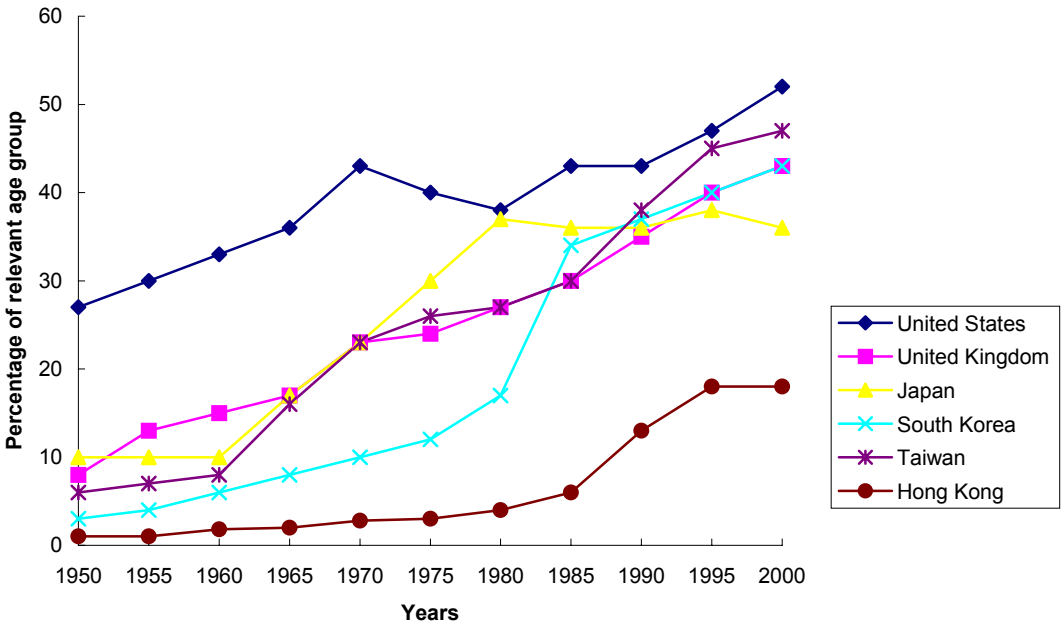
Critics of the policy of expanding Associate Degree places opine that this is only a government measure to alleviate the general sense of frustration of those who are not admitted to tertiary education under the existing higher education structure. They claim that the government in so doing only postpones the time for the senior secondary school leavers to face the problem of employment, especially at this period of economic downturn. What the government should do in counteracting such opposition is to convince the public of the importance of economic and social benefits, both to the individual and to society as a whole, of a raise in education standard of a large proportion of the population. Secondly, the government should also start educating the public to readjust their expectation for economic benefits of education. While the notion that education is an investment that pays still holds true, the expectation for the "pay" should be realistic. The reality of mass higher education is that as more students receive it, the economic and social benefits will no longer be confined to a small group, as in the days of elite higher education. Hence while everybody in the higher education sector still gains, the gain (such as lifelong income) will probably not be comparable to their counterparts in an elite higher education system. The general uplifting of education standard of a majority of the relevant age group, rather than a minority, is nevertheless a healthy feature that should be supported. It is indeed an important step in human and social capital investment in Hong Kong in the new millennium.

Further expansion in first degree places among UGC institutions is still under careful consideration. Most likely, it will be pending on the results and findings of the new round of higher education review conducted by the University Grants Committee from 2001-02 under the Chairmanship of Lord Sutherland and the planning of the next triennium budget of the UGC. Before any new plan is made, the new learning opportunity opened up by community colleges

[1] The figure includes 5 590 places offered by FCE and 980 places offered by Hong Kong Shue Yan College.
[2] The figure includes 6 570 first-year students and 2 190 second-year students currently pursuing their first-year programme in 2000/01.
[3] The above estimates are based on the LSFS application exercise in 2000/01. EMB assumes that 43.5% of students will receive means-tested financial assistance. Of them, 20.5%, will be eligible to receive mean-tested grant. This is equivalent to the ratio of recipients receiving maximum grant under the LSFS. On average, students will be eligible to 51% of the maximum loan entitlement.
[4] The above estimates are based on the NLS application exercise in 2000/01. EMB assumes that 8% of students will apply for NLS and that they will apply for up to 84.3% of the loan ceiling.

would certainly help lessen the pressure of the demand for undergraduate education, which is inevitably rising owing to the rapid population growth, economic and social development in the past decades. Developing along this trend, Hong Kong has joined many developing and developed nations in accommodating a wider participation in higher education as an important strategy for enhancing economic, social, and cultural development in a fast changing global knowledge based economy as illustrated in Figure 2 (OECD, 1999, p. 19, 2001, pp. 9-11; UNESCO, 1998).

Figure 2: Comparative Enrolment Rates in Higher Education 1950-2000



Sources: Department of Education and Science, Statistics of Education for the UK, HMSO, London;

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* The figures confine to enrolment of university level

The higher education development pattern described in Figure 2 shows the continuous expansion of higher education in the five selected countries, as compared with that of Hong Kong. In the immediate post-World War Two period, higher education expanded first in the United States, then in Europe, and later in the third world and the newly industrialized countries (Altbach,1999, p. 21). Developed nations in the West such as the United States or the United Kingdom[1] invested generously in higher education in order to foster economic recovery and reconstruction. Under the auspices of the United States, Japan also expanded its higher education in 1950. Japan retained the expanded student enrolment rate at around 10% in the decade after 1950, while the United States and United Kingdom investment increased by 5% to 7% in the same period. As for South Korea and Taiwan, due to their respective political situation in the early 1950s[2], their higher education only started to develop then. The rate of expansion maintained at a slow but steady growth.

In the 1960s, all the five countries underwent rapid expansion in higher education. There was a corresponding increase in the rate of economic growth. During the period of economic downturn in the mid 1970s and early 1980s, higher education continued to expand, though at a comparatively much slower pace in all these countries, except the United States. The enrolment percentage of the United States dropped by about 5 to 7% between 1970 and 1980. Expansion in higher education in the United States resumed its steady pace of development in the 1980s and the 90s (Altbach, 1999, pp. 20-24; Trow, 1989). In 1996, there are 14.6 million students were enrolled in universities and colleges in the United States, and 1.6 million students enrolled in higher education in United Kingdom (Robertson, 1999, p. 23). In the other developing nations, higher education continued to expand rapidly during the 1990s.

These countries have found the money well spent, given the rapid economic development in the 1950s and 1990s (Drucker, 1993, pp. 186-193; Green 1999, pp. 203-205; OECD 1999a, 1999b; Robbins Committee Report 1963, p. 23[3]; Robertson, 1999, pp. 17-35; Silver and Silver, 1997; Trow, 1989). The slowing down of higher education expansion in the nations in the 70s, however, should not lead to a wrong conclusion that when the government began to invest less in higher education, the economy crumbled. Certainly, the world economic slump in the 1970s was the result of many other factors such as the Oil Crises, and the slow expansion of higher education was merely its by-product. In fact, the cut in educational investment was a consequence rather than a cause of the economic setback. In the United States, despite the drop in enrolment percentage by 5% to 7% between 1970 and 1980 in this period, the percentage of student enrolment was maintained at a very high level (37% in 1980). It was certainly still one of the highest in the world. So, the more important focus of the issue is why the governments of the United States and the United Kingdom,[4] continued

[1]Silver and Silver(1997:14-15) accounted that in 1938-9, there were 50,000 students in UK universities (when higher education in fact meant the universities). A rapid but painful process of post-war growth took numbers to nearly 80,000 in 1947 and 90,000 in 1956. In the early 60s, there were only 16 universities in the Great Britain; university education was still elitist. The first higher education expansion in the United Kingdom took place after the release of Robbins' Report in 1963, which stated that "All young persons qualified by ability and attainment to pursue a full time course in higher education should have the opportunity to do so". The 70s was a slow growth period as affected by global economy.

[2] Korea was challenged by the civil war in the early 1950s. Republic of China has just moved to Taiwan and continued its administration since 1949.

[3] Robbins Committee Report (1963 p.23) expressed a view that increasing the volume of higher education not only results in an increased rate of economic growth, but is the key to survival in an increasingly technological age. However, it is worth to note that, Barnett (1999) pointed out that the Robbins Report can be understood as an internal report of an academic community, assured of itself and of higher education as an existing social and educational good. The Dearing Report, in contrast, can be understood as an external document of the wider society and the polity. The basic distinction of the two reports are Dearings stressed more on key words, such as global economy, economic and international competition, concern on research, the concept of lifelong learning and the application of information technology. These differences are much due to the changing expectations on higher education in the era of knowledge-based global economy.

[4] Scott (1995), Williams, (1996), and Dearing Committee Report, (1997) described that from the 1980s to the 1990s, Britain's higher education system tripled its size especially after the Education Reform Act in 1988 and the White paper "A new Framework" was released in 1990. It recommended (1) single funding structure for universities, polytechnics and colleges of higher education. Polytechnics may use the title university. (2) National vocational qualifications to be introduced quickly. (3) Sixth forms may include part-time and adults students. (4) All 16 and 17 years olds should receive training credit on leaving full-time education. (5) All further education colleges and sixth-form colleges should be independent

to maintain a high investment in higher education during years of economic difficulty. Similarly, why did the private sectors and governments of Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan continue to increase their investment in higher education during the difficult years?

The answer looks obvious: human capital investment as advocated by human capital theory indeed influence governments when formulating higher education policy[5] (Amano,1997; Blaug, 1970; Green, 1999; Lee et al., 1994; Milne, 1999, p. 84; OECD, 1998, 1999a; Shen, 1990). These researches all supported that even though higher education was not the panacea to the economic setback, it would continuously produce a supply of higher quality labour who possess positive working attitudes such as lifelong learning, high adaptability to work pressures, discipline and responsibility, and most important of all; an aspiration for higher living and earning standards along with the confidence and ability to achieve both.

The continuous efforts of these governments in human capital investment especially in the tertiary level even in difficult years proved that high level human capital was an important asset. When the economy began to recover in the late 80s; it imminently activated its potential to interact with and facilitate the other factors that stimulated economic growth. This is mainly due to this fact that when the economy recovers, the human capital investment always reaps the benefits.

Albeit the present economy of Hong Kong is still suffering from the adverse impact of the Asian Financial Crisis in 1999 and the more recent catastrophic terrorist attack in New York in 11st September, 2001, the SAR government still deems it necessary to invest continuously in human capital for a rapidly changing knowledge based economy as a means to maintain and sustain our global competitive edge. The founding of community college will provide a promising opportunity for further higher education expansion to meet this end. Community college may grow to become a full size university after years of successful operation and when demand for higher education continues to grow. After all, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, the Hong Kong Baptist University, the Lingnan University, and the Hong Kong Institute of Education are such distinctive examples of "college turned degree granting institutions".

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of local authorities. The latter became a legislature in 1992. In mid 90s, there were 103 universities in the United Kingdom. There were roughly one and half million students in UK higher education, almost one million of whom were on full-or part-time first degree courses. Higher education was transformed into mass system. The main rationale for higher education expansion in this period, therefore, was a response to economic needs and popular social demand, which bore a strong implication of social equity.

[5] Amano(1997) pointed out that "The Education White Paper" of Japan in 1962 entitled "Growth and Education in Japan" argued for increased investments in education and expansion of higher education as a basis for accelerated economic growth. This paper was influential to the development of mass higher education from 60s until the early 70s when the oil shock of 1973 slammed the brakes on its development. Lee et al (1994) pointed out contemporary education policy in South Korea was basically economically orientated; it has been designed to promote and develop a structure of industries patterned after Japan. Shen(1990) stated that Taiwan adopted manpower forecasting techniques in educational planning after inviting consultants from Standford university in 1962. Six manpower reports were produced in the following 15 years. Human capital formation for economic needs was closely related to education policy.

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Critically appraise the proposals for a post-modern curriculum outlined by Doll (1993) in his "A Post-modern Perspective on Curriculum"

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INTRODUCTION

Post-modern age is perhaps one of the most often-quoted and loosely construed concepts in recent literature. In terms of historical epoch, the ending of the superstitious and ruthless Middle Ages (5th-15th century) gave rise to the Renaissance (14th to 16th century) when humankind once again concerned about their earthly living, instead of just the afterlife. The ending of the basically backward looking Renaissance, the emergence of the French Mathematician Descartes and the English Mathematician Newton marked the beginning of the Modernist Age. In the name of Enlightenment, the obsession with numerical reasoning and scientific knowledge was granted almost undisputed approval. In the modernist paradigm, the universe was conceived as a clockwork order which runs in a linear, predictable and numerically expressed code. It was in this modernist era that industrialization was born and nurtured. The increased supply of commodities in return further buttressed the faith in the scientific, mechanistic mode of thinking.

No one ever gave an all- convincing reason for the demise of modernism. Certainly, the catastrophes of the world wars and the rise of quantum physics would have a part to play. No one ever gave a clear time frame to the post-modern age about when it first started though the general belief is that it coincides largely with the emergence of the post-industrial economy in which industrial production lost its predominance to the tertiary sector. Again no one ever spoke with unshaken certainty on the meaning of a post-modern culture.

Stephen Toulman (1982) aptly expresses that it is impossible to give an overarching definition to post-modernism as the movement is too new and too varied. On the other hand, Jameson (1991) tries to give some shape to this new paradigm by outlining the following characteristics: the absence of grand narratives, the valorization of discontinuity and individuality, the rise of consumerism, the supremacy of market mentality, the utter forgetfulness of the past, the celebration of heterogeneity, and the appeal to populism. The rise of this new age and culture makes inevitable the remolding of education which until recently dovetails only the modernist paradigm.

This article reviews Doll's proposal for a post-modernist curriculum. It is hoped that educators can reflect critically on the necessary attributes of post-modernist curriculums and how existing curriculums should be reformed to meet with the challenges that comes with the post-modern age.

CURRICULUM THEORIES IN POST-MODERN EDUCATION

Against the background of the new paradigm, a new breed of curriculum theories arises. Post-modern curriculum theories reject the modernist Tyler's model which suggests that aims and objective are external to the learning process, a physicists' obsession that the static objective truth is untouched by its spectators.

Pinar is one among the earliest proponents of post-modern curriculum construction. Varied though the movement is, it is clear that the attempt is to redefine curriculum according to its original meaning "currere". Currere refers to " run the racecourse"(Cheung, 1999). Modernist curriculum lopsidedly focuses on the racecourse but forgets the hinge of curriculum "to run". Post-modernist theories endeavor to reconstruct curriculum based on the running theme, thus respecting the emerging dynamic and relativist ontology. Following the "to run" axiom, Pinar (1988) suggests that curriculum should be organized around reflections.

Post-modern curriculum thoughts represent a wide array of different notions. Yet, three strands of thoughts can be discerned, each with its own emphasis and agenda (Cheung, ibid). Capra (1982) expresses the environmentalist concern about the antagonism and exploitation of modernist mentality. The emphasis is on reconstructing curriculum to build up a peaceful and ecologically friendly global village.

On the other hand, Apple (1979) expresses the concern about the mirroring of existing power relationship (class, gender and race) and dominant ideologies on the making of the curriculum. Bowles and Gintis (1976), on the other hand, pinpoint on social stratification. The concern about social inequality has paved the way to reforming the curriculum to ensure emancipation. Giroux (1994) expresses the need to educate students to be critical and to read critically to transcend the border and confine of the text.

Prigogine portrays the universe as a chaotic order, thus reversing the modernist cosmological conception of linear relationship, stable order and high predictability. Doll (1993) proposes that curriculum should be reconstructed to mirror the new paradigm. The post-modernist curriculum would need to be open, complex and dynamic in nature.

DOLL'S CURRICULUM PROPOSAL

Doll (1993) outlines his proposal of post-modern curriculum and explains how it converges with the more progressive thinking in the turn of the century.

Doll (1993: 155) explicitly states that " My own educational vision centers around Rorty-Kundera Statement. There does exist a fascinating, imaginative realm where no one owns the truth and everyone has the right to be understood…we are dealing not with a reality already set out there for us to discover but with multiple ways of interpreting the echo of god's laughter." Doll (ibid: 156) then further explains " social, political, and human failures for which our century may come to be known: war, genocide, famine, poverty, enslavement, ecological devastation are all done under the aegis of rational thought and procedures, and in many cases with good intentions. However, it appears to me that these failures have all been based on unquestioning faith in a metaphysical reality…."

This couple quotations, spirit of which permeates almost every line of the book, reflects Doll's felt grievance against the harm done to humankind by the obsession with hard science, his aspiration to see the liberation of human minds and lastly and most importantly about the way how the complex cosmos should be interpreted.

In curriculum terms, Doll portrays the following principles:

To begin with, the curriculum should not be a rigid linear sequence of pre-set learning activities. Instead, it should be a matrix. There is no beginning or end nor rigid sequential order, not to say confining and restricting boundaries. It emphasizes actions and interactions of participants and interaction of foci.

The curriculum should emphasize a practical rather than a theoretical perspective. Teaching and learning need to be concrete and particular. The preaching of grand all-encompassing theories should be withdrawn in favor of theories grounded on practices which are able to handle the chaotic nature of the universe.

The curriculum should be jointly decided on by the teachers and students involved. This devolution of power put the trust on teachers and students to be best experts of teaching and learning. The shift in the locus of control further requests central curriculum guidelines to be broad and vague to allow the treasured flexibility. Down to lesson planning, the same principle should be followed by teachers to ensure due flexibility for conjoint planning. In talking about pedagogical relations, Doll even suggests that a curriculum at the beginning can evolve to become something different at the end, following students' choice and the discourses generated in class.

The curriculum should be based on recursive reflection. The consequences of the past can be taken as the problematic for the future. This can be a way to nurture the critical attitude and sense of community for the upcoming generations.

The curriculum should be based on self-organization of the learners. Self-organization comes from timely and appropriate perturbation, instead of the fake sense of stability and predictability modernist education conveys.

To facilitate the achieving of self-organization on which real learning and ability to survive in the post-modernist world depends, two conditions need to be met. First, the learning ethos should be one of joy and relaxation instead of one which is based on pressure and rush to learn. Second, the learners should be well versed with the learning materials. Revisiting the same materials from different perspectives would help to provide the richness in content that brings forth the desired cognitive transformation.

Teachers are suggested to give up their traditional authoritative role to become partners of the learners, as the first among the equals. The classroom is to transform from being a tightly controlled ward to one marked by self-discipline and communal spirit where critical attitudes are construed in a friendly and constructive manner.

Teachers should give up the moribund modernist view of epistemology where truth is absolute, static, external and can be ascertained by rational analysis. They should join hands with their students in exploring their version of truth in an interpretative, constructive manner, at critical dialogue with the text if necessary. In terms of cultural relations, perspectives across different cultures can help illicit the force necessary for us to go beyond the confines of our customary beliefs to other facets of the truth which can be interpreted in many respectable ways.

Evaluation should not be conducted for the sole purpose of selection and screening. It should be geared towards promoting interaction between teachers and students. Students should not be measured

against straight canon according to some sort of deficiency theory. Instead feedback from students should be respected as one of the many possible interpretations of a complex truth and discussed in a warm, communal way.

Last, but most important, is that curriculum should promote a new post-modern mentality. The essence of the mentality would be the dedication to pursue different interpretations and to explore new patterns and relations rather than to seek security in any dogma or orthodox as exemplified in the modernist mode of thought which degenerates to become a form of scientific superstition.

DOLL'S CURRICULUM AS A BREAKTHROUGH

To start with, we should have a clear conception about what a significant breakthrough represents. A major curriculum breakthrough is only worthy of the name if it meets the following conditions:

First, it is markedly different from the past, not just in its outward appearance but also in its nature and underpinning philosophy. Such differences make it a better fit with its time than its predecessor.

Second, it must be internally consistent and externally appealing to its audience.

Third, it must represent a form of significant improvement over the current mode of thought.

Fourth, it can be put to implementation. This implies either the curriculum dovetails the existing state of reality or it prescribes viable ways to overcome existing obstacles to its implementation.

Using the above criteria in my analysis, I deem Doll's curriculum theory for being a breakthrough in the post-modern epoch.

To begin with, Doll's curriculum is in line with the demand of the new era, whether one calls it post-modern or late capitalist age makes no difference.

Curriculum in the modern age is based primarily on the theories of Tyler. The model that arises mirrors the cosmological construct and demands of industrial societies. Thus, there is a set of pre-determined aims to be achieved, as in the universe truth is external to its spectators. No room is provided for individual differences in learning and no allowance is ever granted to personal choice of subject matter as students are input in the manufacturing belt and standardization is a must in the manufacturing process. It reminds one particularly the scene of dropping identically masked students to the blast furnace in Pink Floyd's "The Wall". Evaluation and assessment are much emphasized as quality control, in quantitative terms at least, is accorded high priority in a factory. Underlining this modernist curriculum notion are the philosophies: perennialism and essentialism. In either philosophy, the epistemology assumes that there is a static set of knowledge, which exists, independent of time rather than as a function of time. The job of the students, thus, is to learn such knowledge from their teachers and this will enable them to survive their future life.

What can be the social consequence of such a curriculum system? It depends. When the society is developing gradually and the demand of labor force is mainly diligence and compliance, there is a good fit between the society and the educational output. This is perhaps the case in the pre and early industrial period. However in the late industrial and post-industrial period, such a system is moribund. The human resources required in the tertiary sector of the fast-developing, information-technology-driven, post-industrial society are creative, adaptive and ever-learning personalities. The modernist curriculum system, which reduces the students to passive recipients of a fixed dose of knowledge, has become totally out-fashioned especially when knowledge becomes obsolete speedily.

Doll's curriculum proposal does not presume naively there is a fixed dose of knowledge which is necessary and sufficient for a life's time. The locus of control and motivation in learning is placed in the learners themselves. That's why there is the emphasis on activity approach and discovery method. There is in Doll's theory a clear post-modernist chaotic spirit of indeterminacy, a negation of any belief of everlasting truth. Put against curriculum practice, this results in the call for learners' own reflection as the core of learning and recursive exploration of subject matter as the means to facilitate the much-cherished reflection. To further reduce the repressive nature of schools and to enhance the impression of learning as a joyous process, teachers are to become learning facilitators rather than the authoritative fountain of knowledge and the dreadful whip of learning in the perennialist and essentialist conception. Students also are given a much greater autonomy in class and in choice of subject matter. Apart from the new epistemology and cosmology implied, Doll's curriculum proposal is distinctive for the personalities it works to construct. Persons who take learning as part of their living and engage actively in them with joy at heart. Persons who bow to no dogmas whatever big names that scaffold them. Persons who actively construct reality from own reflections. These, I venture to say with cogent reasons, are exactly the personality traits post-modern humankind should possess. These are the very attributes of the surviving species Darwin's nature will sort out in the post-modern ever- changing landscape. These are the nature of the very human resources post-modern tertiary sector of production would require. Coming back to the nature of the universe, there can be a never- ending debate about whether the cosmos has no orderly pattern. Some people say the Creator's hands always move in mysterious way. Some believe that the way the trajectory of the cosmos is far more complex than humankind formerly theorized, perhaps with far more variables involved and in a more evolving rather than orbiting manner. Notwithstanding, an inquisitive mind is needed for one who lives in the post-modern time if any classic, authoritative theory and scientific explanations can be insufficient and better metaphor can emerge. This permission to liberate the human minds is found in Doll's curriculum, which provides rooms for inquisitiveness and individual interpretations.

Does the new proposal appeal to educators in this new era? This is another criterion a breakthrough should meet as expounded in my preceding discussion. Tentatively, I am optimistic. Doll's curriculum proposal manages to integrate a number of leading educational thoughts emerging since the mid-twentieth century. The following strands of thoughts are clearly discernable in Doll's Curriculum Matrix.

Dewey's concern about student-centered learning

Students are active learners who are driven primarily by curiosity. A communal classroom with teachers as friendly facilitators is most supportive to students who learn through activities.

Bruner's concern about recursive learning

Students are to learn in a recursive way via a spiral curriculum which provides the students first a bird eyes' view of the subject and then a worm eyes' view of certain portion of the landscape. Successive revisiting of the landscape enables the students to master the subject matter as well as provide the best opportunities for the students to correct former misconception.

Piaget's concern about transformation

Students are programmed to develop by stages as ordained by nature. From infancy to adulthood, we pass

through the sensory-motor, pre-operational and then formal operational stage sequentially. The locus of control is thus inside a child rather than resting on the external agents, whom we call teachers. The job of teachers would thus be serving as facilitators of growth. Through providing stimulation and challenges in the form of disequilibrium, we help students to transform by enhancing and reforming their conceptual construct.

Prigogine's chaotic universe

It is protest against the simplistic, mechanistic Newtonian cosmology. The universe is seen as a complex entity which mere mathematical formula can hardly manage to decode. The linear relationship in the old worldview is seen as too complacent, taking the shape of superstition with hard science. The real world is one where things are hardly predictable, both in direction and magnitude. Grand theories are of little use to explain local phenomena which can be interpreted in different, yet equally respectable ways.

Doll not just manages to integrate the above said strands of thought, he also organizes them into a meaningful whole.

In his own criteria of a post-modern curriculum, namely rigor, richness, relation and recursion, the theses of Dewey, Piaget, Prigogine and Bruner become united, at least instrumentally. The recognition of a vibrant universe (Prigogine), marked by uncertainty and indeterminacy, has implied that a curriculum is rigorous only if it respects multiple interpretations and transformation of knowledge. This would result only if students are able to transform cognitively (Piaget) in a rich curriculum that inspires. Such a state of affair would arise only in a recursive curriculum that allows ample chances for reflections (Bruner). A curriculum based on cultural relation is most conducive. In such a curriculum where one can find a hermeneutic frame based on many local narratives, Dewey's dictums of a critical school community based on co-operation and interest finally make sense.

Doll's curriculum proposal is highly consistent, at least internally. Using building blocks as our analogy, Doll's proposed parts fit together with an amazing degree of neatness. The important building blocks I can see are as follows:

(i) a universe only half known ,or worse, wrongly understood (original assumption)

(ii) people need to be enlivened intellectually (due to i)

(iii) teachers and schools cannot claim dogmatic authority (due to i and ii)

(iv) students should be encouraged to reflect recursively and actively seek their own interpretation of truth (largely due to i, also to ii and iii)

(v) examination and repression in schools should be played down (due to ii and iii)

(vi) a critical but communal environment in school (due to ii, iv, and a natural development from iii)

Furthermore, if we compare Doll's curriculum proposals to the development of public education in the developed world, we find an amazing degree of congruence.

In the case of the United States of America, for example, the aims of education as stated in *Goal 2000,* specifies that elementary education would need to foster " competency in challenging subjects including English, mathematics, science, foreign languages, civics… and every school in America will ensure that all students learn to use their mind well, so they may be prepared for citizenship, further learning and productive employment…" College/ University education would need to " increase the youth's ability to understand development in science and in society, to think abstractly and critically…and to make wise decisions…The world is changing rapidly. Many jobs rely on new technology and already require more brain power than muscle power…."

In the case of Japan, the 1995 Report on Education Systems spells out that primary and secondary education should seek to " foster life-long learning attitudes…enables children to experience the joy of learning and of discovering new knowledge."

In 1998, David Blunkett, Secretary of State for Education of the United Kingdom stated in the foreword of the policy paper *The Learning Age* that " We stand on the brink of a new age. Familiar certainties and old ways of doing things are disappearing. Jobs are changing and with them the skills needed for the world of tomorrow. In our hearts we know we have no choice but to prepare for this new age, in which the success will be the education, knowledge and skills of our people"

DRAWBACKS OF DOLL'S CURRICULUM PROPOSAL

In the preceding sections, Doll's proposal is lauded for its far-sightedness, internal coherence and ability to improve education quality in this new era. As implied, we are taking Doll's theory as practical rather than pure academic theory. As such, we would need to examine the validity and limitations of Doll's thesis on both theoretical and practical grounds.

To begin with, the focus of education in Doll's theory is students, to be more specific, students' choice, motivation, and potentials to transform themselves and the knowledge they learn. This moves broadly in line with the humanistic trend of our age. This assumption about human nature is basic to any educational philosophy such as naturalism, essentialism and the like. Yet, as the platform to action, we will have to come back to the most unwelcome question:" Can it be proved?" Even if I do not intend to dispute the axiom in its broadest sense, in theoretical sense at least, we should be aware of the fact that mixed or even contrary findings are equally available. Kohlberg, for example, points out that in the pre-conventional stage (up to about age 10 at least) children are guided by pain avoidance principle. If Kohlberg is right, it is doubtful whether for this age group the active, curious learners, who are able to transcend their existing limitations through voluntary, communal, and critical dialogue, would ever emerge as envisaged by Doll and Dewey. In Maslow's motivation pyramid, on the other hand, survival and security are much more basic to that of excellence and self- realization, the couple of terms so neatly associated with Doll's ideal personalities who challenge and expand the prevailing frame of cognition, even against those preached by their teachers. Even back to Piaget who has so inspired Doll in his curriculum work; it is most worth noticing that the stage framework in concern is a rigid framework at least with reference to age. Such rigidity, I regret to say, is a negation of the ability education has to transform what has been ordained by nature. To be as positive as Doll is in his curriculum theories about the effect of schools and teachers as learning facilitators, we may need to approach Vygotsky's theories instead.

In Doll’s vision, the ultimate aim of a post-modernist curriculum would be to liberate human minds so that social and scientific realities can be studied, particularly in a multi-dimensional and multi-faceted hermeneutic way. Thus there is the call for communal and critical dialogue in the classroom while teachers discard their traditional authoritative outlook. Good as the intention is, especially considering the realization of the limitations of human civilizations (illustrated by the two world wars and the countless social upheavals since the coming of the modernist age), it becomes a matter of doubt whether our education can truly become liberating agent with the change in the delivery. The basic question now becomes practical: " whether existing school curricula have the breath that allows students to think freely and even divergently?" This is particularly relevant with regard to social realities, namely social

beliefs, values and institutions. To this, Giroux (1990) answers rather negatively. He points out that schools and curriculum are so dominated by the official ideology or prevailing way of thought that they can be rather confining, parochial and restraining if the aim is to search for alternative theories. Bowles and Gintis (1976) emphasize the role existing curricula play in replicating the class structure of the capitalist society as the children of workers are forced to believe the bourgeoisie values and culture so as to be docile workers as they grow up. Bourdieu (1976), in his analysis of cultural capital, concludes that schools only favor the children of the middle class as the children from the grass root are bound to fail in a curriculum so grounded on middle class value, manner and language. Sadker and Sadker (1985) consider the matter from a gender point of view and propose that education only work to ensure male hegemony by intentionally nurturing girls to become submissive and passive. Should the above propositions be true, Doll might never achieve what he wants with his curriculum proposal, as schooling is basically a class control instrument.

Apple (1993) explains the current trend of ideological manipulation " A new alliance has been formed, one that has increasing power in educational and social policy. This power bloc combines business with the New Right and with Neo-Conservative intellectuals. Its interests are less in increasing the life chances of women, people of color, or of labor. Rather it aims at providing the educational conditions believed necessary both for increasing international competitiveness, profit, and discipline and for returning us to a romanticized past of the ideal home, family, and school…With the growth of post-modern and post-structural literature in critical educational and cultural studies, however, we have tended to move too quickly away from traditions that continue to be filled with vitality and provide essential insights into the nature of the curriculum and pedagogy that dominate schools at all level. Thus for example, the mere fact that class does not explain all can be used to deny all its power. This would be a serious error."

If education we inherit from the modernist era is ideologically biased, what should be implemented so that education can free our minds in this post-modernist era? Recent literature is rich with suggestions on how to improve existing curriculum with regard to content and pedagogical issues.

Giroux (1990, pp. 32-53) expresses the notion of a border pedagogy. Giroux explains " That is a form of engaged practice…calls into question forms of subordination that create inequalities among different groups as they live out their lives. Likewise it rejects classroom relations that relegate difference to an object of condemnation and oppression, and it refuses to subordinate the purposes of schooling to narrowly defined economic and instrumental considerations. This is a notion of critical pedagogy that equates learning with the creation of critical, rather than merely good citizens."

Accordingly, against the ideal Giroux (ibid) expounds that such border pedagogy should:

i) offer the students opportunity to engage the multiple references that constitute different cultural codes, experiences and languages and developing a critical view of authority. (as a counter text)

ii) disrupt traditional meaning and helps develop new forms of identity, including political, racial, class and gender identities etc. (as counter memory)

iii) require teachers to possess a theoretical grasp of ways in which differences are made through various representations that marginalize subordinate groups and thus in the course of their teaching, students can give voice to how their past and present experiences. (as politics of difference)

Largely Swartz (1996), who wrote on the idea of emancipatory pedagogy, shares this view. Swartz (ibid) expresses " Emancipatory pedagogy is a process of teaching and learning that involves the use of multiple ways of knowing, being and behaving that contest and reconstruct dominant patterns of knowledge formation, dissemination

and perpetuation in schools…Emancipatory pedagogy is process of centering students and teachers in ways of teaching and learning that are based on posing and solving of problems…. Emancipatory pedagogy takes fundamental interest in equity and social justice."

Analyzing from another angle, Ciardiello (2000) brings forth the importance of enhancing students' critical questioning as part of the new multi-dimensional literacy in the 21st century. Ciardiello (ibid) explains that " The case for student-questioning training is based on the changing nature of literacy in the 21st century. The emergence of electronic and technological literacy has led to multi-faceted views of knowledge and different perceptions of the world." On the other hand, Sparzo et al. (1998) differentiates between knowing that (knowledge by description) and knowing how (knowledge by acquaintance) in the curriculum. It is believed that existing curriculum has come down mainly on knowing what and focus mainly on adding information. Truly empowering curriculum, it is proposed should: a) have purposeful, meaningful context (e.g., presenting information so that it can be organized, having students work on long term projects); b) helps students make connections and organize information and c) give students powerful conceptual tools to organize their knowledge (e.g., compare-contrast matrices, learning strategies, and critical thinking approaches).

Apart from the preceding review which focuses primarily on curriculum design, it's worth our attention to examine the issues of bureaucratization, social ethos and logistic support, areas Doll seemingly has ignored notwithstanding their practical significance.

We inherit from the modernist era not just educational practices, but also a bureaucratic educational structure. Curriculum changes, such as those proposed by Doll, would need to go down the huge bureaucratic web, often imbued with old conceptions and ethos, to reach the students and have impact. Midway downstream, the original design of curriculum changes might have been lost or filtered into something hardly recognizable to its originator(s). Even if the original design successfully reaches the schools, appropriate logistic arrangement and teacher training might be lacking to ensure a satisfactory outcome.

Regarding social ethos, it should be borne in mind that any educational reform like Doll's curriculum proposal can succeed only if there is favorable response from final users, especially students and parents. The more a reform deviates from the past, the higher is the risk of resistance due to inertia. This is particularly true if no extrinsic advantage can be seen and the conventionally held belief is threatened. Doll's proposal best exemplifies such a change as it tries to put up a completely new landscape in education where what parents learned as axioms in their days as students no more apply. Thus, teachers no more ensure good behavior and right beliefs in a conservative way. Examination pressure, the prime reason to learn, is withdrawn. Youngsters become less submissive and more challenging to existing values. Parents might not warmly receive all these and even students might find it difficult to adjust to their new roles.

What then is implied with reference to Doll's proposal? Either Doll spends thought on supportive socialization and structural change of the education system and the decision making apparatus, say in the direction of parental education and democratization, and specifies the way ahead, or that I would deem that no viable way to clear the hurdles has been accounted for. This, as spelt out in my preceding discussion, is one point how a curriculum proposal should be evaluated.

Last, but not the least, Doll's curriculum structure should be better discussed with reference to its implication on course structure. A curriculum of no definite beginning and end entails an open school system and a highly flexible course structure. It implies a highly complicated educational landscape with a credit course structure that can transcend

time. Such a structure is probably based on transferable credits recognized across institutes within the same country and even between institutes across the state borders. A curriculum matrix can be realized only if such a flexible structure can be successfully planned for.

CONCLUSION

Doll's curriculum proposal has been reviewed with regard to the coming of the post-modern age. It definitely represents one of the major strands of thought which is based on the assumption of a chaotic universe. As a theory, it is laudable for its internal consistency and for being appealing. It has the merits of being able to map out a new landscape of education, which liberates the human minds to explore the complicated universe the Creator ordained. However, such a new educational landscape would not surface, at least in the way Doll envisaged, unless more consideration is spent on substantiating the proposal, taking into consideration particularly the modernist structure present educational enterprise was established. A post-modernist curriculum can only emerge if all stake holders of education: curriculum planners, teachers, teacher educators, parents and students etc. can develop a culture of reform and have both a vision of the future and the courage to overcome obstacles in order to ensure that curriculum can dovetail the needs of the new age.

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Quality Education through a Post-modern Curriculum

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This paper seeks to present a framework for the school curriculum in the twenty-first century. It first describes and appraises critically the Tyler rationale, which has been influential for many decades. The rationale forms the basis of the school curriculum in many eastern and western countries. Next, the concept and features of modernism which underpin the rationale are described, leading to a discussion of its major strengths and weaknesses.

The paper goes on to present an alternative view of the curriculum - Doll's Model, which better meets the challenges of the fast changing world. The model, with its prominent nature of postmodernism, is discussed. Strengths and weaknesses of the model are also analysed. The author also makes a comparison of the two models, explaining why the latter is preferable to the first in laying the foundation of school curriculum in the coming century.

In the concluding section, recent curriculum initiatives in Hong Kong are described. There is discussion on the merits and limitations of The Target Oriented Curriculum. Then the new curriculum framework and its features are described leading to discussion on the implications for the Hong Kong curriculum. It is stressed that key concepts of postmodernism need to be taken into consideration so that the quality of education can be improved.

Key words: curriculum; modernism; postmodernism; open systems; self-organisation; transformation; higher order thinking skills

INTRODUCTION

There are many conceptions of the school curriculum, and therefore many views of what it should be for and what it should contain. This paper will characterise two such interpretations and evaluate them.

Definition of curriculum

The word "curriculum" comes from the Latin word "currere" which means "a course to be run". Many scholars have given curriculum a variety of definitions depending on whether they view it as a plan, an educational programme, learning experiences, actual occurrences, effects or others. Tanner and Tanner (1975) holds the view that curriculum means planned instructional experience designed to help learners develop and extend individual capability. This takes place in schools and is the result of the reconstruction of learners' knowledge and experiences. Grundy (1987) regards curriculum as a cultural and social construction and a way of organising a set of human practices. The variety of definitions indicates that the word "curriculum" involves complex concepts and ideologies. Generally, it includes a consideration of the purposes of education, the content of teaching, teaching approaches with the focus being on the product as well as the process and a programme of evaluation of the outcomes. The study of curriculum is interrelated

to the study of education and it cannot be divorced from many other disciplines such as psychology, philosophy, sociology and ideology.

Philosophical bases for curriculum and instruction

John Dewey (1938) viewed education from another perspective. He points out that philosophy is the general principle of education and that education is the laboratory of education. Philosophy plays an important role in deciding the aims of education, teaching content and organisation. Hence, its impact on curriculum design cannot be over-emphasised. Dewey stresses that education should equip children with the ability to solve social problems to promote their growth. It is important that they develop continuously to meet the ever-increasing challenges of the world. In accordance with this, Dewey deems it necessary to design a curriculum based on children's experiences and let children be involved in interesting and challenging problems.

How these views are interpreted can be seen in the two different conceptions of curriculum discussed here - the modernist and post-modernist conceptions.

MODERNISM AND POST-MODERNISM

This section deals with the concepts of modernism and post-modernism and their features. Their philosophies have, indeed, a strong impact on the design of the school curriculum, leading to far- reaching consequences.

Modernity

Clear conceptions of modernism and post-modernism are important for addressing contemporary curriculum analysis. Doll's work (1993) provides a thorough introduction to this field. Bell (1976) traces the roots of modernity back to Newton and Enlightenment thought. The scientific cosmology of Newton provided "faith in the homogeneity of the universe and its systematic, rational order." Harty Levin (1966) says that in the fifty-year period 1890-1940, modernism produced "the most remarkable constellation of genius in the history of the west".

Hargreaves (1994) gave a description of the features of modernity. He asserts that modernity is a social condition both driven and sustained by Enlightenment beliefs in rational scientific progress. Politically, modernity typically concentrates control at the centre with regard to decision-making, social welfare and education, and, ultimately, economic intervention and regulation as well.

Hargreaves pinpoints the undesirable effects of modernity on school education. Organizationally, the politics and economics of modernity have had significant and systematic effects on institutional life, including schooling. Most of today's secondary schools are quintessentially modernistic institutions. Secondary schools have struggled hard to improve opportunity and choice for swelling numbers of young people, but at significant cost. There has been a cost of impersonality and alienation for their students, and bureaucratic inflexibility and unresponsiveness to change among their staffs. Personally, the effects of modernistic bureaucracies extend through to the formation and fulfilment of individual selves and identities.

Furthermore, narrowness of vision, inflexible decision-making, unwieldy structures, linear planning, unresponsiveness to changing client needs, the sacrifice of human emotion for clinical efficiency and the loss of meaningful senses of community have all become increasingly apparent and worrying features of the later stages of

modernity.

He argues that "many facets of modernity are clearly in retreat or under review - standardization, centralization, mass production and mass consumption among them". He stresses that modernity is not only problematic but is in a crisis state.

Doll (1993) asserts that modernism as an all-encompassing intellectual movement has outlived its usefulness, yet its influence on curriculum practice is still profound. We are in a new stage of intellectual, political, social development. It is time to do more than reform our methods and practices. It is time to question the modernist assumptions and develop a new prospective that simultaneously rejects, transforms and preserves that which has been. In curriculum terms, the managed, mechanistic, large-scale, predictable, behavioristic, objectives-driven and dehumanized modernistic bureaucratic curriculum is characterized by the Tylerian rationale which will be discussed later in this paper.

Post-modernity

We are moving from a modernist world and a modernist conception of the world to a post-modern world and a postmodernist conception of the world. There are no fixity, stability and absolutes. Major changes have taken place in recent times [1] . Jencks (1987) remarks that post-modernism looks to the past ; at the same time, it transcends the past. The new is built on the old and the future is a transformation of the past. Post-modern art and architecture are thus double-coded, indicating a present entwined with its past and future. Post-modernism has an eclectic nature. It is important to "choose and combine traditions selectively … eclect those aspects from past and present which appear most relevant for the job at hand". Pluralism is a feature of post-modernism. Educationally, the art of creating and choosing is more important than ordering and following. Much of the curriculum to date has trained people to be passive receivers of preordained "truths", not active creators of knowledge. Another feature of the post-modern, as pointed out by Jencks, is the concept of multilayers of interpretation. The post-modern looks to the past in order to code past remnants within a future vision.

Doll argues that the educational views of Dewey, Piaget and Bruner are better understood from a post-modern perspective. Dewey's concepts of experience and transaction, Piaget's of development and reequilibration, and Bruner's of learning and thought blossom more fully and richly in a post-modern milieu.

Because change is exponential, it is not possible to say with certainty what the citizens of the twenty-first century will need from their schools. The aims, objectives, content, pedagogy, evaluation and direction of the curriculum are not fixed, but fluid.

Doll stresses that one of the educational challenges in the post-modern mode is to design a curriculum that both accommodates and stretches, a curriculum that has the essential tension between disequilibrium and equilibrium so that a new, more comprehensive and transformative re-equilibrium emerges.

Theories of Chaos and Complexity

Another feature of postmodernism is the celebration of disparateness and chaos. In the present world where change and uncertainty, unpredictability and instability prevail, there is an ever-increasing need for self-organization and adaptability. Recent theories of chaos and complexity are potent reminders of the need for a paradigm shift in the way

we view the world, from a stable world-order to an ever-changing, unfixed scenario.

Laplacian and Newtonian theories of a deterministic modernistically viewed universe are characterized by predictability, patterning, linearity, causality, stability and objectivity. They contributed to the view of the universe as an ordered mechanism, a closed and deterministic system susceptible to scientific laws. Their link with modernity is evident, for both are premised on the same principles of progress.

Since the 1960s, such theories have been increasingly challenged with the rise of theories of chaos and complexity imbued with the spirit of change, uncertainty, openness and unpredictability and some thought-provoking principles [2]. More recently, theories of chaos have been extended to complexity theory. Morrison (1997b) argues that order is not totally predetermined and fixed but that the universe is creative, emergent (through iteration, learning and recursion), evolutionary and changing, transformative and turbulent. Order emerges in complex systems that are founded on simple rules for interacting organisms. Systems, however defined, are complex, unstable, emergent, adaptive, dynamical and changing. It is the emphasis on nonequilibrium that brings order out of chaos. Change, uncertainty, openness are the order of the day and that a premium is placed on organizations (and self-organizations) that can respond to, live with, cope with and lead change. It is apparent that postmodernism, chaos theory and complexity theory are inseparable from one another.

TYLER'S MODEL AND ITS CRITICAL APPRAISAL

Tyler's book, Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction (1949) raised four questions:

1. What educational purposes should the school seek to attain?
2. How can learning experiences be selected to be useful in attaining these objectives?
3. How can these educational experiences be organised for effective instruction?
4. How can the effectiveness of learning experiences be evaluated?

Schubert (1986) considers the book one of the most influential books on curriculum thought and practice. The predetermination of objectives, the selection and organisation of experiences to reflect those objectives, followed by evaluations to determine whether the objectives have been attained, appear to place prime emphasis on the choice of goals. It can be seen that this is a modernist view. It provides a scientific model of learning, aiming at quality control. The procedures of designing and developing the curriculum are systematic and rational.

Selection of educational purposes

Tyler states that the selection of objectives is not only the first act that must be done in curriculum planning but the key to the whole process. These objectives are based on the needs of children, needs of society and the thoughts of experts. They are also the product of educational philosophy and psychology. In selecting a group of a few highly important, consistent objectives, it is necessary to screen the heterogeneous collection of objectives so as to eliminate the unimportant and the contradictory ones. The screen is based on the educational and social philosophy and psychological principles to which the school is committed.

Furthermore, the consideration of the sequence of development is conducive to effective learning. Equally important is the awareness of the conditions requisite for the learning of certain types of objectives. A psychology of

learning not only includes specific findings but it also involves a unified formulation of a theory of learning that promotes the learning process.

The Tyler Model is typical of modernism in that it places an emphasis on a mechanistic, prescribed, instrumentalistic, behavioristic, and predictable curriculum. It is mainly performance-based and behaviourist focused. Its high degree of prescription gives people sense of security and promotes standardisation. These are essential features of modernism and emphasize the "managerialist" roots of the Tyler rationale - an attempt to "manage" a curriculum for mass schooling.

Selection of educational experiences

In planning an educational program to attain given objectives, we have to decide on the particular learning experiences to be provided. There are three general principles for selecting such experiences [3]: giving learners opportunity to practise, ensuring learner satisfaction, giving learners appropriate learning experiences in sufficient variety to attain various outcomes.

Organisation of learning experiences

In order for educational experiences to produce a cumulative effect, they must be so organised as to reinforce each other. Organisation greatly influences the efficiency of instruction which is a major feature of modernism - the desire for efficiency. There are three major criteria for effective organisation [4], namely continuity, sequence and integration.

Evaluation of learning experiences

Evaluation is the process of finding out how far the learning experiences as developed and organised are actually producing the desired results and the process of evaluation involves identifying the strengths and weaknesses of the plans. Consequently, we will know in what respects the curriculum is effective and in what respects it needs improvement. Since education objectives are essentially changes in the behaviour patterns of the student, evaluation must appraise the behaviour of students. The process of evaluation begins with the objectives of the educational program. Evaluation procedures give evidence about the behaviour implied by each of the major objectives. It is necessary to construct evaluation instruments for a particular objective. They must meet the criteria of validity and reliability. The results of an evaluation will be analysed to indicate the various strengths and weaknesses of the curriculum.

It can be seen from the procedure that the Model is highly prescriptive, exercising great control over teachers and students. This has the undesirable effect of making them very passive. The Model lays emphasis on outcome, performance and behaviourism, and products that can be measured, controlled and managed. The significance of process is neglected. The Model is sympathetic to modernist attempts to standardise, control and build out human weaknesses or differences. Tyler's Model is universal and uniform and that is its greatest strength and its greatest weakness. It is the archetypal modernist curriculum.

Strengths of Tyler's Model

Tyler's Model is characteristic of modernism which has a lot of strengths with regard to clarity, simplicity, usefulness, practicability, comprehensiveness and focus on specific areas. Tyler's Model is considered effective in curriculum design because it gives a complete paradigm with all the major considerations. The questions posed have a wide, long-lasting and popular appeal. The model is highly structured and systematic. It is also an appropriate system for large-scale mass education and good for the basics. It is performance based, behaviourist and outcome focused. Standards are set and the learning objectives are measurable. It is a closed system which is easy to follow. The model is sympathetic to the scientific positivist mentality that underpins the modernist conceptions of society - everything is predictable, ordered, measurable, objective and scientific. Rationality rules!

Tyler put into practice the theories of many other educationalists such as Dewey. The framework he proposes is comprehensive, including all the major elements. At the same time, it is simple and easy to understand. It is not built on theories alone as pointed out by Hlebowitsh (1995) [5] . Furthermore, the evaluative system suggested by Tyler is one of the earliest theories in the field. The evaluative procedures are systematic and effective in judging the effectiveness of the curriculum and serve an important guideline for curriculum planners. His contributions are still recognised in the field of educational researches nowadays. Tyler's rationale is a practical theory that is likely to improve any school curriculum. It has laid a due emphasis on the consideration of psychology, philosophy, and theories of learning. Tyler suggests that curriculum planning could start with the existing problems and needs and the rationale could be used at any point with these emergent conditions.

Hlebowitsh (1995) remarks that the rationale is a framework that re-orchestrates key sources, determinants and questions that other progressive-experimentalists championed. The four questions raised by the Rationale correspond to the reflective nature of the problem method that Dewey discussed for educational inquiry. There is a broad and cautious quality to the rationale that the school can benefit from a problem-focused framework that provides a solid ground for the exercise of classroom intelligence and artistry. It gives an overall shape and direction to the schools, not only in adjudicating what knowledge, experiences and values are most worthwhile for the schools of democracy but also in making decisions over schedule of time and space.

Tyler's Model is also an appropriate system for large-scale mass education and good for the basics. It is a closed system which gives progressive completion to aims. It represents the progressive-experimentalist's commitment to testing ideas in practice to founding judgements in key psycho-philosophical sources, and formulating curriculum problems and solutions based on a reflective method.

Criticisms of the Tyler's Model

In the previous section, features of modernism have been discussed. In contrast with postmodernism, modernism has a lot of undesirable characteristics. Tyler's model, being modernistic, is criticised for being mechanistic, remote from reality, closed, out-dated, behaviouristic, and prescriptive.

William E. Doll (1993) makes a critical analysis of Tyler's Rationale in his book "A Post-modern Perspective on Curriculum". He regards it as a modernist, linear and cause-effect framework. The process becomes *de facto* the implementation and evaluation of pre-set ends. Such a view of process is severely limited. Tyler's four foci are but a variation on Descartes' general method for "rightly conducting reason and seeking truth in the sciences". Learning, in

both these models, is limited to the discovery of the existent, the already known. In the closed system, there can be a transmission of information but not a transformation of knowledge. Descartes is highly committed to mechanism and considers it an extension of his faith in mathematics, producing the certainty he seeks. His mechanistic methodology permeates modernist epistemology and is evident at both subtle and overt levels in contemporary curriculum instruction. The mechanistic model is characteristic of the Tyler Rationale. Classroom pedagogy possibly does not question assumptions and beliefs; rather, it may begin with what is self-evident and moves in linear links to reinforce, establish, or prove that already set and valued.

Doll (1993) remarks that Tyler places prime emphasis on the choice of goals. Being pre-selected, objectives as ends are elevated beyond or made external to the process itself. Tyler talks of "an acceptable educational philosophy", which acts as a screen in the selection of objectives. However, as Kliebard (1995) points out, Tyler does not elaborate on the criteria of this screen. There also lies a basic value difference between John Dewey and Ralph Tyler. Dewey sees educational ends arising within the process of experiential activity, with learning as a by-product of that activity while Tyler sees educational ends set prior to experience, with learning a specifically intended, directed, and controlled outcome - one that can be measured. The difference is seen more clearly when curriculum is looked at from a post-modern perspective.

For educational goals, Tyler turns to Bobbit's (1924) notion of framing these in terms of the practical and professional work needs of contemporary society. Like Bobbit, he talks of "needs" as "gaps to be overcome" and he uses contemporary standards as the basis for these needs or gaps. Needs tacitly assume a stable-state universe wherein the oughts are agreed to, categorised and measured. The concept of standardised norms lying within a stable-state universe lies at the very heart of the modernist paradigm. It is also a concept the post-modernist paradigm, in all its variations, challenges, and rejects.

Ted Aoki (1983) carries this concept of instrumentality in the Tyler rationale even further. He points out that the "scientific" tradition in curriculum is really a utilitarian orientation rooted in interest for "intellectual and technical control of the world". The roots lie partly in modernism's fear of uncertainty, and its utopian vision of a better world through order and control. Jacob Bronowski (1978) warns that "Cause and effect has taken powerful hold on our minds" that "we have the greatest difficulty in freeing ourselves from its compulsion". He adds that "Nature is not strictly a succession of causes and effects". Embedded within nature is the powerful force of creation, of spontaneous action, of self-organisation - examples of complexity and chaos theories We need to use the message of post-modern science if curriculum is to enter a new era.

Tyler's mention of the use of the philosophical and psychological screens has given rise to great controversy. Hlebowitsh (1995) comments that the Tyler Rationale acts as a device to legitimate the role of behaviourism and narrow specificity in curricular thinking. Tyler's Model is undesirable as a complete model for the design of curriculum in education. It tends to cast students in a passive mode, emphasising control and understanding rather than empowerment. It also tends to trivialise the curriculum to the easily measurable, that is addressing lower order behaviours rather than higher order thinking. It also reduces the complexity of the curriculum to simplistic statements. Finally, it exerts a constraining influence on individual empowerment, emancipation and freedom which is the characteristic of post-modernism.

It is useful to compare Tyler's Model with Habermas's (1981) Technical Model of the curriculum [6]. They have features in common and have important implications for the design of curriculum.

DOLL'S MODEL AS AN ALTERNATIVE VIEW

Tyler's Rationale is characteristic of a modernist, scientific, managerialist mentality of society and education that regards ideology and power as unproblematic. Doll argues that it is firmly rooted in Taylor's view of "scientific management". Taylor believes that pre-ordering of tasks by managers for workers is "the most prominent single element in modern scientific management". This has been incorporated into the design of curriculum by many curriculum developers. It is assumed that ends should be fixed prior to the implementation of means. Efficiency is measured in terms of the number of specific ends achieved and the time needed for achievement.

Doll (1993) criticises Tyler's Rationale for its linear ordering of the sequence: pre-set goals, selection, and direction of experiences, evaluation and its dichotomous separation of ends from means and the instrumentalist or functionalist view of the nature of education. Furthermore, its closed system of planning and practice is inconsistent with the notion of education as an opening process and with the view of post-modern society as open and diverse, multidimensional, fluid and with power more problematical. This view takes seriously the impact of chaos and complexity theory and derives from them some important features for contemporary curricula.

Features of Doll's Post-modern Model

Doll's philosophy of education is reflected by his pedagogic creed which stresses the concept of reflection. Doll believes that curriculum is a process not of transmitting what is known but of exploring what is unknown; and through exploration students and teachers "clear the land" together, thereby transforming both the land and themselves. Learning and understanding come through dialogue and reflection. The role of curriculum is to help us negotiate these passages; towards this end it should be *rich, recursive, relational, and rigorous*. As we leave our present century and paradigm for another century and paradigm, we need to develop a new set of criteria as to what constitutes an effective curriculum.

Doll emphasises both the constructive and nonlinear nature of a post-modern curriculum which emerges through the action and interaction of the participants. He considers curriculum in terms of constructing a matrix in keeping with Dewey's idea of mind as a verb and Bruner's idea of it "as an instrument of construction". He emphasises the concepts of self-organisation, indeterminacy, stability across and through instability, order emerging spontaneously from chaos and the creative making of meaning and considers these nonlinear concepts a new set of curricular criteria.

Self-organisation

In post-modernism, self-organisation is a major component. Originally, this is a term used to characterise the autonomy of biology. Prigogine (1980) contributes to the understanding of the concept of self-organisation by saying that it is not telelogical (moving to a predetermined end) nor teleonomic (purposeful adaptation to the environment, as in the preservation and function of life). Self-organisation is open-ended. The future evolves from the present (and the past) and is dependent on interactions that have happened and are actually happening. The open-endedness of this process is in its initiation of a next stage; the past does contribute but only partially to this initiation. It is the dialogue between the present construct and the problems of the environment that determines the emerging, next stage. A curriculum model designed along these transformational lines has the potential to be rich in generation. The process of self-organisation depends on reflective action, interaction, transaction - key points in the curriculum theorizing of Jean Piaget, Jerome

Bruner and John Dewey.

One requirement for self-organisation to work is perturbation. A system self-organises only when there is perturbation, problem or disturbance (when the system is unsettled and needs to resettle) to continue functioning. As Piaget says, this unsettlement (disequilibrium) "provides the driving force" of redevelopment. Curriculum designed with self-organisation as a basic assumption is qualitatively different from curriculum designed with the assumption that the student is only a receiver. In the former, challenge and perturbation become the *raison d'etre* for organisation and reorganisation. In the latter, challenge and perturbation become disruptive and inefficient, qualities to be removed and stamped out as soon as possible.

Open Systems

Prigogine (1961) points out that in thermodynamics it is common to refer to systems as isolated, closed or open. Isolated systems "exchange neither energy nor matter". It is the type of system that Socrates envisioned in his concept of knowledge being recycled. Closed systems, on the other hand, a development of the modernist paradigm, "exchange energy but no matter". Open systems, a development of the post-modernist paradigm, "exchange both energy and matter". The key point is that isolated systems exchange nothing, being at best cyclical; closed systems transmit and transfer; open systems transform.

For the most part, the modernist curriculum has adopted the closed version where knowledge is transmitted and transferred. The post-modern curriculum has adopted the open version where learning is a transformative process. Open systems require disruptions in order to function while closed systems resist disruptions.

Goals, Plans, Purposes

Doll favours Dewey's view that a curriculum should honour an individual's ability to form, plan, execute, and evaluate as well as his planning activities - that is, his actual doing of planning. Such a curriculum should be based on an interactive, not a spectator, pedagogy and epistemology.

There are two crucial misconceptions in the modernist curriculum. One is that an individual is assumed to best develop planning skills by being a passive receiver or copier of another's plans rather than by being an active participant or discoverer of knowledge. The second is that we have assumed a cosmology based on a universe stable in order. This simplistic view of a stable universe has been found to be inadequate. Complexity is the nature of Nature. Undoubtedly, it assumes concepts not recognised by modernism for example, self-organisation and transformation. Goals, plans and purposes should arise not purely prior to but also from within action. Plans arise from action and are modified through actions. The two are interactive, each leading into the other and depending on the other.

Evaluation

Doll remarks that in the modernist curriculum, our frame for teaching is based on a closed set. The teacher helps students to acquire a particular, set body of knowledge in a particular, set way. Evaluation is mainly based on grades attained by students. In a modernist frame, evaluation is basically used to separate winners from losers. However, in the post-modern, transformative curriculum, there is no ideally set norm, no canon which serves as a universal reference point. Evaluation, in a post-modern frame, serves a different function. It would be essentially a negotiary process within a communal setting for the purpose of transformation. The teacher would play a central role in this process but would

not be the exclusive evaluator; evaluation would be communal and interactive. It would be used as feedback, part of the iterative process of doing-critiquing-doing-critiquing. The focus would be on helping students to develop intellectual and social powers through dialogue and constructive critiques.

THE FOUR R'S-AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE TYLER RATIONALE

Doll suggests the four R's of Richness, Recursion, Relations and Rigor to serve as the criteria to foster a post-modern view and evaluate the quality of a post-modern curriculum.

Richness

This refers to a curriculum's depth, to its layers of meaning, to its multiple possibilities or interpretations. In order for students and teachers to transform and be transformed, a curriculum needs to have the "right amount" of indeterminacy, anomaly, inefficiency, chaos, disequilibrium, dissipation and lived experience. The concept of developing richness through dialogue, interpretations, hypothesis generation and proving, and pattern playing can apply to all we do in curriculum.

Recursion

Bruner (1986) states that "any formal theory of mind is helpless without recursion" and asserts the importance of recursion for epistemology and pedagogy. This is also the way one produces a sense of self, through reflective interaction with the environment, with others, with a culture. Doll stresses that "recursive reflection" lies at the heart of a transformative curriculum. Bruner (1960) defines a recursive curriculum by his "spiral curriculum". Dewey points out that every ending is a new beginning, every beginning emerges from a prior ending. Recursion aims at developing competence - the ability to organise, combine, inquire and use something heuristically. Its frame is open.

Relation

The concept of relations is important to a post-modern, transformative curriculum in two ways, in a pedagogical way and in a cultural way. In focusing on pedagogical relations, one focuses on the connections within a curriculum's structure which give the curriculum its depth as this is developed by recursion. The concept of cultural relations grows out of a hermeneutic cosmology - one which emphasises narration and dialogue as key vehicles in interpretation. Bowers (1987) has tied the concept of cultural relationships to the ecological crises we face today. He draws our attention to modernism's strong sense of individualism. Individualism has tended to pit humanity against nature and to believe that progress occurs through competition, not cooperation. This belief, unfortunately, is part of our present day pedagogy and cosmology.

Rigor

Rigor, in some ways, is the most important of the four criteria. It keeps a transformative curriculum from falling into either "rampant relativism" or sentimental solipsism. It moved from Aristotlean-Euclidean logic to deeply felt

perceptions and conceptions. The English empiricists wanted to move rigor away from subjective states to the objective and observable. Rigor can enter a world that can be measured and manipulated.

Rigor in a post-modern frame draws on qualities foreign to a modernist frame, for example, interpretation and indeterminacy. Rigor can be defined in terms of mixing the two. The quality of interpretation, its own richness, depends on how fully and well we develop the various alternatives indeterminacy presents. It seems necessary to build up a community which is critical as well as supportive.

Doll's Model has been described. It can be seen that some principles of Doll's Model are similar to those of Habermas's Emancipatory Model of the curriculum. It is useful to make a comparison between the two models [7].

Strengths of Doll's Model

It can be seen that Doll's Model has a lot more strengths than those of Tyler's in the qualitative aspect. It is a post-modern, transformative curriculum better suited to the demands of the new era. The open system encourages critical thinking, decision-making by all people thus promoting a democratic society. Hargreaves held a view similar to Doll in the concept of a post-modern world. He argues that " the kinds of organisations most likely to prosper in the post-industrial, post-modern world, it is argued, are ones characterised by flexibility, adaptability, creativity, opportunism, collaboration, continuous improvement, a positive orientation towards problem-solving and commitment to maximising their capacity to learn about their environment and themselves."

Doll's Model aims at promoting higher order competence as opposed to acquisition of subject knowledge of the curriculum. The classroom atmosphere is different from that of the traditional classroom. The teacher is no longer an authority, but a facilitator and transformative intellectual who caters for individual needs and differences. Learning is much more interactive, interesting, motivating and flexible.

Here the Model again is in line with the style advocated by Hargreaves. He argues that "processes of inquiry, analysis, information gathering and other aspects of learning how to learn in an engaged and critical way become more important as goals and methods for teachers and schools in the post-modern world".

The Model fosters communication, independence and self-organisation. Opportunities for reflection are offered throughout the course of learning. The Four R's of the curriculum set down the principles of an effective curriculum.

Criticisms of Doll's Model

Tyler's Model is neat, systematic and scientific, but Doll's Model appears to be vague and unclear. Doll's Model is, to a certain extent, unrealistic, idealistic, impracticable, and assertive. The open system Doll advocates may diverge to some unexpected or undesirable consequences. Conservative educationalists may find it insecure, unstable and uncertain. The Model may challenge the status and culture of teachers as respectable experts. Moreover, successful implementation of the curriculum based on Doll's Model requires highly professional staff who are confident, resourceful and ready to meet the challenges. It may be too demanding on teachers. The kind of outcome is difficult to assess. Hence, in terms of reliability and consistency, it is not considered a good Model. The Model may pose a threat to government and bureaucracies as it does not favour central control with regard to decision-making, social welfare and education.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE HONG KONG CURRICULUM

The Tyler Model and the Doll Model and their respective strengths and weaknesses have been described in the previous sections. In this section, their implications for the Hong Kong school curriculum will be discussed. The Tyler Model has been influential for many years in Hong Kong and it forms the foundation of the school curriculum. But in recent years, the school curriculum has been found to be inadequate and there are attempts to introduce a new curriculum to respond to the fast changing world and the needs of the new century. The author is of the view that it is highly desirable that the new school curriculum in Hong Kong should embody the key concepts of the Doll Model which are characteristic of postmodernism. This section will examine the arguments for this point of view and a few recommendations will also be made.

Background

Compulsory education was enforced in 1971 for primary education in Hong Kong. From September 1978, the Government was able to provide sufficient places for every primary school leaver to proceed to three years of free junior secondary education. During the transition from a highly selective system to a system of free and compulsory education, quantitative concern was dominant. Morrison (1997a) points out that the relationship between the curriculum and the wider society is complex and ambiguous [8].

The curriculum in 1960's to 1980's in Hong Kong was essentially based on Tyler's Model which was highly prescriptive and closed. It was most suitable for colonial education because it promoted central control and stability. There was undue emphasis on "high status" knowledge which was academic, subject bound, abstract and theoretical. It was taught to the elite children. "Low status" knowledge of the opposite nature was taught to the mixed ability groups. The keen competition for school places made education serve the purpose of preparing students for examinations. Students had to devote all their time and energy to pursue knowledge and examination skills. They did not show interest in extra-curricular activities. Teachers were discouraged from talking about politics or any sensitive issues about the government. Little emphasis was placed on the development of cognitive skills in students.

The Target Oriented Curriculum

A significant change in the education system resulted from the unexpected new political situation in 1984 when there was a joint declaration by Britain and China that the sovereignty of Hong Kong would revert to China in 1997. This had important consequences on the school curriculum. The new direction of education would serve to foster democracy and autonomy of the people. A major change in the school curriculum came in 1991 when the Education Commission's Report No.4 made recommendations on improving the quality of education in Hong Kong. The Target Oriented Curriculum (TOC) Framework was introduced. Noteworthy was the emphasis on the development of the higher order thinking skills, namely, communicating, inquiring, conceptualising, reasoning and problem-solving. The Target Oriented Curriculum initiative provided the Hong Kong education system with an opportunity to respond to the contextual requirements of the times, to address a number of major problems in the present education system, and to ensure that current conceptions of learning, progression and knowledge were built into the curriculum. It aimed at developing the capabilities of each individual to maintain and enhance the quality of life in our community.

The TOC shows a marked improvement over the curriculum in the past. It is moving towards the direction of a

post-modern curriculum as evidenced by the following features:

- the curriculum is process-oriented rather than focus on the product only,
- it lays emphasis on the development of higher order thinking skills and fosters creativity,
- the teacher is no longer the authority in the classroom. Instead, he acts mainly as a facilitator, helping children construct knowledge. Knowledge is not simply transmitted,
- curriculum strategies address learner differences. Graded tasks are used to cater for students with different abilities.

However, it is handicapped by its inherent modernist nature in that

- it is still prescriptive and system-driven. The linear sequence of Tyler Model is followed: chosen targets, selected experiences, planned organisation and evaluation,
- its degree of openness is limited, since there is prediction and control,
- it assumes development based on stability; the concept of order emerging from chaos is lacking, and
- it is not transformative enough and there is limited self-organisation.

Curriculum review

Since 1999, a holistic review of the school curriculum has been conducted in Hong Kong with a view to preparing the younger generation to meet the challenges of the 21st Century. In 2000, a new curriculum framework for **Learning to Learn** was introduced. Key learning areas, generic skills, and values and attitudes are identified. The Curriculum Development Council has set out the following overall aim of the school curriculum:

> *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 potentials, 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 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 different needs of students and schools.*

The school curriculum for the 21st Century is defined as the learning experiences to be provided to students necessary for achieving the aims of education in Hong Kong. The curriculum framework consists of three components: Key Learning Areas (knowledge/concepts), Generic Skills, and Values and Attitudes. There are eight key learning areas,

namely Chinese Language Education, English Language Education, Mathematics Education, Personal, Social, Humanities Education, Science Education, Technology Education, Arts Education and Physical Education.

Nine types of generic skills fundamental to help students learn better are identified as essential. They are collaboration skills, communication skills, creativity, critical thinking skills, information technology skills, numeracy skills, problem-solving skills, self-management skills and study skills. It can be seen that the skills cover the basic skills as well as higher order thinking skills. They are not entirely new and some of them, such as communication skills and problem-solving skills have been emphasised in the TOC.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The introduction of the TOC has undeniably brought improvement in education in Hong Kong, but it still leaves much to be desired. Hong Kong is in need of a post-modern and transformative curriculum. The four R's of Doll's Model and the concept of self-organisation can help to develop a more effective curriculum in Hong Kong. The recent curriculum reform has apparently taken into consideration the principles of more effective models of post-modern and transformative curricula. The new curriculum framework lays due emphasis on constructivism and encourages critical thinking and learning by interaction and participation. However, it can be further developed so that it embodies the major qualities of a post-modern curriculum as advocated by Doll. To help schools put the curriculum framework into action, there is a need to provide teachers and school heads with professional development courses to enhance their professional competence and understanding of the school curriculum. At the same time, supportive measures should be adopted and extra resources should be provided to schools to help them improve and implement their curricula. It is also recommended that more classroom research be conducted to develop teaching and learning strategies to enhance students' generic skills and the assessment strategies of such skills.

CONCLUSION

In this essay, the concepts of modernism and post-modernism have been discussed. Models of Tyler and Doll as typical of modernist and post-modern curricula have also been appraised. Clearly, both Models have their respective strengths and weaknesses. The Tyler rationale has been used as a general curricular foundation for many decades. Owing to its inadequacies, it is necessary to develop a new paradigm with a new set of criteria in order to design an effective curriculum. The 21st Century curriculum should desirably be post-modern in nature: open, rich, creative and characterised by a classroom atmosphere that offers chance for reflection, fosters higher order thinking skills and self-organisation. At the same time, it is useful to retain some of the strengths of Tyler's Model in the new curriculum. In proposing any education reform, educationalists should consider the point of view of UNESCO (1996) which set out the "Four Pillars of education" [9] for the twenty-first century: *learning to know, learning to do, learning to live together and learning to be*. We are pursuing and striving for quality education. A post-modern curriculum which adopts an open vision will undoubtedly contribute to our attaining the goal.

End Notes

1. Dalin and Rust (1996) point out that ten major revolutions have taken place, namely, the knowledge and information revolution, the population revolution, the globalizing and localizing revolution, the social relationships revolution, the economic revolution, the technological revolution, the cological revolution, the aesthetics revolution, the political revolution and the values revolution.
2. Principles of chaos theory
   - small scale changes in initial conditions can produce massive and unproductive outcome,
   - very similar initial conditions can produce very dissimilar outcomes,
   - regularity and uniformity break down to irregularity and diversity,
   - effects are not straightforward continuous functions of causes,
   - determination is replaced by indetermination; linear and stable systems are replaced by "dynamic", changing, evolving systems and non-linear explanations of phenomena,
   - long-term prediction is impossible.
3. Five general principles for selecting experiences:
   - For a given objective to be attained, a learner must have experiences that give the opportunity to practise the kind of behaviour implied by the objective.
   - Second, the learning experience can give the learner satisfaction during the process of learning.
   - Third, the reactions desired in the experience are within the range of possibility for the learner concerned. This means that the learning experience should be appropriate to the learner's present attainments, his predispositions and the like.
   - Fourth, there are a variety of learning experiences that can be used to attain the same educational objective. This implies that the teacher has a wide range of creative possibility in planning particular work.
   - Fifth, the same learning experience will usually bring about several outcomes. A well-planned set of learning experiences will be made up of experiences that at the same time are useful in attaining several objectives.
4. Three criteria for effective organisation
   - The first is continuity which refers to vertical reiteration of curriculum elements.
   - The second is sequence which is related to continuity but goes beyond it. It emphasises the importance of having each successive experience built upon the preceding one and going more broadly and deeply into the matters involved.
   - The third is integration referring to the horizontal relationship of curriculum experiences. It helps the learner to get a unified view and to unify his behaviour in relation to the elements dealt with.
5. The theories were first developed during Tyler's work on the Eight Year Study, where 30 experimental schools engaged in a wide range of curriculum initiatives. The results of the Eight Year Study were favourable to the experimental schools.
6. Comparison with Habermas's Model of the Curriculum

   Habermas's view, in line with the Marxism that informs his work, is premised on fundamental principles of social justice, the promotion of social equality, and the nurture of "generalisable interests" (Habermas, 1976a), and the commitment to the emancipation of society.

Grundy (1987) argues that Habermas' s knowledge-constitutive interests inform three styles of curriculum design:

- a rationalist/behaviourist "curriculum as product" view of the curriculum revealing the "technical" knowledge-constitutive interest;
- a humanistic, interpretative, pragmatic "curriculum as practice" view of the curriculum, embodying the hermeneutic knowledge-constitutive interest;
- an existential, empowering and ideological-critical view of the "curriculum as praxis" embodying the emancipatory interest.

Morrison (1997) points out that these styles provide a neat typology of educational goals and design models which enable systems of knowledge to be constructive; on the other hand, they are perhaps too conceptually neat. They fail to see the necessary interconnections and overlaps between what appear to be discrete ideal types. They also tend to trivialise the curriculum to the easily measurable, that is addressing the lower order behaviours rather than higher order thinking. They often reduce the complexity of the curriculum to simplistic statements. Finally, they exert a constraining influence on individual empowerment, emancipation and freedom which is the characteristic of post-modernism.

The Technical Model of the Curriculum

Habermas's technical interest can be seen in the objectives or behavioural model of planning which features in literature from Tyler. In this model, the evidence for learning is demonstrated in the behaviour of students, evaluation of learning thus becomes assessment of end behaviour. The curriculum is cast in an instrumental view, focusing on controlling the content and outcomes. There is strong prescription and strong framing, arguing that the most rational way to plan a curriculum is to decide first the objectives and then find the most suitable means of achieving those ends - a means-end model which is an example of a technicist mentality which leaves aims unquestioned.

Tyler's Model and Habermas's Technical Model of the curriculum are undesirable as complete model of the design in education. They tend to cast students in a passive mode, emphasizing control and understanding rather than empowerment.

7. Comparison with Habermas's Emancipatory Model of the Curriculum

It can be seen that some principles of Doll's Model are similar to those of Habermas's Hermeneutic and Emancipatory Model of the curriculum (Grundy, 1987). The latter serves student empowerment both in content and process, developing participatory democracies, engagement, student voice. Habermas sees in the development of freedoms the need for education to maximise generalisable interests and to serve the furtherance of equality in society, The rejection of a narrowly instrumentalist education coupled with the need for education to serve democracy, liberty and equality reinforces the need for citizenship education.

Habermas's views are fruitful in suggesting curriculum aims some of which are:

- the need to develop students' empowerment and freedom,
- the need to develop communicative competence,
- the need for education to promote equality and democracy,
- the need to develop flexibility and democracy, and
- the need to develop negotiated learning.

Clearly, they are in line with those advocated by Doll.

8. Morrison (1997a) points out that the curriculum can be viewed as an ideological selection from the available cultures, values and interests in society. It affects, effects and is affected somehow by the purposes, structures and contents of the wider society. The curriculum is neither value free nor ideologically innocent, because it is necessarily selective and that selection will support some sectors of society rather than others. Modern Critical theorists hold that the curriculum is inherently political and that therefore, the politics of the curriculum should expose the ideological, political, dominatory groups and interests in society being served by the curriculum.

9. "Four Pillars of Education":

- learning to know

  This means learning to learn so as to benefit from the opportunities education provides throughout life.

- learning to do

  This means acquiring the competence to deal with many situations and work in teams. It also means learning to do in the context of young people's various social and work experiences which may be formal or informal.

- learning to live together

  This means developing an understanding of other people and an appreciation of interdependence as well as a spirit of respect for the values of pluralism, mutual understanding and peace.

- learning to be

  This means developing one's personality and being able to act with ever greater autonomy in judgements and personal responsibility. Education must not disregard any aspects of a person's potential: memory, reasoning, aesthetic sense, physical capabilities and communication skills.

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The Diversified Development of Private Schooling in Basic Education in China: A Comparison between Shanghai, Guangdong, Wenzhou and Tianjin

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The development of private schooling in China follows very different routes in different regions. Since the beginning of the 1990s, regional differences can be found in regions like Shanghai, Guangdong, Wenzhou and Tianjin, even these four places are commonly well-off regions in China. This paper aims at describing the diversity and analyzing the factors leading to such diversity. It suggests that different economic structure, demand for basic education, decentralization of education authority and local government policies towards private education are the major attributes that explain the phenomenon.

INTRODUCTION

Private education has a long root in China that can be traced back to the days of Confucius, more than 2,500 years ago. It disappeared for more than 20 years, however, due to the ideological and political reform that took place after the takeover of the communist. Private education returned to the scene amid fierce debates during the 1980s when China began to adopt the reform and open policy. The controversial nature of private education in a socialist system can be seen in the various terms employed by people in describing more or less the same thing: some use the term "private education"; some use the traditional socialist term of minban (run by the civil community) education; and others may refer it as "education run by social forces" (shehui lilian banxue).[2] Nevertheless, private education has now become a quickly expanding sector in the Chinese education particularly after the famous visits by the incumbent leader, Deng Xiaoping, to the southern part of China in 1992. Since then, market mechanism has been legitimized as an integral part of the "initial phase of socialism".

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[2] The three terms are often used interchangably in the recent debates in Chinese private education although they are slightly different from each others. The term "private education" is politically sensitive and rarely used in the 1980s but is more frequently used in the 1990s. An interesting example is a report in *China Education Daily* on November 24, 1992 which mixed two terms together by using a title "Perspective on *minban* and private school" (*Minban yu sili xuexiao datoushi*).

According to a survey conducted at the end of 1996, funds injected into private schools have surged to 13 billion yuans. Near 10 million students were enrolled in more than 50,000 private education institutions, of which 24,643 are kindergartens, 1,806 are primary schools and 3,427 are secondary schools.[3]

Notably, development of private education did not take a uniform pattern across regions in China. In fact, different forms of private education provision have emerged in regions even of similar economic situation. This paper sets out to describe the different patterns that have taken place in four regions, namely, Shanghai, Guangdong, Wenzhou and Tianjin. Then it will discuss the possible factors attributing to such differences.

DIFFERENT PATTERNS OF DEVELOPMENT OF PRIVATE EDUCATION

Shanghai Municipality

In Shanghai, the municipal government plays a major role in initiating and supporting the development of private schools. It results in a "private" school system which can be characterized as "government subvention" type.

The first batch of five private schools in Shanghai commenced as late as in 1992 just after Deng's famous visit to the south. All these five schools made use of the campuses of some former public schools that have been granted to them by the district education bureaus. Each school was headed by a retired but renowned principal, who held of responsibility to raise funds for the school, recruit and select teaching staff (mostly also retired teachers), and to manage the school. Since then, the number of private schools in Shanghai increased drastically. As at September 1998, there were 158 private schools and the percentages of total school age student enrolled in these private schools were 13.4%, 3.8% and 2.9% for senior secondary, junior secondary and primary sections respectively (Shanghai Municipal Education Commission, 1998).

There are two major types of private schools in Shanghai: -

- *Schools established by application to the government and run by individuals, enterprises or social groups which have gathered sufficient amount of start-up funding* -- These schools usually locate on sites which are rented from district/country education bureaus or other government departments at very low cost or even without cost.
- *Pilot Scheme on Public School Conversion* – This involves two types of schools, firstly, those converted from former public schools that were poorly run with old dilapidated campuses/facilities; and secondly, new schools built at the junction of rural and urban areas resulted from the recent expansion of the city. This is known as the "Pilot Scheme on Public School Conversion, PSPSC" (*gongli xuexiao zhuanzhi shiyan*). The underlined principle is that the state-own status of the schools remains unchanged. However changes can be found in almost all other aspects. The source of school finance changed from solely state subsidy to that of multiple channels, including collection of tuition fee, donation and fund-raising. Strict and direct supervision by bureaucrats is substituted by the so-called "macro-control and supervision", which means a looser control by the state. Accordingly, the management and operation system also change from state-direct management to that of more flexibility and autonomy, in terms of internal management, use of funding, organizational structure and appointment of personnel. We may call these schools "quasi private school".

Over 90% of the 158 private schools in Shanghai belonged to these two categories. They share the common

[3] Figures quoted from the speech given by Qu Yandong (1999), Deputy Head of the Division of Development and Planning of the Ministry of Educational, in the 2nd National Conference on *Minban* Education; and data provided by the Education Office of the National People's Congress based on the statistics data of the State Education Commission. Besides kindergartens and schools, the figure also comprises higher education

features of sites granted by the government at no or low cost. Some of them even receive from the government start-up funding and educational facilities. For the PSPSC schools, recurrent funding and teaching staff establishment are also being provided. After all, all facilities granted by the government remain state-owned but the rights to operation are given to the school managers.

From the government's perspective, there are two desirable aspects for such system. On one hand, the operators and many teachers of these schools are experienced retired educators. Their eagerness, ardency and experience in teaching and managing school can be utilized through such arrangement to supplement the shortage of experienced teachers. On the other hand, the government is also active in the course of reform. The promotion of private school system is included by the Shanghai Municipal Education Commission and also the district/county education bureaus in their respective education development and reform plans. Government agencies are also involved in giving support and supervision to the planning of new schools, student recruitment, teaching, school management, campus site and facilities, selection of principals and the reallocation of teaching staff, etc. The comparatively strong government regulation is often attributed to be one of the factors that lead to the high social reputation of these private schools in Shanghai (see, for example, Zhu & Zhu, 1996). The number of applications received by these private schools each year always several times exceeds the quotas (Shanghai Municipal Education Commission. 1997).[4]

Guangdong Province

More than 40 private schools in Guangdong have been set up in the form of "Education Reserve Fund (*jiaoyu chubeijin*)". It is, in fact, a business approach of school operation and can be referred as the "market orientation" type. Although the number constitutes only some 10% of the total number of private schools in the province, their impact is so prominent that this type of schools has been generally considered to be representing the major characteristics of Guangdong private schools.

Education Reserve Fund is a special form of tuition fees. Students who are admitted into the schools have to deposit some 0.2 to 0.3 million yuans (= US$ 30,000 to 40,000 approximately) into the school fund. The operators of the schools then borrow from the school fund at medium term saving interest rate for purposes of either development of the schools or outside economic activities. Interest income derived from the fund is used to cover operational expenditure of the schools and all students-related expenditure (e.g., tuition, meals, accommodation, travelling and medicine, etc.). The deposits would be returned in full but without interest to the students upon graduation or when they leave the schools.

This type of private schools requires a lot of initial investment that help to build large scale and well-equipped school campus. They target mainly at the high-income groups and have now developed into a niche of distinguished schools. However, these schools have to face considerable social and economic risks. According to a report in the *Guangming Daily* in 1995, "the 'high-tuition' schools in Guangdong Province have already received at least 1.2 billion yuans so far for their Education Reserve Funds", but except the part used for school site development, "at least half of the money has been invested into the private market" (Dai, 1995).

Without sufficient and effective legislation that regulates the operation of the Education Reserve Funds, there is a

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institutions and a large number of "other schools."

[4] According to the report, "the Xinshiji Secondary School recruited 80 students from more than 1,200 applications. The Lansheng-Fudan School recruited two classes but applications also exceeded a thousand. The Shijie Waiguoyu Primary School planned three days for the application for 160 places, but within only a few hours, the quota for 1,000 application had already been filled up."

potential in corruption and misuse of the funds. The ups and downs in the economy also make these funds risky. In fact, there have already been signs that the recent economic crisis in Southeast Asia has adversely affected the operation of some private schools in Guangdong. Intense worries among the government and the public including the parents who have deposited great amount of money have led to the recent prohibition by the Guangdong provincial government of new Education Reserve Fund schools to be established.[5]

Wenzhou

Wenzhou, a prefecture level city in the southern coastal part of Zhejiang Province in eastern China with a population of 7 million, is famous for its development of small enterprises in the overall economic development process of China. Private schools in Wenzhou are mainly developed by social forces with limited capital. Most schools are operated on need-basis as perceived by the people. The scales are usually small but with variety. As at September in 1998, there were already 26,200 students enrolled in 65 private schools. The total enrolment in private senior general secondary schools represented some 25% of the total enrolment in the city. Forty-five private senior vocational secondary schools with an enrolment of 15,600 (45.6% of the total enrolment). With the private education system, Wenzhou managed to pass the "two basics" requirement (which means basically implementing nine-year compulsory education and basically eradicating illiteracy among young and middle-aged adults) set by the provincial government and the state respectively in 1996 and 1997, three years ahead of the original schedule (Wenzhou Education Commission, 1998a).

Funding for Wenzhou private schools mainly comes from various forms of tuition, and donation and loans from parents, the wider communities and banks. The Leqing Xingle Senior Secondary School, for example, was set up by 10 citizens who raised a total of 12.12 million yuans, of which 5 million yuans by themselves, 4.56 million yuans from bank loan and 2.56 million yuans donations from parents in the form of "commencement fee" (Wenzhou Education Commission, 1998b).

Generally speaking, private schools in Wenzhou are run in a practical and flexible manner. There are day schools as well as evening schools; some are preparing students for further education and some for practical career needs. The operators of the schools also vary: there are retired government officials, retired teachers, educated young people, individual businessmen, proprietors, social groups like small political parties, unions and other forms of social group. The list also includes enterprises, villages, and street committees, etc. This seems to be in correspondence with the economic structure of the city to fit the needs of the many small enterprises.

Tianjin Municipality

Tianjin is another one of the four municipals in China. Private schools there are developed in a very special form as "parasites" to key-point public schools.

In 1993, a primary school in Tianjin, as a pilot scheme, adopted the "one school, two systems" approach whereby some of its students belonged to the public school and the remaining students belonged to the privately-run or *minban* (so-claimed) section. The former groups were only required to pay the state-specified standard tuition fee while the latter had to pay at a much higher level. Following the example, four publicly-funded key-point schools each started its own private school in 1994. Though these private schools have their separate names, financial accounts, organizational

[5] A speech by Mr Li Xiaolu (1999), Deputy Head of the Guangdong Provincial Education Bureau.

and management structures, and legal status, they did not have their own teacher establishment and education facilities. They shared the campuses, facilities and teaching staff of the public key-point schools. It was, in fact, another way for the public schools to secure additional funding to support the operation of the schools.

With the support of the Tianjin municipal government, many key-point public schools followed this mode of operation. As at September 1995, there were already over 50 such schools approved by the government. The model is commonly referred to as "to borrow hen to lay eggs" (*jieji shengdan*). The key-point public schools are the "hens" that are being borrowed to lay the private schools, the "eggs" (Wang & Xu, 1998).

The attractiveness of this kind of private schools stems from the original key-point public schools where places are highly competitive. A large amount of students who are originally not eligible to enter the key-point schools are being attracted to apply for the private schools inside those key-point schools they want to be in. Comparatively speaking, the tuition fee of these schools is not as high as that in Guangdong. Normal tuition fee for three years in either junior or secondary school ranges from 8,000 to 12,000 yuans which is affordable for ordinary families. They naturally become strong competitors against private schools that are run by real private sector, i.e., individuals and enterprises.

FACTORS LEADING TO DIFFERENT PATTERNS OF DEVELOPMENT

When exploring into the different patterns of development of private education in these regions, we find some factors which may help to explain the formation of such difference of patterns. In the following, we will elaborate on how aspects of ideological and political shifts, decentralization, local decision-making and the economic structure of the regions affect the different patterns emerged in the regions.

Ideological and Political Shifts

The ideological and political shifts for the past two decades have caused huge change to China and have given immense support to the revival of private education across regions. The once "extreme leftist" (to use the jargon of the Chinese communist) ideologies during the Cultural Revolution has led to the total exclusion or suppression of the notion "private" in the political arena. The "restoration" of private education, just like all other private businesses, inevitably experienced fierce debates and conflicts.

By learning from the past experience during the Cultural Revolution, there has been a common belief among Chinese people since 1978 that a solely state-run basic education system is neither feasible nor practical. Also it is simply incompatible with the economic developments that has already taken place. Private schooling has been looked upon as one major mean to supplement the public education system and to compete with it (see, for example, Wang, 1994). But throughout the past twenty years, political leaders had to reassure the public from time to time that private education (or more often, less sensitive terms like *minban education* and *education run by social forces* are being used) are being supported and encouraged:

- As early as in 1982, the new set of *Constitution of the PRC* passed by the 5th National People's Congress (NPC) had provided for the first time that "the state encourages economic organizations, state enterprises, businesses and social forces to operate educational activities in accordance with the law." This formed the major basis for the policies of education reform in China thereafter.
- In 1985, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC) promulgated the *Decisions on the Reform of the Educational Structure* (Guanyu jiaoyu tizhi gaigede jueding). This promulgation pointed out the weaknesses

of the education system and asked for changes in the structure of the educational system. However, due to the various kinds of restriction of the plan economy, there was still not much progress in the development of private schools by then.

- The visit of Deng Xiaoping, the unofficial leader of the country, to southern China in 1992 set an important milestone on the development of private education in China. Deng's speeches during the visit helped solve the many theoretical and policy problems of economic and social developments in China. Not only had his visit led China to further economic reforms but he had also sparked off the drastic development of private education in China.
- In the same year, President Jiang Zemin (1993) stated in the 14th Representative Assembly of CPC Central Committee that "the solely state-owned education system has to be changed and education sponsored by the community should be encouraged and supported."
- In the following year, Premier Li Peng (1994) pointed out in his annual policy speech to the 8th NPC meeting that the government has to "progressively develop a new education system whereby state-run schools continue to constitute the main body and will be supplemented by socially sponsored educational institutions at the same time." The *Framework for the Reform and Development of Education* subsequently published by the State Council provided for the first time that "for the schools run by social groups and individual citizens in compliance with the law, the government adopts the policy of giving active encouragement, providing strong supports, offering guidance to the correct course and stepping up the regulation over them."
- It was enchoed by the Vice Premier Li Lanqing (1995) who stated in the national meeting on educational matters that "encouraging and supporting minban education is an important mean to further development of China's education system. The development of minban education is an important part of the reform of the educational structure."
- In 1995, the 8th NPC passed at its third meeting the *Education Law of the PRC*. Section 25 of the Law provides that "the state encourages enterprises, social groups, other social organizations and individual citizens to operate schools or other educational institutions in accordance with the law." The Law further provides that "no organization or citizen can operate school or other educational institution for profit," and that "the legal rights of schools and other educational institutions are protected by the state."
- In a recent international press conference in November 1998, the Minister of Education, Chen Zhili reiterated the importance of private education. She said the development of social forces-run educational institutions was one of the important breakthroughs in the educational reform since the opening up of China. The state has promulgated a series of regulations, e.g., the *Regulation on Schools Run by Social Forces* in 1998, to further encourage the development of private schools. The aim was to develop an educational provision framework in which state-run schools constituted the main body to be supplemented by schools run by social forces. The Ministry for Education would also devise policies that facilitate the inflow of private funding to and the development of private schools. These policy statements made by high level political figures from time to time showed that the Chinese government is keen in developing private education and reforming the educational structure (Guo, 1999).

For the people in China who had suffered so much from the power struggles during and before the Cultural Revolution, it is understandable that frequent reassurance from different political leaders, government and party documents as well as legislation is vital for building their confidence.

The long list of the reassurance also demonstrates the exploration process of the central government into the

issues. It is noteworthy that legislation aiming at regulating the practice always came after the announcement of the corresponding policies, which again were based on practical experience that had taken place. The famous phrase of Deng Xiaoping of "finding way to cross river by groping the rock" seems also apply in the issue of private education. Ambiguities of the policies and legislation (such as the prohibition of private schools which "aim at" profit-making as stated in the law) are often subject to interpretation.

Different levels of political confidence and the absence of rigid directives from the central government have led to different responses from the local governments. Regions like Guangdong province where the first special economic zone was established tended to be more courageous than in any other places in permitting the setting up of high-tuition fee schools, which are commonly referred to as "noble schools" with a negative connotation. Whereas in Tianjin and Shanghai, to a large extent, the provision of private education is still closely kept within the scope of the local government. This is closely related to the decentralization process which is going to be discussed.

Decentralization

Varieties of private education provision in different regions was made possible after the mid 1980s when the Chinese central government decided to decentralize and delegate its authority to the various levels of local administration. The policy of delegation of authority to the various levels of local government on the administration of basic education was first stated in the *Decision on the Reform of the Educational Structure* in 1985 by the CPC. It was then confirmed in the form of state legislation when the *Education Law* was passed in 1986.

Under a highly centralized system as in decades before, it is difficult for local governments to coordinate the provision of basic education, vocational education and adult education in response to the local needs. Schools are also not given autonomy to excel in their own ways. All these factors hindered in the past the realization of potentials among the local governments, the educators and the wider public that have high expectation for education. Demand for decentralization naturally mounted.

Meanwhile, the economic reform also calls for changes in the financial management system in the government. As a result, the finance of local government is being strengthened.

According to the principles of the new education administration system, local governments are responsible for policy-making, planning and implementation of basic education, and also the management of schools (Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, 1985; State Education Commission & Financial Department, 1987). That implies that local government will have the authority as well as financial capacity to plan and construct their own private education system within the scope of the national legislation. It was in such circumstances that the various local governments started to make their own education development plans in the 1990s. The local government may thus set their own policy goals which deviate from central government in order to tackle the different socio-economic background of the regions. And in order to achieve the goals, local governments are more motivated than ever to seek for non-governmental resources (Cheng, 1995). Social input brought by private schooling is logically one of the ways out.

Socio-Economical Background of the Regions

Regional difference in social and economic developments is one of the major factors that led to the varied patterns of

private education development in China.

Although the cases studied in this paper, i.e., Shanghai, Guangdong, Wenzhou and Tianjin, are all located in the eastern and southern coastal part of China where developments are comparatively rapid, there are still differences in their historical, geographical, cultural, economic and educational background.

Shanghai and Tianjin have, since the last century, become China's international ports and windows to the outside world. For the past 50 years, the two cities have also become important industrial bases of the country and are considered the most important economic zones of China.

Guangdong, in particular the Pearl River Delta region, is also historically a prosperous and open-up region. In the past, it relies mainly on its agricultural economics. In 1980s, due to its proximity to Hong Kong and overseas and the establishment of special economic zones, there was extensive economic developments, in particular investment in non-state owned business (an average of 13.6% growth per year). A lot of the proprietors were formerly farmers with comparatively weak cultural and academic background who have now become very rich people.

As for Wenzhou, it was historically one of the poorest and mountainous district in southern Zhejiang. This was mainly due to its remote location and lack of transportation link to the other parts of the country. Since the 1980s, Wenzhou has become one of the 14 open coastal cities of China and has started a series of new economic reform. Under the notions such as "small scale products, big markets", "small investment, huge impact", "small in size, large in development", the private economy in Wenzhou has developed into a system composed of mainly small and flexible enterprises with large varieties. This has also turned Wenzhou from the poorest city to one the richest regions in Zhejiang Province.

Table 1 Social Background of the Four Regions (1995)

	Shanghai	Tianjin	Guangdong	Zhejiang
GDP Per capita (yuan)	11,700	6,075	4,938	4,431
Disposable income Per capita (yuan)	8,438.89	6,608.39	8,561.71	7,358.72
Population density (per sq km)	1,612 (1)	736 (2)	363 (9)	408 (8)
Population dependent index #	26.83 (1)	34.02 (7)	49.17 (23)	31.13 (3)

Notes:

(1) Numbers in bracket denote the rank among all regions.

(2) In the absence of data of Wenzhou, data of Zhejiang Province is used here which is probably lower than that of Wenzhou.

Population dependent index means the average children dependent of each adult. Take Shanghai as an example, 26.83 means an adult in average has to afford to raise 0.2683 kid.

Sources:

"Evaluation of progress in the implementation of nine year compulsory education at regional level and analysis of regional difference", in Hu (1997), p. 151; and *Annual Statistical Report of China*, 1997.

From table 1, we can see the difference in GDP per capita among the regions could be as high as 2.64 folds but the difference in per capita disposable income is only 1.15%. Shanghai has the highest per capita GDP but its disposable income per capita is even lower than that in Guangdong. While the Shanghai municipal government may be in more financial advantage in offering public education, the capability of running well-off private schools in Guangdong and Wenzhou is effectively higher than that in Shanghai.

Demographic patterns also affect the education financing. In Shanghai, approximately 4 adults in average have to afford to raise a child. The figure is around 3 adults to 1 child in Tianjin and Zhejiang, and 2 adults to 1 child in Guangdong. That means the Guangdong provincial government not only suffers from financial inferiority in comparison to the Shanghai and Tianjin, it also suffers from the responsibility to support a larger proportion of student population. Obviously, Guangdong provincial government tends to be more motivated in seeking non-governmental resources.

If we look at population density, all four districts are located in the southern or eastern coastal areas of China where population is huge. Shanghai has the largest population and the highest density of the all. Land resources are, therefore, expensive which is not favourable for private enterprises to run large scale private schools.

Table 2 Implementation of Nine-Year Compulsory Education (1994)

	Shanghai	Tianjin	Guangdong	Zhejiang
Enrolment rate of primary school age students (%)	100.00	99.60	99.60	99.70
Retention rate of five-year primary education (%)	101.20	99.70	92.20	94.80
Gross enrolment rate of junior secondary students (%)*	106.68	90.91	72.52	89.13
Drop-out rate of junior secondary students (%)	1.24	2.43	4.96	3.76

Gross enrolment rate of junior secondary students includes enrolment of junior vocational secondary schools.

Source: Hu (1997, p. 140).

The student enrolment rate in Table 2 shows that Shanghai and Tianjin has comparatively succeed in the provision of school places for the nine-year compulsory schooling. On the contrary, the gross junior secondary enrolment rate and the retention of five-year primary education in Guangdong and Zhejiang are much lower. Therefore, both the Guangdong and Zhejiang have a more immediate task of providing adequate school places than their counterparts. They would again tend to look for extra resources.

From the above elaboration, we may safely conclude that while private schooling in China by and large remains to be supplementary to the public school system in nature, the financial capacity of the local government to provide adequate and good quality education as well as the financial capacity of the people to create alternatives will be critical factors leading to different choices of private school development model in different regions.

Different Policy Orientations of the Local Government

Taking into consideration the central government's policies on basic education as well as the local reality, the four local governments develop private schools with their own distinct characteristics.

Shanghai and Tianjin

Both Shanghai and Tianjin are the most economically developed regions in China.[6] They rank top amongst all regions in China in many ways in the provision of basic education. They have achieved the target of implementing nine-year compulsory education. The driving force for education development of the two regions is, therefore, to improve the education quality rather than quantity.

However, in the course of development, the two places found certain difficulties in the improvement of quality of education, such as:

- Lack of adequate funding - take Shanghai as an example, its public expenditure per capita on education in mid 1990s was below average of other developing countries, less than half of the average of other Asian countries and just equivalent to some 5% of the average level in developed countries (*Wenwei Bao* (Shanghai), November 2, 1995). Government subsidy to basic education in these two regions can cover only some 60% of the normal expenditure of schools (i.e., the salary expenditure for teaching staff). However, this amount already represents some 30-40% of the local government's public expenditure in Shanghai. In Tianjin, education expenditure even represents as much as 50% of the government's total expenditure (Shanghai Municipal Education Commission, 1997).
- Existence of some schools, physical conditions of which are below standard.
- The provision of ordinary senior secondary schools has not yet reached the demand for school places.
- Public schools that have long been operating under a plan economy are frequently criticized as mostly inefficient, inactive, and of poor quality and uniform style.

Although the both governments are financially capable to provide adequate school places for the nine-year compulsory education for their people, it is natural for them to seek for extra funding in order to enhance education quality. The emergence of private schools also stand as an attractive alternative to create a competitive environment with the public schools and encourage the latter to improve their education quality.

An insurmountable difficulty in the development of private schools in Shanghai and Tianjin is the lack of available school sites. This is due to the population density in the two regions, ranking the first and the second respectively in the whole of China. That means land resources are extremely scarce and expensive. Under the long tradition of plan economy system, state-owned enterprises in the two cities are better developed than private enterprises in general. Few private enterprises have the financial resources to purchase or rent at market rate suitable sites for developing decent private schools. The proportion of rich proprietors in these two cities is again relatively small, results in the restriction of the demand side of high-tuition fee school places. The government, therefore, plays an important role in the development of private schools through the provision of subsidy. This prompts the education system to move from one which was solely state-funded to one which is funded through multiple channels.

In May 1993, the Shanghai Municipal Meeting on Education Matters proposed a pilot scheme to turn some poorly-run public schools into private schools. According to the suggestion, these new private schools remained to be

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[6] Using the categorization developed by Shanghai Institute of Intelligence Development in its "Comparative study on different regions in the implementation and stage of development of nine-year popular education" which tries to categories all regions into 5 groups by conditions of development of popular education, Shanghai and Tianjin belong to the most advanced Group A while Wenzhou and Guangdong belong to the second best Group B. See Shanghai Institute of Intelligence Development (1997).

publicly owned, but could follow the practices of some existing private schools in raising fund, recruitment of personnel as well as management of school. The same meeting proposed again in 1994 that the government is to strongly encourage the pilot scheme of turning public schools into private schools. The aim was to encourage enthusiastic social groups to participate in the education system, expedite the reform and improvement of poorly-run schools, and to raise the overall quality of education so as to satisfy the community expectation (Shanghai Municipal Education Commission, 1993 & 1994). In accordance with this suggestion, each district and county in Shanghai gave up some vacant school sites to support the setting up of private schools. The pilot scheme to turn some public schools into private schools was also launched.

In the case of Tianjin, the municipal government looks forward to the financial support of the society in the development of school education. The government has, therefore, allowed a considerable degree of flexibility on the development of fee-charging classes and/or private schools within public schools.

The Shanghai and Tianjin governments are very active towards the development of private schools and in fact, private schools in the two regions depend heavily on the governments' financial support. Consequently, the two governments did exercise considerable control over these private schools. In Shanghai, for example, the municipal government has adopted a very strict approach towards the management of private schools through various means, like municipal orders, education commission documents and seminars, etc. All private schools are required to fulfill the so-called "3-independence" requirement, namely, ownership of independent school campus, having an independent legal entity and being monitored by independent financial audit. The government has recently introduced additional measures to ensure the quality of private schools, like the annual school review and the quality assessment on education provision. Effectively, private schools have been included in the planning of the basic education system in Shanghai. Only poorly-run schools and new schools at the junctions of rural and urban areas are allowed to be selected to join the "Public Schools Reform Pilot Scheme". Well-managed key-point public schools are not allowed to join the pilot scheme. Besides, the government has also adopted a series of policies on the tuition and financial management of private schools so as to control the tuition level (Shanghai Municipal Education Commission, 1998).

Wenzhou and Guangdong

When compared with Shanghai and Tianjin, the environment for the development of basic education was not so desirable in Guangdong and Wenzhou. In Wenzhou, for example, in the early 1990s, only 35% of the areas in Wenzhou has achieved the target of implementing nine-year compulsory education, and over 90% of its schools were below the standards set by the provincial government (Lin, 1993). The Wenzhou Government, therefore, proposed to change its education system from one which was solely dependent on state subsidy to one which would be funded through multiple channels just like many of other local governments.

In 1993, the CPC Wenzhou committee and the Wenzhou government jointly published the *Regulations for Accelerating the Education Reform and Development in Wenzhou*. The Regulations clearly encouraged the development of private schools. In July 1993, the Wenzhou government issued the *Temporary Regulations on Social Forces-Operated Schools in Wenzhou*, which set out formal regulations on the standard of the private schools, application procedures, fund raising mechanism, use of school campuses, management structure, assessment criteria, etc. The Regulations also provided a flexible environment for and introduced a lot of fiscal measures to facilitate the development of private schools. Some of these measures included the granting of interest free or low interest rate loan

to the school operators; recognition of the school operators' private ownership over their fixed asset investment in the schools and allowing them to receive compound interest (less than 20% per annum); allowing the school operators to choose either to donate their personal investment to the schools or to be reimbursed by phases; and recognition of the contribution of the school operators, either a group or individuals, through spiritual or material awards.

These policies encourage many investors in Wenzhou to participate in school operation. Though not all investors are wealthy and can afford to invest heavily in the schools, they are all welcomed by the government to participate in private education provision. All private schools, regardless of size and scale, are supported and welcomed by the Government. According to a survey, for the six years since 1992, investment in education has surged by an average of 300 million yuans per year. Though government subsidy also increased by an average of 100 million per year, its proportion in the total education expenditure has dropped significantly (see Table 3). With the joint support of the government and the society, Wenzhou passed the "two basics" requirement of the provincial government and the state three years ahead of schedule.

Table 3 Financial Input in Wenzhou Education

Year	Total input (in 100 million yuans)	Government input (in 100 million yuans)	Government input as % of total input
1992	4	2.4	60
1993	6	3.0	50
1994	9	4.4	48.9
1995	12.8	5.1	39.8
1996	15.8	6.2	39.2
1997	18.3	7.2	39.2

Source: Wenzhou Education Commission (1998a).

As for Guangdong, it has become one of the most dynamic and prosperous regions in China, in particular the Pearl River Delta region, since China began its reform and open policy. When people become rich, their desire for better quality education increases. If the government's performance to improve the quality education falls short of the society's expectation, private education has to come in to fill the gap. The difference between Guangdong and other regions is that private schools in Guangdong were first invested by the operators, and then by the students through deposits into the Education Reserve Funds. The government played little role in initiating and planning.

There is report claiming that the prevailing belief in the Guangdong Province is that the market force and non-intervention policy are the best for both economic and social developments (Wang, 1998, p. 347). There had been heated debates among people in Guangdong when the luxurious Education Reserve Fund private schools first appeared. Even then the officials including those in the State Education Commission held different views on the issue. The Guangdong government, however, continued to adopt the no-intervention policy. In the past 10 years, some 40 large-scale private schools have been established, cumulating billions of yuans as education resources. Then it became very risky as the huge Education Reserve Funds can be affected by the ups and downs of the economic market and may cause corruption and mismanagement. The Guangdong government has therefore prohibited the establishment of new

Education Reserve Fund private schools and will tighten up the regulation of these schools.[7]

Table 4 Education Expenditure of the Four Regions (1995)

	Shanghai	Tianjin	Guangdong	Zhejiang
Expenditure of all primary school student per capita	1,591	718	857	766
Expenditure of all junior secondary student per capita	2,085	1,344	1,536	1,181
Expenditure of primary school student per capita within budget	1,249	591	409	384
Expenditure of junior secondary student per capita within budget	1,595	1,041	752	512

(yuan)

Source: Shen (1998)

By making use of private funding, one of the results is the equalizing of the total amount of education expenditure per capita across the four regions. In Table 4, regional disparity in expenditure for each student within budget (that is public education expenditure) is significant. For junior secondary students, Shanghai exceeds Zhejiang by 211% and Guangdong by 112%. But when the private sector is also counted, the figures are reduced to 76% and 36% respectively. As for primary school students, Shanghai exceeds Zhejiang by 225% and Guangdong by 205%. The figures are also reduced to 107% and 86% respectively when private school input is also taken into account. This shows that the Guangdong and Zhejiang province, at least in some ways, succeed in obtaining extra resources from private schooling to supplement the public schooling system.

CONCLUSION

The different patterns of the development of private school system in different parts of China, as discussed above, are the results of the negotiation process between the central and local government, and between the local government and the local situation.

Given the encouragement from the central government to boost for private education and ambiguities in policies and legislation at the same time, the local governments find rooms to develop their own plans for private schooling and set their own goals accordingly. With the financial capacities strengthened and authority granted, the local governments are capable in the delivery of their own plans. However, the autonomy of the local governments is not unlimited. Under the clearly stated policy of maintaining public education to be the main part of the school system, no local government has ever tried to create a superior structure of private education over the public schools.

Policy goals and orientation of the local governments play an important role in shaping the pattern of private education development adopted. Equally important is the financial capacity and affordability of the government and the people in providing adequate and satisfactory public education system and in raising alternative schooling system. Resources such as school site available also have an impact. Geographic, demographic and economic aspects which are

[7] Li Xiaolu (1999), the Deputy Head of the Guangdong Provincial Education Bureau, spoke in a meeting with a group of minban school heads of the province, that the provincial government is planning to tighten up the control over school finance and their orientation in order to reduce risks.

related to either the supply or the demand side all count.

The emergence of different patterns in the development of private school system across different parts of China also serves as a very clear illustration of a highly homogeneous system going diversified. In reality, rather than "one country, two systems," China is approaching "one country, many systems" in particularly the area of private education.

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教育改革背後的東方道德理念

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近10年來，中國大陸部分地區的學校開始探索與實施中華民族優秀傳統道德教育，引起了海內外各界的關注，也遇到了種種認識問題。在當今的時代，為何要進行這項教育？這種教育(1)、符合歷史發展的潮流嗎？它是一種進步，還是一種倒退？(2)、傳統文化與道德，在實現社會現代化進程中，是一種精神動力，還是一種思想文化的阻力？(3)、如何分清傳統文化與道德之中的精華與糟粕，這項教育會不會造成用文化糟粕毒害當代青少年？(4)、如何處理道德、尤其是傳統道德教育與政治教育的關係，這項教育會不會削弱學校的政治教育？(5)、在過去的百年中，傳統文化與道德一直是被革命的對象，今後在社會主義新文化與新道德的建設中，它將會扮演何種角色？(6)儒家倫理在中國傳統道德中佔據主導地位，強調儒學的當代價值，會不會削弱馬克思主義的領導地位？是否會導致用儒學取代馬克思主義？對於這些問題的回應，關係著這項教育的命運，關係著新世紀中國大陸學校道德教育與社會道德建設的文化與傳統的根基，關係著能否建構有中國特色的社會主義新道德，因此，對於這項教育的當代價值及其依據的研究與回答，就顯得十分必要。

進步與倒退

在過去的 100 餘年，中國經歷了三次大的政治變革，一是康、梁變法，效法日本的明治維新，企圖建立君主立憲制而失敗；二是孫中山領導的辛亥革命，以法蘭西的民主共和爲榜樣，雖然推翻了帝制，但是“革命尚未成功”；三是中國共產黨堅決“走俄國人的路”，建立了中華人民共和國，取得了中國革命的勝利。

1991 年，蘇聯和東歐先後解體，給中國人“以俄爲師”和學習西方畫上了句號。於是，中國向何處去？再次要求每個中國人做出選擇。有一種主張，是從經濟體制、政治制度、文化模式等“全盤西化”；另一種主張，是“走自己的路”、建設有中國特色的社會主義。這兩種主張公開與不公開的論爭，就成爲連續不斷的社會“風波”與“動盪”的深層內因。

1992 年鄧小平同志的南巡講話和黨的十四次代表大會，代表中國人選擇了鄧小平的理論，堅持走有中國特色的社會主義。鄧小平同志提出研究亞洲“四小龍”實現社會現代化的“東方模式”，指引我們思考與研究東方文化與“東方模式”、中國文化與“中國模式”之間的內在聯繫，也就是研究民族文化在實現社會現代化中的特殊價值。於是，中國人、外國人開始重新反思與對待中國的文化，一百餘年來、尤其是 80 年代的“西方文化熱”，被 90 年代的“中國文化熱”理所當然地取代了。中國人開始擺脫歷史上形成的“殖民地的文化心理”，對於自己民族的文化有了新的認同、自信與自尊。

一個國家，在政治上獨立、經濟上開始富強之後，就必須有文化上的復興。否則，就難以建設有中國特色的社會主義，也就難有完整意義上的民族偉大復興。

道德，是文化的重要組成部分，更是文化的靈魂，離開道德的文化必然是腐敗的文化。中華傳統美德是中華民族傳統文化的靈魂，是代代相傳、世世發展的民族智慧，是建設富強、民主、文明的社會主義中國的精神力量。對於新一代中國人進行中華美德教育，是中國歷史發展的必然要求。

傳統與現代

傳統文化與道德，是實現社會現代化的動力，還是一種阻力？是一個已經爭論了近百年的老問題，當今，又成爲進行中華民族傳統道德教育必須回答的新問題。如果是屬於“阻力”，那麼此項教育實驗就失去了前提。

較早將中國傳統文化看作“阻力”的代表人物，是德國人馬科斯·韋伯。他在 20 世紀初撰寫和出版了兩部書，《新教倫理與資本主義精神》，《中國的宗教——道教與儒教》。他認爲，歐洲自 1789 年法國大革命以來，市民社會的飛快發展，是得益於一種精神動力，即以新教倫理爲靈魂的資本主義精神；中國近代之所以貧窮、落後，不能實現市民社會，正是缺乏西方那種精神動力，而沒有經過革新的道德與儒教，就成爲國人的精神桎梏。韋伯這種以西方是非論是非的“西方中心論”，盡管抹煞了滿清政府的腐敗與反動，也掩蓋了西方列強對中國長期侵略與掠奪的歷史罪過，然而，他的這套“理論”，卻被當時一批中國的精英所接受，並加以“炒作”之後，就逐漸在中國人當中形成了一種文化自卑的情緒，使得中國人長期在世人面前挺不直自己的文化脊梁。在西方人的心目中，在中國似乎只有愚昧與落後，沒有文化與文明；在世界的文化格局中，中國文化似乎已經被“開出了球籍”。

中國人對於自己的民族文化，失去認同、自尊與自信的“殖民地文化心理”影響深遠，直至 20 世紀 80 年代後期《河殤》主張用“藍色”文明取代“黃色”文明。

在對待“傳統”的百年評判中，逐步形成了一種比較根深蒂固的“反傳統的傳統”，化解這種“反傳統的傳統”，尚需時日。

傳統，是世代相傳的，具有民族特色的文化遺產。

傳統文化，是世代相傳的思維方式、價值觀念、行爲準則和風俗習慣。它既有強烈的歷史遺傳性，又有鮮活的現實變異性。它無時無刻不在影響、制約著每個人。傳統文化具有民族性，任何民族都有自己的歷史，也就有了自己的傳統文化。

中國的傳統文化，是中華民族歷史的結晶，也是中華民族對於人類的偉大貢獻。中華民族傳統文化的精華，是人類文明中一筆寶貴的財富，它與各民族的優秀文化相互交融，造就了全人類的文明，在世界文化的寶庫中，中國傳統文化有其獨特的魅力，有不朽的生命力。它有獨具特色的語言文字，浩如煙海的文化典籍，嘉惠世界的科技工藝，精采紛呈的文學藝術，雄偉輝煌的建築，充滿智慧的哲學宗教，完備深刻的道德倫理等等，都是中華民族引以自豪的傳統文化的核心內容。中華民族優秀傳統文化是中國人，之所以能夠立於世界民族之林的根本，也是開創和建設有中國特色的社會主義新文化與新道德的歷史依據和現實基礎。

傳統是歷史的產物，它隨著人類歷史的進程而不斷發展和變化。傳統有落後於時代的成分，但傳統不等於落後；傳統有其凝滯性，但傳統不等於保守；中華民族的文化傳統，主要是形成於封建社會，但傳統不等於封建。

傳統，既有空間的局限性，又有超時空的無限性。它是在代代相傳的過程中，不斷充實和更新內容，在不斷向現實靠攏，並不斷爲現實服務的進程中得到不斷發展。批判與繼承，是傳統存在與發展的內在動力與外在形式。

對待傳統，應有清醒的認識和正確的態度，不能簡單地肯定或否定。籠統地、盲目地反對一切傳統，不僅是錯誤的，而且是有害的。它是民族虛無主義和歷史虛無主義的思想根源。

中華民族的優秀文化傳統，已經浸透了所有中國人、所有海外同胞的心田。中華文化具有比血更強的凝聚力，它能夠把全世界中華兒女的心連在一起。

不尊重自己文化傳統的民族，是沒希望的民族。

1990 年 3 月，江澤民同志在中南海懷仁堂，與北京大學學生代表座談時說：“任何一個民族都有自己的傳統。我們中華民族所以能在世界屹立五千年，就是因爲我們有著優秀的民族傳統和民族精神”。

1997 年 11 月 1 日，江澤民同志在美國哈佛大學演講中指出，從歷史文化角度來了解和認識中國，是一個重要角度，因爲現實中國是歷史中國的發展；中國的文明傳統，一直影響著中國人的思維方式、價值觀念、理想追求，乃致中國的發展方向；中國人民幾千年來形成了：團結統一的傳統、愛好和平的傳統、獨立自主的傳統、自強不息的傳統。這些論斷表明，中國的優秀文化傳統，至今仍然是實現中國社會主義現代化的精神動力。

精華與糟粕

在中國 5000 餘年的傳統文化當中，既有精華又有糟粕。因此，毛澤東同志早就提出了“取其精華、去其糟粕”的基本原則。然而，這一正確的原則並沒有在實踐中真正落實。在經久不衰的反封建的聲浪中，傳統文化中越來越多的成分被當做“糟粕”橫遭批判與打倒，以至於在一般人的心目中，中國傳統文化就是封建糟粕。於是，中國傳統文化中能夠傳承下來的精華越來越少，而它的糟粕卻不斷地“借屍還魂”。這就使得一兩代的中國人，與自己民族的傳統文化拉開了距離，從不感興趣、不願意或不可能接觸，到知之甚少，以致無知。然而，對於自己民族文化越是無知的人，越是膽大妄爲，越是敢於“全盤否定”、“徹底砸爛”。這些無知的人，對於“藍色文明”的精華，也是一知半解，於是就將“藍色文明”中的糟粕當做“精華”，變成了東西方文化糟粕新混合的“新載體”，成爲一代沒有文化根基的“斷了線的風箏”。失去了自己民族文化的精華，又沒有消化吸收外來文化的精華，就必然生成一種東西文化糟粕相混合的“劣質文化”。這是值得反思的歷史經驗與教訓。

中西文化關係史啓示我們，中國傳統文化中的精華成分，具有超越時空、超越階級的品質，她對於人類文明進程具有普遍價值。只有以自己民族優秀文化爲基礎，借鑒吸收一切外來文化的精華，結合當代社會現實，才能夠建構或整合出新的文化。試圖離開或拋棄自己民族文化，去構建什麼新文化，就如同揪著自己頭髮想離開土地一樣的不明智。

1994 年初，江澤民同志在全國宣傳思想工作會議上，明確提出：“要用科學的態度對待我們民族的傳統文化和外來的文化。我們民族歷經滄桑，創造了人類發展史上燦爛的中華文明，形成了具有強大生命力的傳統文化。我們要取其精華，去其糟粕，很好地繼承這一珍貴的文化遺產”。

1991 年 12 月 19 日，江澤民同志在廈門大學與師生座談會時說：廣大青年是我們社會主義事業的接班人，是祖國未來的建設者，對他們要經常進行馬克思主義基本理論教育，同時也要經常進行我們民族的優良傳統教育。例如：孟子的“富貴不能淫，貧賤不能移，威武不能屈”，文天祥的“人生自古誰無死，留取丹心照汗青”，林則徐的“苟利國家生死以，豈因禍福避趨之”等等，對於激勵人們的愛國熱忱是很有作用的。應該說，這些話都是我們民族文化中一些富有哲理，教人正直、忠貞、有抱負的名言。學習和掌握它們，對於自己立身行事，爲國家，爲人民建功立業，是會受益匪淺的。

爲了矯正建國以來沒有認真，系統、有效地，對青少年學生進行中華民族優秀傳統文化教育的失誤，1993 年，中共中央制定了《關於中國教育改革與發展綱要》，1994 年中共中央，關於愛國主義教育和加強改進學校德育的兩個文件，1995 年頒布的《中華人民共和國教育法》，都對繼承和發揚中華民族優秀文化傳統，做出了明確的規定。從此，接受中華民族優秀文化傳統教育，成爲每個公民的權利；對學生進行中華民族優秀文化傳統教育，也就成爲每位教育工作者的義務。

爲了落實中央的這一系列的精神，1995 年年底，由李嵐清同志主持，教育部具體組織實施，羅國傑教授主編的《中國傳統道德》一書正式出版。這是建國以來第一次集中國內一流學者，對中華民族傳統道德資源，所進行的大規模開發。李嵐清同志在此書的序言中指出：“繼承和弘揚中華民族傳統美德的根本目的，在於結合

革命傳統教育，更加振奮我們的民族精神，增強中華民族的自尊心、自信心、自豪感和凝聚力；在於使社會主義道德具備更爲豐富的內涵；在於更好地協調人際關係，促進社會主義市場經濟的健康發展；在於使社會主義、集體主義、愛國主義思想更加深入人心，成爲社會主義文化思想的主旋律，並形成適應社會發展，有中國特色的價值觀和倫理道德範疇。”他還指出：“《中國傳統道德》可作爲德育的參考教材，在學校試用一段時間，收集一下各方面的意見和反映，然後再組織力量，在此基礎上編寫出適合各級各類學校學生使用的教科書”。

1997 年 6 月，李嵐清同志在全國中小學德育工作會議上，再次強調開發革命傳統和我國優秀傳統兩種特有的德育資源，對青少年進行教育，把實現德育總體目標與繼承中華民族優良傳統結合起來，把中華民族優良道德傳統和人民革命以及在社會主義建設實踐中形成的革命傳統結合起來，賦於新的時代內容，吸收世界的先進文明成果，豐富和完善有中華民族特色，體現時代精神的價值標準和道德規範。

政治與道德

新中國成立以來的前 30 年，學校的德育任務與內容主要是進行政治教育，甚至一度用“突出政治”取代了其它思想道德教育。因此，至今有些中小學校仍然保留著“政教處”、“政治課”等等歷史概念。重政治輕道德的教育理念，並沒有因爲黨和國家工作著重點的轉移，而有所改變。這種教育理念的直接後果，就是逐步削減了學校道德教育，使得一代以上的中國人道德素質下降、整個社會的道德風尚日益衰敗。可見，一個國家如果在 10-20 年內，忽視對於新一代國民進行道德教育，那麼就會在 15-20 年後，使得整個社會承受道德淪喪懲罰。因此，對於道德及其教育的功能，不能過於功利，不能追求立竿見影的教育效果，有遠見的政治家、對民族歷史命運負責任的政府，都會重視“德治”，重視精神文明建設，重視“以德化民”、“化民成俗”。

2001 年 1 月 10 日，江澤民在全國宣傳部長會議上的主要講話中指出：

“我們在建設有中國特色社會主義，發展社會主義市場經濟的過程中，要堅持不懈地加強社會主義法制建設，依法治國，同時也要堅持不懈地加強社會主義道德建設，以德治國。對一個國家的治理來說，法治與德治，從來都是相輔相成、相互促進的。二者缺一不可，也不可偏廢。法治屬於政治建設、屬於政治文明，德治屬於思想建設、屬於精神文明。二者範疇不同，但其地位和功能都是非常重要的。我們應始終注意把法制建設與道德建設緊密結合起來，把依法治國與以德治國緊密結合起來。”這一重要講話，爲我們研究中國古代德治思想以及道德教化的智慧明確了方向。

人類所嚮往的社會，是以“小康”與“大同”爲標誌的倫理社會，而不是一個法律多如牛毛、監獄遍佈全國、警察無處不在的法制國家。法制是實現倫理社會過程中的一種手段。道德與法律，是社會正常運轉的鳥之雙翼、車之兩輪，缺一不可。道德教化是法制建設的基礎。“道之以政、齊之以刑，民免而無恥；道之以德、齊之以禮，有恥且格”。

對於制約人的行爲來講，道德是一種內在的自律，法律是一種外在的他律。當一個人不能自律的時候，就需要由他律來制約。然而，就其大多數人而言，他們主要、經常、大量的行爲，是通過自律來調整的。這就需要提升人自身內在的道德素質和修養。

道德，歸根結底是社會經濟關係的反映，但它一旦形成就有其相對的獨立性，就會成爲一種社會力量。

道德本身不講功利，甚至超越功利，但是它又離不開功利。所有道德行爲，都是一種價值判斷與選擇，或多或少都是以犧牲個人、集體利益爲代價。從某種意義上說，道德的本質是利他的。然而，在經濟等一些領域中，道德又是一只看不見的手，它又能夠給人們帶來或多或少的利益，“有德則有財”。制假、賣假，坑蒙拐騙，謀財害命等等有背於道德的行爲，或早或晚都會招致事業失敗、企業破產、身敗名裂。

市場經濟需要法制的約束，更需要道德的規範。規範與成熟的市場經濟是道德經濟。在建立社會主義市場

經濟的初級階段，出現一些不道德現象，具有歷史的暫時性。建立社會主義市場經濟，加入世界貿易組織，需要建立人無誠不立、業無義不興，國無信不貯的道德規範。一個經濟大國，必須首先是一個道德大國。

道德與政治是難分難舍的。政治決定著社會發展方向，道德是社會、政治穩定的基礎。沒有道德的政治，必然是腐敗的政治。

以德治國，要求君與臣都要“以德爲本、以德修身、爲政以德”；強調所有君與臣都要“正人先正已”，“其身正，不令則行；其身不正，雖令不從”。要以德治國，必先“以德治吏”，“吏德”，是一種政治道德。

社會道德風尚的興衰與政權的興衰，有著必然的聯繫。而統治集團道德風尚，主導著整個社會道德風尚。統治集團的道德衰敗，必然引導社會道德風尚的衰敗，當這種衰敗達到一定程度，超過某種警戒線的時候，改朝換代就勢在難免，這是一種歷史的明鑑。中華民族偉大之處，就在於她具有健全的道德更新的能力，歷經多次崩潰，而又能夠在廢墟之中重新站立起來。

自從 1986 年中共中央做出關於社會主義精神文明建設的決定以來，對於國民的素質要求就有了統一的標準，這就是思想道德素質和科學文化素質。鄧小平同志提出的“有理想、有道德、有文化、有紀律”的“四有新人”，將“有道德”放在了第二位，可見道德素質與道德教育的重要。因此，落實中央關於全面推進素質教育的精神，要著重研討如何加強學校德育——道德教育——中華美德教育。

文化革命與文化建設

在 20 世紀前 80 餘年間，中華民族文化的歷史處境每況愈下，長期被作爲否定、批判、打倒、以至革命的對象。“文化大革命”的一個歷史罪錯，就是從“掃四舊”、“評法批儒”到“徹底砸爛”中國傳統文化，它對中國有形的物質文化的破壞，是有目共睹的，而給一代人心目中所留下“文化思維定式”的陰影與“文化內傷”，是需要相當長時間才能撫平的。

民族的文化是民族的生命，是民族生存與發展的智慧。一個對於自己民族文化失去認同、自尊與自信的民族，是永遠不能立足於世界民族之林的。

對於以往對自己民族文化的“不斷革命”，應有清醒的反思。

對於傳統文化需要批判繼承。然而，批判是手段，繼承是目的。如果在實踐中只有批判，少有繼承，或者不繼承。那麼，手段就會變成了目的。在這種文化思想指導下，難有真正意義上的文化建設。

對於傳統文化需要破與立，需要“去其糟粕，取其精華”。然而，“破”應當是爲了“立”，“破”不是目的。“不破不立，破字當頭，立在其中”，曾經是一種文化革命的指導思想，它是破壞一個舊世界，建設一個新世界；砸爛一個舊世界，建設一個新世界整體戰略思想在文化領域的運用。如果，破字當頭，變成了破壞當頭；不破不立，變成了只破不立。如果破中國文化，立西方文化，把中西文化視爲一種對立，甚至以否定和犧牲中國傳統文化爲代價，全盤肯定和吸收西方文化，就必然導致中國文化被砍斷了根，西方文化又難以被中國人所認同並在中國大地上難以生根，進而造成一、兩代中國人對於自己民族的優秀文化傳統深感陌生，使得中國長期不能夠整合出一種適應時代潮流的新文化，這可能是中國文化建設的歷史教訓。

批判與破，都一度成爲文化革命的手段。文化大革命，通過大批判、通過破四舊，並沒有把封建文化的糟粕掃進歷史垃圾堆。相反，封建文化的垃圾，卻借屍還魂，與當代西方文化垃圾相混合，並不斷進行“現代轉化”，使得當今中國的道德文化與風尚，越來越令人憂慮。

對於傳統文化，批判不能取代繼承，革命不能替代建設。沒有建設的革命，只能撞擊或沖擊文化，損傷文化的元氣，導致文化枯萎；只有將革命與建設相融合，才能使文化得以生存、復興與繁榮。

只有著眼建設社會主義新文化、新道德、新風尚，才能有足夠的文化正氣和力量，震懾歪風邪氣，重建禮儀之邦！

建設有中國特色社會主義經濟、政治，需要轉變觀念。同樣，建設有中國特色社會主義文化，也需要轉變觀念。否則，仍然運用以往的文化革命觀念和文化路線，指導今天文化建設的實踐，那麼，有中國特色的社會主義文化是斷然建設不起來的！

對於 100 年以來的“文化革命”進行歷史的反省，從中汲取有益的經驗與教訓，進而轉變國人的文化觀念，以便正確對待中國自己的民族文化、一切外來文化及其兩者之間的關係；正確對待馬克思主義與中國傳統文化的關係；正確對待文化建設與經濟建設的關係、文化建設與社會全面進步的關係；正確對待人文主義與神文主義的關係；正確對待人類文明進程中的“衝突”與“對話”的關係。這些觀念的變革，將是落實十五大建設有中國特色社會主義文化，進而把中國建設成爲富強、民主、文明的社會主義國家的思想條件。

馬克思主義與中國傳統文化

進行中華民族優秀傳統道德教育，必須正確認識與處理中國傳統文化馬克思主義的關係。

首先，馬克思主義是不會被儒學取代的。否則，馬克思主義就實在沒有生命力了。我們對於馬克思主義的科學性與真理性，有著堅定的信念和信心。

其次，馬克思主義與中國文化不是絕然對立的。馬克思主義是人類智慧的結晶，中國 5000 餘年的文化與智慧，是人類智慧的重要組成部分。大量歷史資料表明，馬克思主義思想淵源中，就已融入了中國傳統文化的基因。早在 1945 年，美國漢學家顧立雅(1905--) 出版了他的《孔子與之道》一書。他對中國儒學在 17-18 世紀對歐洲的影響，尤其是對法國啓蒙學者的影響，做了極其翔實的闡述和論証。他在該書一開頭就明確指出：

“眾所周知，哲學的啓蒙運動開始時，孔子已經成爲歐洲的名人。一大批哲學家包括萊布尼茲、沃爾夫、伏爾泰，以及一些政治家和文人，都用孔子的名字和思想來推動他們的主張，而在此進程中他們本人亦受到了教育和影響。在儒學的推動下，中國早就徹底廢除了世襲貴族政治，現在儒學又成爲攻擊法國和英國世襲特權的武器。在歐洲，在以法國大革命爲背景的民族主義理想的發展中，孔子哲學起了相當重要的作用。通過法國思想，它又間接地影響了美國民主的發展。”

馬克思主義有三個來源，一是德國的古典哲學，其創始人是萊布尼茲，他對中國的二進位數學和宋明理學都有較多的研究；二是英國古典經濟學，其創始人之一是亞當·斯密，而亞當·斯密的老師是法國“百科全書”派的權威之一魁奈，魁奈作爲當時重農學派始創人，被公認爲“歐洲的孔子”；三是法國的空想社會主義，它誕生於以巴黎大學爲中心百年“中國文化熱”的背景之下，恩格思曾經著文論証它與中國《禮運篇》思想之間的關係。

第三，馬克思主義在中國傳播，是一個與中國傳統文化相融合的過程。中國革命需要馬克思主義，馬克思主義與中國革命實踐相結合，使得中國革命取得最後勝利。與此同時，也是馬克思主義與中國傳統文化相融合的過程，也就是馬克思主義中國化的過程。馬克思主義作爲外來的西方文化精華，要在中國被認同、接受、運用、開花與結果，就必須扎根於中國傳統文化的沃土之上。毛澤東思想和鄧小平理論，都是“洋爲中用”、馬克思主義中國化的典範。一部中國近代史表明，任何外來的文化，如果不與中國傳統文化相結合，不把自己的根扎於中國傳統文化的沃土之上，即使是文化的精華，也不可能在中國的土地上生根、開花、結果。外來文化與本土文化是種子與土地的關係，馬克思主義也不列外。馬克思主義要在新世紀大放光芒，就需要與中國傳統文化有新的結合。而新一代中國人只有對中國的歷史、世界的歷史有較多的了解，才有接受馬克思主義的文化根基。否則，馬克思主義在他們的頭腦中只是空洞、僵硬的教條，或者成爲他們升學、考試、拿學分的一種“工

具”。進行中華民族優秀傳統道德教育，本身就是一種歷史文化的教育，有助於青少年學生接受馬克思主義。

第四，馬克思主義是共產黨的理論基礎，它使中國共產黨成爲真正的共產黨，它使一批批優秀中國人成爲真正的共產黨人。文化是每個人生命的一部分，中國傳統文化使得每一個中國人成爲真正的中國人；馬克思主義的辯証唯物論與歷史唯物論，是指導人們認識、整理、開發、利用、繼承、和創新中國文化的世界觀和方法論；馬克思主義不是中國文化，它與中國文化精華相結合，推動中國革命與建設從勝利走向勝利；中國文化、包括儒家思想不能取代馬克思主義，而馬克思主義也不能夠取代中國文化。將兩者視爲相互對立或彼此可以取代的觀點是錯誤的，它必然造成理論上的混亂和實踐上的誤導，既不利於馬克思主義在中國的發展，也影響繼承和發展中華民族優秀傳統文化。

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培養應付逆境的能力

錢　遜
清華大學

"生於憂患而死於安樂"— 孟子
"貧賤憂戚，庸玉汝於成也。"— 張載

一

世紀之交，社會的迅速發展和劇烈變化，對教育提出空前的挑戰，使教育面臨深刻的變革。上個世紀的 70 年代以來，關於教育如何適應未來社會發展需要的問題，發表了三篇重要的報告。1972 年，以富爾爲首的國際教育發展委員會發表了《學會生存：教育世界的今天和明天》(《Learning To Be – The World of Education Today and Tomorrow》， — 譯爲'學會做人')的報告，提出"學會生存"的口號。其主要思想是"終身教育"和"學習社會"，具體提出了進行終身教育、加強普通教育、重視學前教育、注重能力培養等等。而其主旨則在於"力圖解決戰後教育與日新月異的科學技術不相適應的問題，力圖解決當代教育與社會物質生產迅速發展不相適應的矛盾。""要求教育負擔起傳授年青一代當代社會激烈變化的條件下求得'生存'的各種知識和能力。"[1]

1989 年，聯合國教科文組織在北京召開的"面向 21 世紀教育國際研討會"，發表了題爲"學會關心；21 世紀的教育"的報告，提出了"學會關心"的口號。會議認爲，人類所面臨的挑戰，已經遠比提出終身教育理論時要廣泛和深刻得多。終身教育理論提出的是經濟和科技發展、經濟結構調整和勞動市場的波動對個人的挑戰，而當前和未來人類所面臨的挑戰都遠遠超出了個人的範圍。[2]教育擔負着培養新人具有應對這些挑戰的意志、素質和能力的使命，要教育青年從只關心自己的圈子裏跳出來，學會關心自己的家庭、朋友和同事，關心他人，關心社會和國家的社會、經濟和生態利益，關心人權，關心其他物種，關心地球的生活條件，關心真理、知識和學習，也關心自己和自己的健康。"學會關心"所提出的問題，不再局限於適應科技和生產發展的需要，是"教育觀念、倫理觀念和教育發展方向的又一次重大的變革與更新。"[3]

1993 年，聯合國教科文組織組建了"國際 21 世紀教育委員會"，由雅克．德洛爾任主席。1996 年，該委員會發表了他們的調查報告，提出了"學會學習"的口號。報告提出，教育的四大支柱是：學會認知，學會做事，學會共同生活和學會生存。報告重申了學會生存的口號，但特別提出，對於富爾報告提出的"終身教育"的概念，應該"擴大其內涵"，"除了適應職業生活的變化外，它還應當包括人格、知識和習性的繼續塑造，以及批判能力和行爲能力的繼續塑造。"[4]

這幾個報告，關注的是同一個主題，就是迎接新世紀社會各方面發展所帶來的挑戰。在討論中提出的問題和意見、思想，標誌着教育思想、教育理論的重大轉變和發展。許多人指出："新的挑戰、新的世紀需要教育

[1] 徐輝：《"學會生存"與"學會關心"— 21 世紀國際教育的呼喚》，《比較教育研究所慶專刊》，1995 年 10 月。
[2] 王一兵：《提高教育質量，迎接 21 世紀的挑戰》，《未來教育面臨的困惑和挑戰》人民教育出版社，1991 年，第 40 頁。
[3] 徐輝：《"學會生存"與"學會關心"— 21 世紀國際教育的呼喚》，《比較教育研究所慶專刊》，1995 年 10 月。
[4] 雅克・德洛爾：《論未來教育》，《信使》1996 年第 7 期。

哲學的發展，甚至新的教育哲學。”[5]“爲了迎接下一個世紀的挑戰，必須給教育確定新的目標，必須改變人們對教育的作用的看法。”這個新的看法、新的目標就是，教育要“使人們學會生存，實現個人全面發展”，而不再把教育單純看作是一種手段，一種單純爲了獲得某些知識、技能和經濟目的而採取的手段。[6]

二

遍及各個領域的激烈的，甚至殘酷的競爭，經濟和科技知識的急劇變化，是當前和未來發展中突出的現象之一。據一些學者在上世紀末的估計，在知識領域，有些應用科學知識每 8-10 年翻一番，有的 3-5 年翻一番[7]；在勞動世界，50%的職業可能在一代人的時間裏發生變化，每 3-5 年就有約 50%的職業技能需要更新[8]。這一趨勢還在迅速發展。單靠青少年時期受教育學得的知識就可以享用一生的情況已經不復存在，人們必須時刻面對不斷的變化和由此而來的新要求。如何應付由此而帶來的壓力、變化和挫折、逆境，已經成爲現代社會人們面對的一大挑戰；在這一挑戰面前，許多人感到不知所措，憂郁、焦躁等精神疾病以至自殺的現象增加。所有這些都受到人們的關注。正是針對這種挑戰，提出了“三張教育通行証”的思想。這是一位名叫柯林・博爾的學者提出的，他認爲，每一個人都應該掌握三張“教育通行証”，一張是學術性的，一張是職業性的，第三張通行証則証明一個人的事業心和開拓能力。具有第三張通行証的人“對於變化持積極的、靈活的和適應的態度，視變化爲正常，爲機會，而不視其爲問題。一個如此對待變化的，具有事業心和開拓能力的人，具有一種來自自信的安全感，處理危險、冒險、難題和未知，從容自如。這樣的人具有新的創造性思想，發展這些思想並堅持不移地使之付諸實施的能力；這樣的人有能力並勇於負責，善於交流、談判，施加影響，規劃和組織。他是積極的而不是消極的，有信心而不是朝三暮四的，有主意而不是總依賴着他人。”[9]這一思想最後寫進了“面向 21 世紀教育國際研討會”的報告。

三張通行証的思想把應付壓力、危險、變化和逆境的能力與學術性的、職業性的知識和能力並提，給它賦予了極重要的地位，反映了科技和生產發展、知識迅速更新和經濟結構、勞動市場急劇變化對人才素質的要求，是教育思想的重要變化。從學會生存、學會關心到提出教育的四大支柱，都貫穿着對這一點的關注。

三

問題是如何來培養這種能力。這裏存在着困難，因爲這種能力是一些“可學而不可教的技能，只能在做中學”(埃及雅德博士語)[10]，它不可能完全在學校裏來培養；但我們不能不在學校裏進行這樣的教育，盡可能地使受教育者受到這方面的教育和訓練。

至少，我們可以幾方面來進行。

認識生活。如前面已經提到的，在科學技術高度發展的今天，在各個領域，我們所面對的是發展迅速，競爭激烈，變化頻繁的局面。從學校畢業以後，在一個職業，甚至一個單位穩定地工作幾十年的情況，已經不會再有。終身教育的思想就是適應於這一變化而提出的，其目的在於給人們適應新局面提供知識的支持。但只有知識的支持是不夠的，更重要的是思想和精神的準備。每一個人在他步入社會之前，就應該清楚意識到，生活

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[5]王一兵：《提高教育質量，迎接 21 世紀的挑戰》，《未來教育面臨的困惑和挑戰》人民教育出版社，1991 年，第 45 頁。
[6] 《教育—財富蘊藏其中》，聯合國教科文組織中文部譯，教育科學出版社，1996 年 12 月，第 76 頁。
[7] 張健：《教育面臨的挑戰》，湖南教育出版社，1985 年，第 156 頁。
[8]王一兵：《提高教育質量，迎接 21 世紀的挑戰》，《未來教育面臨的困惑和挑戰》人民教育出版社，1991 年，第 45 頁。
[9]引自王一兵：《提高教育質量，迎接 21 世紀的挑戰》，《未來教育面臨的困惑和挑戰》人民教育出版社，1991 年，第 46-47 頁。
[10]引自王一兵：《提高教育質量，迎接 21 世紀的挑戰》，《未來教育面臨的困惑和挑戰》人民教育出版社，1991 年，第 44 頁。

將是不斷的變化，不斷應付新的挑戰，克服困難、危險，包括一次次的挫折和失敗，並爲此做好精神準備。在這方面，學習中國古代哲人的智慧有重要意義。即使是在古代那樣穩定的農業社會裏，中國古人就從社會生活中體認到憂患意識的重要。孟子就提出了“生於憂患死於安樂”的著名命題。他說：“天將降大任於是人也，必先苦其心志，勞其筋骨，餓其體膚，空乏其身，行拂亂其所爲，所以動心忍性，曾益其所不能。……然後知生於憂患而死於安樂也。”[11]他把艱難困苦、挫折失敗看做對人的磨練，只有經過艱難困苦的磨練，鍛鍊意志，增長才幹，才能擔當大任；安逸享樂，在溫室裏成長，則會在困難面前束手無策，遇挫折、逆境消沉絕望，往往導致滅亡。所以說：“生於憂患而死於安樂”。宋儒張載在其名篇《西銘》中也說：“富貴福澤，將厚吾之生也；貧賤憂戚，庸玉汝於成也。”也是把貧賤憂戚看作助人成功的條件。孟子、張載的話體現了中國人的人生智慧，正是這樣的智慧，養成了中華民族不畏艱險，自強不息的精神。一部中國歷史，處處滲透着這種精神。司馬遷在蒙受宮刑的奇恥大辱的情況下，發奮著述，完成了不朽巨著《史記》。他在致友人任安的信《報任安書》中，曾列舉了許多先賢在逆境中奮起的事例，激勵自己。如“文王拘而演《周易》；仲尼厄而作《春秋》；屈原放逐，乃賦《離騷》；左丘失明，厥有《國語》；孫子臏腳，《兵法》修列”等等。司馬遷說，所有這一切，都是先賢在困厄中“發奮之所爲作”。司馬遷正是繼承了這種精神。近代以來，也是在這種精神的激勵下，中國人民忍辱負重，前仆後繼，英勇奮鬥，終於戰勝強敵，贏得了民族獨立，建立了新中國。繼承發揚這一傳統精神，無疑對青年一代應付未來社會挑戰，戰勝逆境，會有重要的意義。

志存高遠。古語云：“有志者，事竟成。”人生要有所成，貴在立志。立志又當高遠。有高遠之志，才能高屋建瓴，處理困難、逆境。《莊子》開篇就講“小大之辨”，說“窮發之北，有冥海者，天池也。有魚焉，其廣數千里，未有知其修者。其名爲鯤。有鳥焉，其名爲鵬。背若泰山，翼若垂天之云。摶扶搖羊角而上者九萬里。絕云氣，負青天，然後圖南，且適南冥也。斥鴳笑之曰：彼且奚適也，我騰躍而上，不過數仞而下，翱翔蓬蒿之間，此亦飛之至也，而彼且奚適也？”[12]莊子用這個寓言說明，眼光短淺的人無法理解至人的遠大志向和人生的真正意義。即所謂“燕雀焉知鴻鵠之志”。而有了遠大的志向，就不會斤斤計較於名利等小事，對於挫折困難也能泰然處之，甚至“視喪其足，猶遺土也”，以一種豁達的心態面對挫折和逆來逆境。孟子也有言：“先立乎其大者，則其小者弗能奪也。”[13]有高遠之志，就能不受枝節小事的干擾，不爲一時的挫折和困難而動搖苦惱，灰心喪氣。在大陸的高等學校，常見一些學生，考入高校前，可以克服種種困難，忍受種種痛苦，堅持不懈地爲考入高校而奮鬥；進入高校之後，卻會因一次考試成績不好而悲觀失望，喪失信心，或甚至因失戀而絕望輕生。究其原因，重要的一點就是，在未進入大學時，他有考上大學這一目標的支持；一定要考上大學，是他忍受痛苦，克服困難的力量的來源。而一旦進入高校，他卻失去了目標；沒有了目標，於是也就失去了面對困難和挫折的勇氣和力量。古人云：“志小則易足，易足則無由進。”[14]“學不立志，如植木無根，生意將無從發端矣。自古及今，有志而無成者則有之，未有無志而能成者也。”[15]以上所說現在一些青年的情形，正是“志小易足”，進入大學以後即無志，因此也就“無由進”。所以，從小教育青少年志存高遠，是培養他們適應未來社會需要，取得“第三張通行証”，具有應付困難、挫折能力的重要的一環。

生活磨練。正如埃利雅德博士所說，應付生活挑戰的能力是“可學而不可教”的，“只能在做中學”。“生於憂患而死於安樂”，“貧賤憂戚，庸玉汝於成也。”只有這樣的認識還是不夠的，古人尤其重視生活中的磨練。“人須在事上磨，方立得住。”[16]“人須在事上磨練做功夫，乃有益。若只好靜，遇事便亂，終無長進。”

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[11] 《孟子・告子下》
[12] 《莊子・逍遙游》
[13] 《孟子・告子上》
[14] 《張載集・經學理窟・學大原下》
[15] 《王陽明全集》卷二十七《寄張世文》
[16] 《王陽明全集》卷一《傳習錄上》

[17]正如孟子所說，只有經過艱難困苦的磨練，“動心忍性，曾益其所不能”，才能真正具有應付一切的意志和能力。只停留在理論的認識上，就會“遇事便亂”，經不住考驗。所以，給青少年以在實際生活中磨練的機會，是幫助他們取得“第三張通行証”的不可忽視的一個方面。尤其是當前中國大陸，一代青少年都是獨生子女；祖輩、父輩經受過窮困、動亂，現在社會安定，生活改善，都希望盡可能給子孫輩創造一個良好的環境和條件，盡量滿足他們的一切要求。他們在安樂中長大，被稱做家中的“小皇帝”。這種情形已經造成一些青少年獨立生活能力低下，心理承受能力脆弱的後果，甚至發生了女研究生受騙被拐賣的事。這種情況已經開始受到社會各界的重視。許多人提出了進行“挫折教育”的問題。提出了種種主張和進行了各種試驗。

特別值得重視的還有家庭教育。造成青少年獨立生活能力低下和心理承受能力脆弱的重要原因之一，是家庭教育的失誤。現在的家庭教育，存在着不少問題。較突出的有以下幾種情況：[1]溺愛是普遍的現象。獨生子女在家庭中處於中心的地位，祖輩、父輩往往順從他們的一切意願，滿足他們生活上的一切要求。這不僅使他們獨立生活能力低下，而且養成了許多人以自我爲中心的思想。[2]以升學爲對子女的唯一要求。父母望子成龍，而在傳統思想和社會風氣影響下，許多家庭把望子成龍的目標集中到了一點上，就是考上大學。由此，對子女的唯一要求就是學業成績，一味苛責成績而忽略了思想、道德、意志、能力等方面的要求。爲了保証子女考上大學，把子女當作重點保護的對象，一方面盡量爲他創造良好的生活條件，另一方面要求子女不做(甚至是禁止做)任何家務勞動，一心讀書。[3]相信棍棒底下出狀元，以打罵爲唯一教育手段。[4]還有的因爲自己在動亂年代未能實現自己的理想，想在子女身上實現自己的理想，不與子女溝通，越俎代庖，一手爲子女選擇志願，安排一切。[5]還有，“讀書無用”的思想也還在一些地方有其影響，少數家長只盼子女成大款、當富豪，以爲讀書無用，讓子女棄學做工經商。以上各種現象，表現不同，有時也同時存在於一個家庭之中。

所有這些都極大地影響青少年的健康成長。主要的影響是[1]對子女過分溺愛，嬌生慣養，是許多年輕人獨立生活能力低下的重要原因。正如孟子所說，“生於憂患而死於安樂”，溺愛出於愛而實爲害。[2]過分的寵愛也養成了獨生子女以自我爲中心的意識和習慣，嚴重缺乏對他人、對社會、對環境的關心；也使他們養成只知順利，不知失敗的心理習慣，嚴重缺乏應付挫折失敗的心理準備和鍛鍊。[3]狹隘的、純功利的目標把青少年引上片面發展的道路。以考上大學爲唯一目標，和以成爲大款、富豪爲目標，看似相反，實際上都是把子女引向一個狹隘的、功利的目標，限制了他們的眼界，使他們鼠目寸光；也使他們不能全面發展自身的素質，而陷於片面、畸形的發展。[4]方法不當，缺乏溝通和交流，過於嚴厲的苛責和不恰當的打罵，或越俎代庖爲孩子安排一切，會嚴重地挫傷孩子的自尊、自信和創造性，給各方面還不成熟的孩子帶來不堪重負的壓力，有時還引起子女對父母的反感、怨恨，以至出現學生自殺，甚至子女殺死父母的悲劇。總之，不恰當的家庭教育，對孩子們的身心健康有着非常不利的影響，我們在青少年身上看到的種種問題，都與家庭教育有關。

所以現在要特別提出家庭教育的問題，引起人們的注意。終身教育的理念已經爲人們所接受，人們普遍重視了學校教育完成後的繼續教育，而現在還需要強調學前階段的教育，終身教育的實行要從家庭教育開始。終身教育的概念從時間上說，應該包括人的一生，從學前階段、學校教育階段到繼續教育階段；從教育形式上說，應包括家庭教育、學校教育和社會教育三個方面，而家庭教育則是終身教育的起點和最早的基礎；從教育的內容上說，不僅是要通過繼續教育更新知識來適應科學技術和生產結構的發展，現在的家長們也還需要通過繼續學習了解對下一代人才素質的要求，更新教育下一代的觀念。對終身教育的這種理解，更突出了教育的全民性。教育和教育改革都不只是學校與教育界的事，它應該作爲一個全社會的問題來考慮，也應該受到所有人的關注，吸引所有人來參與。不僅要使學校教育適合現代社會的要求，而且也要使家庭教育適合現代社會的要求。爲此要努力使每一個家庭、每一個爲人父母的人，以及每一個學生，都了解未來社會發展對人的素質提出的要求，

[17] 《王陽明全集》卷一《傳習錄下》

了解應該把下一代培養成什麼樣的人和怎樣去培養，具有適合現代社會要求的教育觀念。要努力把學校教育與家庭教育相結合、配合，共同完成培養下一代合格人才的使命。

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價值理想的失落與高等教育的德育危機

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在教育改革的浪潮中，中國高等教育獲得了前所未有的大發展，但也產生了一系列極其嚴重的問題。高等教育的德育就面臨著極大的危機。本文對中國高等教育德育危機進行了深入考察和分析，認為價值理想的普遍失落是德育危機的根源。而價值理想的失落既體現在國家的教育改革目標中，也表現在高等教育機構的追求中，更展現在個人的行為中。其結果則必然因為沒有共同價值理想的追求，在各種利益衝突中教育改革步履維艱。而要解決道德和德育危機，就應當建立全社會共同的價值理想。
關鍵詞：高等教育；德育；價值理想

20 世紀以來，世界教育改革的浪潮是一浪高過一浪，在各種因素的促進下，到 20 世紀 80 年代，教育改革已成爲世界各國的共同話語。而所謂教育的國際化、全球化，其實就是在教育改革中不斷實現和完成的。中國前現代化教育在步入現代時，由於拯救不了中國，也就拯救不了自身，在情願或不情願中，進行現代化。現代化就意味著改革，改革中國傳統教育，建立現代教育；改革中國本土教育，引入西方教育。一部中國現代教育史其實就是一部教育改革史。改革動因既然是武力和國力的敗落，改革的方向也就定調在堅船利炮和科學技術。傳統文化和道德雖然仍受到相當的關注和強調，但在改革的基本方向已定的情勢下，只能退居其次了。加上社會轉型、潮流時尚、智育競爭等因素影響，學校德育和道德狀況呈不斷下降的趨勢。高等教育也同樣面臨着巨大的危機。

高等教育的德育危機

德育，即道德教育，而要論高等教育的德育危機，無疑首先應該考察高等教育的道德狀況。90 年代以來，在中國市場經濟的急速轉型中，在主動適應社會主義市場經濟的教育改革中，中國高等教育的道德水準也在急劇下降，其現實狀況令人堪憂。

從高等教育機構來看，不少高校不是致力於提高教育質量，培養優秀人材，而是熱衷於搞創收，追逐經濟利益。並且這些高校不是通過正當經濟活動來獲得利潤，而是以變賣文憑的方式來收取錢財。在中國的各類報章上，我們會看到五花八門的進修班、課程班的廣告。有博士、碩士授予權的名牌大學多辦博士班、碩士班、研究生課程班，一般大學就只好去辦“專升本”之類的學位班、輔導班。自然碩士、博士班的學費比“專升本”之類的要高得多。這導致了不少高校競相申請碩士點、博士點。而申請學位點又不是通過提升教育質量，而是把精力放在對主管部門和相關學術權威的“公關”上。由此又激發了高等教育主管部門和人員的道德水準惡化。有些高校還把手伸進自己學生的口袋，巧立名目，向畢業生收費，以至弄得學生、家長怨聲載道，主管政府部門不得不幾次專門發文加以制止。[1]至於高等教育機構內部的經濟腐敗等問題也同樣存在。[2]高等學校也不再

[1] 《國家教委、教育部關於制止向普通高校畢業生亂收費的通知(1999 年 6 月 28 日)》,《教育部政報》1999 年第 7、8 期。

有溫情和人道，教師在學校的壓力下經受着論文和職稱“非升即走”的煎熬，學生在學校的驅使下成爲學術的、經濟的和榮譽的工具。

從教師來看，在外在和內在的政治、經濟和學術權力與利益的驅動下，將“傳道、授業、解惑”拋在一邊，而搖尾乞憐，諂媚上司；栽贓誣陷，欺凌同事；道貌岸然，虛僞做作；師道不存，學道淪喪。特別是在學術上，作爲以“求道”“弘道”爲使命的大學教師，不少已經喪失了最基本的學術操守。由於中國的現行職稱制度與房子、妻小、權力，金錢、社會聲望乃至政治前途等緊密結合在一起，而職稱又在很大程度上決定於論文的多寡，於是相當多的教師將“科研”放在第一位，置教學於不顧，而所謂“科研”，也就是與職稱相關的發表論文和研究課題。爲了多發文章，一篇論文可以辦作幾篇發，一篇可以換個題目往幾個雜誌投，爲了發文章，論文可以抄襲和偷譯，近年來《中華讀書報》等報刊網站已揭露了張汝倫《歷史與實踐》“抄襲”德文著作等多起論文剽竊抄襲事件。[3]學界的學術道德確實已經淪喪到令人悲哀慘不忍睹的境地。而教師對學生也缺乏其樂融融的師生之情，不是不關心，就是將學生當作工具。

從學生來看，曠課、遲到在高校學生中已是家常便飯，不少學生不是學校裏用心讀書，而是到社會上去作下三欄的事，好一點的是到公司打工賺錢。平時不學習，一到期中、期末，則抄襲作業、僞造實驗資料、考試作弊，論文抄襲複製更已到了肆無忌憚的地步。南京一些高校的學生爲了防止論文抄襲交上去“撞車”，竟在圖書館借閱的圖書上標上“此段已用”等留言，[4] 而有些好事者見有利可圖還專門創設網站提供論文複製服務。還有些學生爲了“推研”、留京，挖空心思與老師套近乎，或進行政治投機。最近這幾年“考研”異常火爆，競爭激烈，而競爭的手段也是各呈其能。上了研究生後也不讀書，一年級跳舞談戀愛，二年級打工撰外快，三年級慌慌張張準備作論文，但又要找工作，論文也就拼湊了事。[5]

高等學校中諸如此類道德低下、學風敗壞的現象還很多，不勝枚舉。高等教育機構及主管部門也意識到問題的嚴重性，並採取各種措施，或針對某一具體問題加以整改，或就全面的道德危機強化道德教育。如廣東省教育廳就對廣州體育學院亂發文憑的事件進行了調查。[6]對於高等教育機構私開研究生班濫發學位，國務院學位委員會和教育部多次發通知要求按法規辦學，指出目前有少數高等教育單位，爲經濟利益所驅動，降低標準亂發學歷文憑和學位証書，甚至用文憑和証書換取“贊助”、“捐資”。這不但敗壞了學風、校風，而且在社會上造成極壞的影響，玷污了高等教育的聲譽。[7]清華大學也已認識到校風對人才培養質量的重要性，將學風建設作爲 2001 年到 2005 年教育教學改革八項重要工作的第一項。[8]至於加強高校德育工作，國務院、教育部、中宣部等已不知制定了多少法規，採取了多少措施。單是 1998 年以來就普通高校德育工作的有《關於普通高等學校“兩課”課程設置的規定及其實施工作的意見》、《教育部辦公廳關於加強普通高等學校馬克思主義理論和思想品德課(公共課)教材建設及管理問題的通知》、《教育部關於加強和改進研究德育工作的若干意見》、《關於進一步加強高等學校學生思想政治工作隊伍建設的若干意見》[9]，等等。而且高等教育的道德危機並不是這兩年才有的，

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[2] 《堅決制止“小金庫”有關意見的通知(1999 年 10 月 29 日)》教財廳 [1999]11 號，《教育部政報》1999 年第 12 期。

[3] 孫周興: 《實踐哲學的悲哀》，《中華讀書報》2000 年 3 月 29 日；孫周興: 《悲哀復悲哀》，《中華讀書報》2000 年 4 月 5 日。

[4] 《高校學生畢業論文“抄襲”風氣抬頭》，《江南時報》2000 年 12 月 25 日。

[5] 《戀愛、打工、拼湊論文，研究生在研究什麼？》，《中國青年報》2001 年 1 月 12 日。

[6] 《廣東省教育廳調查廣州體育院涉嫌亂發文憑事件》，《南方都市報》2001 年 1 月 16 日；http://edu.sina.com.cn 2001-1-16。

[7] 《教育部關於重申保証高等教育質量，加強學歷文憑、學位証書管理的通知(2001 年 2 月 5 日)》(教學[2001]6 號)，《教育部政報》2001 年第 3 期。

[8] 王大中: 《為開創 21 世紀清華大學人才培養和教育工作新局面而努力》，《清華大學教育研究》2001 年第 1 期。

[9] 參見“中宣部、教育部關於印發《關於普通高等‘兩課’課程設置的規定及其實施工作的意見》的通知(1998 年 6 月 10 日)”教社科[1998]6 號，《教育部政報》1998 年第 7、8 期: “教育部辦公廳關於加強普通高等學校馬克思主義理論課和思想德(公共課)教材建設及管理問題的通知(1998 年 8 月 11 日)”教社政廳 [1998]1 號，《教育部政報》1999 年第 9 期: “教育部關於加強和改進研究生德育工作的若干意見

前些年就已經存在並被發現且一再加強道德教育，如學位班的問題，國務院學位委員會在 1998 年就專門制定了《關於授予具有研究生畢業同等學歷人員碩士、博士學位的規定》(一九九八年六月十八日國務院學位委員會第十六次會議審議通過)。清華大學的學風問題在上世紀 90 年代初就“確實令人擔憂”，並爲此開展了 6 年多的“學風建設”。[10]而 21 世紀又將學風建設作爲重中之重來抓，說明問題並未解決。至於中國共產黨和中國政府近 20 年來也不曾一刻放鬆過高等教育的德育工作。雖然有關部門一再宣稱這些問題都是改革中出現的暫時現象，是可以通過深化改革加以解決的。但迄今，只要是真正面對現實的，還沒有誰抱有信心和希望？既然高等教育的道德教育始終在進行和強化，但高等教育的道德水準卻沒有好轉，甚至一直在走着下降之路，這就只能表明道德教育確實發生了危機。

高等教育德育危機的根源

要徹底解決高等教育的道德危機和道德教育危機，就必須找到危機的根源，然後對症下藥，才能藥到病除，病急亂投醫，瞎開處方，恐怕不但不能解決問題，反有可能引發新的問題。

關於道德和德育危機的根源，無疑是與政治、經濟改革和高等教育改革及其所導致的社會轉型相關的。在市場經濟下，一切都趨於工具合理性的功利主義和實用主義。政府、組織和個人都競相逐利，把經濟效益放在第一位。高等教育也與社會一樣變得功利化。政府減少或斷絕了對事業性單位的某些高等教育機構的撥款和支持，取消或減低了教師的福利待遇，高等教育機構爲了維護機構運行和其成員的收入水準，就不得不設法“創收”，至於其行爲是否符合其作爲高等教育機構的道德準則也就顧不及了；高校教師眼見自己收入相對或絕對下降，就去從事各種能帶來收益的活動，至於其是否合乎作爲教師的職業道德和作爲知識分子的價值準則也就無從顧及了。

當今世界國家之間、高等學校之間、教師之間的激烈競爭更強化了高等教育的功利主義和實用主義。美國等世界發達國家都將教育作爲經濟競爭和綜合國力競爭的基礎戰略，20 世紀 80 年代後，中國政府和共產黨也迅速將政治工具的教育轉變爲國家和經濟競爭的手段。中共中央國務院在《中國教育改革與發展綱要》中指出：“世界範圍的經濟競爭、綜合國力競爭，實質上是科學技術的競爭和民族素質的競爭。在這個意義上，誰掌握了 21 世紀的教育，誰就能在 21 世紀的國際競爭中處於戰略主動地位。”[11]政府通過行政措施、評價標準、撥款方式等改革推進高等教育改革，高等學校相應在院系設置、學科、課程、評價標準等方面作出改革，而高校教師同樣調整自己的學術方向、研究模式、教育行爲等。而其表現遠遠超出上文所羅列的種種現象。

高等教育的工具合理性並不只存在於中國大陸，功利主義和實用主義及其所導致的道德和德育危機在世界上同樣嚴重。歐美日本無一不將教育作爲國家發展和經濟競爭的手段。“1950 年以後，人們越來越根據教育對於國家的需要和國家的政策所作的貢獻來評價學校教育……一定的教育活動對於政治和軍事作出的直接的或潛在的貢獻，決定了這個教育活動是否值得進行，同時也提供判斷這個教育活動是否有效的標準。”[12]在美國許多教育家都認爲，“國家如果想在經濟和軍事的前沿與蘇聯展開有力的競爭，學校就應該在像道德教育這樣的‘軟’領域中少花時間，而在學術性主題上多花些時間，民主更多的是依靠國家產品的多少和核彈頭的數量而

(2000 年 4 月 6 日) " 教社政[2000]3 號 ,《教育部政報》2000 年第 7、8 期。

[10] 周兆英等: 《把建設優良學風落實到班級》,《清華大學教育研究》1990 年第 2 期，陳剛等: 《學風建設的回顧與思考》,《清華大學教育研究》1997 年第 2 期。

[11] 國家教育委員會辦公廳: 《中國教育改革和發展文獻選編》, 北京: 人民教育出版社，1993，4。

[12] 羅伯特．梅遜者，陸有論譯: 《西方當代教育理論》, 北京: 文化教育出版社，1984，7-8。

不是個人的道德自律。”[13]然而結果確是六七十年代西方社會和高等教育、大學生普遍的道德衰退，人們甚至稱之爲另一次“羅馬帝國的衰亡”[14]。於是，道德教育重新興起，“對品德教育重新感興趣源自 60 年代的騷亂、城市和大學校園的動盪、日益增長的犯罪，以及成年人對一些新的青年文化(包括廣泛吸毒和性自由)暴力特性的反對，是促使道德教育復興的原因。”[15]道德教育的研究也隨之復興。但西方國家政府對待高等教育的工具性價值觀和發展模式並沒有消解，道德和道德教育的問題依然存在。

很明顯，工具合理性所導致的道德和道德教育是全球性的，中國高等教育的功利主義和實用主義本身也有全球化的因素，但這並不能說明和解釋中國德育和道德教育危機的特有表現。中國與世界其它地方的高等教育德育危機還有一些不同的地方，那就是整個高等教育價值理想的失落。政府在高等教育的效益與公平之間一味追求效益，大力發展科技教育，忽略人文教育；積極支持高等教育，迴避基礎教育；重視技術和應用研究，輕視基礎研究；關注高等教育的經濟成果，淡漠高等教育的文化意義。高等學校不是追求普遍價值和真理，而熱衷於轟動效應，不斷擴大學校規模，追求學生數、論文等數量指標，而不問教育和科研質量，大量開設諸如 MBA 等帶來較高收益的學科和專業，而忽視作爲人類價值和知識基礎的學科和專業。大學教師寫起文章來還擺出一副知識份子“人類良知”的模樣，但做起事來卻成爲權力和利益的附庸。從 80 年代開始，大學校園中相繼興起了薩特熱、尼采熱、弗羅伊德熱，到 90 年代又興起傳統文化熱、國學熱，而沒有哪一次真的熱下去了，彷彿一陣風一片雲，吹來又飄去。而現在的大學生連對價值問題的思考都不做了，跟着感覺走，自然就沉入自我中心和物質主義中。

價值理想的失落

中國高等教育德育危機的根源既在於價值理想的失落，那麼，這種價值理想的失落又是如何發生的呢？

首先，80 年代以來社會轉型導致了從前的價值理想的破滅，但新的價值理想卻沒有樹立起來。從 50 年代以來，中國共產黨和政府把共產主義的政治觀、價值觀和人生觀灌輸給了人民，並通過學雷鋒等方式將之貫徹到日常生活中，成爲人們的生活方式和行爲習慣。但 80 年代後，對“文化大革命”的揭露和批判一下子使全國人們的信仰發生動盪，大學生更因爲其知識和理想產生理想幻滅。1980 年 5 月《中國青年》刊發的 23 歲青年潘曉題爲《人生的路阿，怎麼越走越窄……》的信是極具代表性的。現實的市場經濟改革又使高等教育機構和大學生的經濟地位和社會聲望下降，一下子就使他們變得無所適從。80 年代的大學生還試圖尋求價值理想，到 90 年代後期，“價值理想”在大學生那裡已成爲了引人發笑的概念和話題。

80 年代的價值理想失落與共產黨和政府在一些問題上的處置不當有關，這導致了共產黨和政府在大學生心中在一定程度上喪失了道德和政治的合理性和正當性。社會主義本來不僅是一種政治理想，在很大程度上，其吸引千千萬萬中國人爲之奮鬥和犧牲的，更在於其道德理想，社會主義所秉有的公正、平等、正義、仁愛、溫情……，遠比其經濟制度和政治制度要打動人。但今天，中國的道德合法性卻在國內和國際上受到挑戰。雖然人們的經濟狀況在改善，但短暫地體驗了改革的收益後，很多普通民眾再次懷念起 20 多年前無憂無慮的社會主義道德和福利。萬俊人曾這樣分析 90 年代初“紅太陽”革命歌曲的流行：“無論人們怎樣評價毛澤東本人以及他所代表的中國時代，借革命經驗和領袖權威培植起來的革命道德曾經有效地主導過中國社會的道德生活秩序這一歷史事實卻給予新中國民眾以難忘的記憶。50 年代初至 60 年代中期那種夜不閉戶、人心激昂的景象於眼

[13] Hersh, Richard H., Models of Moral Education: An Appraisal. London: Longman, 1980, P14.
[14] 菲力浦．孔希斯著，趙宣恆等譯: 《世界教育危機》，北京：人民教育出版社，1990, 278。
[15] Hersh, Richard H., Models of Moral Education: An Appraisal. London: Longman. 1980. P23.

前金錢紛飛、物慾膨脹的情景形成了太大的反差。”[16]另外，在國際上，90 年代以來，中國的人權一直受到譴責，雖然美國的動機是人人皆知的，但對中國政府的道德形象無疑構成了打擊。本來，社會主義的理想已將人權的內容都包括在內，但黨和政府卻很少將之作爲自己的宣傳或號召。爲什麼不將自己的道德形象樹立起來呢？沒有黨和政府的價值理想的引導，又如何指望一個急速轉型的市場經濟的社會機構和民眾決定其價值和理想？而高等學校和大學知識分子雖然本來應作爲社會的良知和道德模範，但工具性的高等教育已使大學和知識份子沉淪了，擔負不了社會批評和價值理想的角色了。

中國的社會轉型並不自 80 年代始，19 世紀中期開始的現代化已引發了中國的文化和道德危機。“新與舊、東方與西方的現時衝突隱含着一種令人擔憂的道德危機；因社會轉型過於急速而帶來的道德傳統——不僅是中國古典道德文化傳統，而且還有近半個世紀以來形成的革命道德信念或傳統——自身綿延危機。”[17]而中國古典道德文化傳統延綿的危機有西方衝擊的因素，也有中國自身的因素。中國本是非常有歷史感，重視文化道德傳統的民族，但近代以來卻不知爲何卻陷入一種歷史虛無主義的迷狂。在新文化運動和全盤西化派的眼中，中國是一部不道德的歷史，充滿着虛僞、陰謀、不平等、人吃人……，完全是邪惡的歷史。這就將 2 千年的中國文化道德全給否定了。即使是以中國文化道德爲職志的新儒家也缺少對歷史文化的敬意和尊敬，先是否定馬列主義，再否定新文化運動，接著又上溯到西學東漸時代清初，認爲三百年中國學術文化和知識分子不斷走著下降之路。這樣層層否定，直到宋明理學才是歸宿。[18]這種趨勢在中國近現代歷史文化道德和教育研究中一直延續下來。建國初期的教育史是批判封建社會和國民黨時期的教育，“文化大革命”是批判“十七年”的教育，改革開放後是批判“文化大革命”的教育。如此冤冤相及，何時是終了。

在這種不斷批判和否定中，道德和價值理想的崇高性也就沒有了，結果是誰都可以來嘲弄道德，出現了一種“蹂躪道德的現象”；故意將道德規範加以違反、嘲笑和奚落，將違犯道德的言語和舉動故意做得張揚，對符合道德的現象故意加以嘲弄和羞辱。[19]在一個沒有道德準則的社會，道德教育如何可能呢？

問題還在於，中國的道德教育並不是純粹的道德教育，而是“思想、政治和品德教育”[20]。當把不斷受到批判、嘲笑、唾棄和否定的中國歷史文化道德來教養學生時，會在學生的價值理想和道德信念的鑄造中起一個什麼樣的作用呢？學生能因此樹立人生的道德信心嗎？當本民族的文化道德不能成爲其價值理想的基礎時，又能完全指望用西方的道德價值來替代嗎？

教育本身的內在特性也使價值理想的歷史傳承帶來困難，“教育者和文化權威的闡釋者，一方面因爲維護文化傳統，必須堅持培養學生對既有文化的認同感，一方面，爲了研究文化的生命力，又必須鼓勵學生對既有文化做批判性的思考、重新闡釋和觀念創新。”[21]在當代，教師與學生的代溝也是教師與學生價值理想和當代落差的一個原因。

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[16] 萬俊人: 《比較與透析- - 中西倫理學的現代視野》, 廣州: 廣東人民出版社，1998，417 – 418。

[17] 萬俊人: 《比較與透析- - 中西倫理學的現代視野》, 廣州: 廣東人民出版社，1998，412。

[18] 參見拙作: 《現代新儒學家的思想特質》,《清華大學學報》1997 年第 1 期。

[19] 《道德重建與制度安排》,《中國青年報》1996 年 10 月 29 日；楊明: 《當前高校道德教育面臨的挑戰與創新》,《高等教育研究》2000 年第 5 期。

[20] 《中國普通高等學校德育大綱》。

[21] 汪丁丁: 《探索面向 21 世紀的教育哲學與教育經濟學》,《高等教育研究》2001 年第 1 期。

結論

正因爲沒有共同的價值理想作基礎，所以在高等教育中，政府、高等教育機構、大學教師和學生缺乏共同的道德判斷、道德認知和道德交往的基礎，德育也不可能取得效果。在中國高等學校中因爲價值基礎的不同所導致的德育衝突是屢見不鮮的。如馬克思主義理論課與思想品德課教的是“人的本質是一切社會關係的總和”，並以此批判“人的本質是自私的”、“個人中心主義”，和闡述集體主義的人生價值觀。但管理學課教的是管理哲學的人性論基礎就是“人的本性是自私的”；在馬克思主義政治經濟學課中灌輸的是社會主義信念，而經濟學課倡導的是“不搞私有化,就建不成市場經濟”。[22]更何況不少教師連所講的自己都不信,憑什麼感召學生呢？國家意識形態和宣傳部門、教育行政部門、高等學校和教師提供的道德內容本身就是衝突和矛盾的，憑什麼要求學生樹立堅定的價值觀、人生觀和政治立場。在價值和道德衝突中，各部門和個人爲了“小我”利益，都堂而皇之地以自我的“價值”、“道德”來行事，而且還以改革的名義將自我利益的機制制度化和合法化。大學中有的院長、主任常在制定某一規則、制度時使之僅合乎自己的標準和條件，然後冠冕堂皇名正言順地獲得種種利益。愈是這樣發展下去，高等教育的道德問題將愈多，中國的文化和社會整合將愈多亂象，道德教育危機將愈深重。所以，要解決道德和道德教育危機，首先應在高等教育和全社會建立共同的價值理想。

然後，應把共同的價值理想作爲政府政策基礎、高等學校的目標、教師基本準則，並化爲統一課程教給學生。美國從來的改革雖多是科技取向的，但也從來沒有忘記要形成美國高等教育和社會共同的價值觀。如 1948 年美國總統委員會《美國民主社會中的高等教育》所確立的目標就有：“培養學生具有與民主理想相一致的個人和公民生活倫理原則標準。”[23]1984 年美國高質量高等教育研究小組在《投身教育：發揮美國高等教育的潛力》就批評過分職業化的課程會“失去它培養共同價值觀念的潛力，正是這些價值觀念和知識把我們結成一個社會整體。”[24]中國社會和高等教育要重視較高的道德水準，無疑也要通過教育熔鑄一種共同的道德和精神價值觀念。

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[22] 吳倬: 《建立結構合理功能互補的高校德育系統》,《清華大學教育研究》2001 年第 1 期。

[23] Gary E M, The Meaning of General Education. New York; Teachers College (Columbia University), 1988.P123.

[24] 美國高質量高等教育研究小組 :《投身教育: 發揮美國高等教育的潛力》, 教育發展與政策研究中心編: 《發達國家教育改革的動向和趨勢》, 北京: 人民教育出版社，1986，38。

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儒家倫理在公民道德教育中的地位與作用

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儒家倫理作爲傳統文化的表徵、傳統道德的主體，既有阻礙現代化的不相容性， 又有爲現代化提供動力支援的根源性資源優勢，這已成爲大多數人的共識。但是具體而言，儒家倫理究竟怎樣阻礙又如何推動現代化發展；儒家倫理的哪些成份在起阻礙作用，哪些成份提供了和將要提供哪些具體支援，尤其是在可操作的實踐層面—在現代公民道德教育中的地位與作用，還很難有一個差強人意的自圓其說，更難有一個實踐上成效顯著的嘗試和應答。其間的原因非常複雜。在我看來，大致有以下四個原因：其一，中國文化歷史太悠久、太複雜，不易辨識與看透。其二，儒家文化的墜落是在近代，西方列強的入侵使得救亡圖存的急務沖淡或耽擱了對中西文化的比較討論和辨證分析。其三，五四的文化精英在當時的世界潮流面前，因深黯並痛感自己文化傳統的缺失，對自己的文化和國民性的弱點哀其不幸，怒其不爭，導致矯枉過正。其四，史無前例的文化大革命是人類史上一場空前的浩劫，政治上的“左傾”殘酷地姦污著中國的文明。從世界文化發展的總的歷史來看，儒家是唯一受到自己民族的文化精英徹底批判的文化傳統。徹底批判、拋棄傳統帶來的後遺症後患無窮，其中一個嚴重的後果是無論學者、宣傳教育工作者，對儒家文化只有“學術資源”互相交流的“文化自覺”，少有或根本不敢想將“學術資源”轉化爲“知識資源”進入教育層面的“文化自覺”，以爲這是“大逆不道”這裏我還指出一個易被忽視的學理上的原因，即對“儒家倫理”這一概念的誤讀，這種誤讀在許多文章中都可看到，即把作爲傳統文化的儒家倫理與作爲文化傳統的儒家倫理混爲一談。

對儒家倫理的內涵之辨析

儒家倫理最易造成人們理解上的迷惑和岐義叢生之處，是既可把它看成是傳統文化的儒家倫理，又可把它看成是文化傳統的儒家倫理。所謂元典儒學、漢代儒學、宋明理學、明清樸學就其各自而言屬前者，屬古人的生存樣態，可界說爲一種已經存在的既定文化，它們以文獻典籍、典章制度、器物廟宇等設施的形式流傳下來，它是自然經濟宗法封建社會的經濟結構和意識形態的產物；它是我們想要認識的一種客體，是一種我們無法改變的歷史的存在；它是中國歷史文明的積澱，是精華與糟粕在古人生存世界的有機統一。作爲傳統文化的儒家倫理可以理解爲形而下的器，如《周易》、《中庸》等典籍已成了文化遺產。它的功能主要是具有歷史意義，可以在詮釋的基礎上對它加以批判性地繼承和應用，認識它的主要目的，在於以它作爲一種載體或文化符號來傳達意義，古爲今用。

儒家倫理的文化傳統，是指當代社會中那些從歷史上流傳下來，體現民族性格、民族價值觀的道德精神，是歷史變遷的連續留存。由於中國傳統文化到宋明時期演化爲儒釋道三家融合，它們又都生成於中國封建專制主義的社會之中，所以呈現出十分複雜的情狀，既有好的又有不好的甚至壞的連續留存，它是動態的、鮮活的、是過去發生的、現在仍保持著的一種精神性的東西。儒家的文化傳統不像儒家的傳統文化安靜地呆在歷史文獻

典籍和文物典章中，等待現代的學者去發掘它、重釋它、接通它、應用它，它不與現代對立，不必人爲地努力去貫通古今。儒家的文化傳統就是現實，傳統就是我們，它是眼下中國公民思維方式、行爲方式、道德價值、生命樣態、生存智慧和精神方向的文化基因，它甚至可以代表中國現代化特有的一種文化的傾向性，即區別於其他任何國家、任何民族的現代化的文化特質。江澤民同志在“七一”講話中談到先進文化的內涵時指出：它是“面向現代化、面向世界、面向未來的，民族的科學的大眾的社會主義文化”，這種先進文化應“促進全民族思想道德素質和科學文化素質的不斷提高，爲我國經濟發展和社會進步提供精神動力和智力支援。”建設先進文化和現代公民的道德教育體系務必立足“三個面向”，立足民族的科學的大眾的這幾方面的內涵，不能只注重一二個方面，忽視其他的方面，不能只注重批判詮釋傳統文化的儒家倫理，還要搞清作爲文化傳統的儒家倫理，即要在活的歷史當中，在現實之中去理解，去把握傳統文化給當下中國人帶來的好的影響和不好的影響，使人們不僅懂得文化典籍中什麼是糟粕，什麼是精華，而且使人懂得什麼是文化傳統留給我們身上的優良的和腐敗的因素。這就是把自己民族的倫理文化傳統當作當下人們所進行的一系列持續不斷的活動和實踐的過程，把它看作正在趨向未來的一種動向，一種自覺地建設先進文化和構建公民道德價值體系的一個動態的過程。任何一位中國人，你可以說你不懂儒學，沒讀過“四書五經”，不瞭解孔子、老子及其學說，但你的行爲、舉止、思維方式、生活樣態裏則或多或少滲透著儒家文化的基因。傳統社會有一大批目不識丁的山村夫老、沒有文字能力的“母親”，成爲中國民族傳統的文化價值和倫理道德代代相傳的傳達者。孔子三歲喪父，可以說沒有得到父親的慈愛，孟子也差不多，宋明儒學的思想家無一例外都受到母親的身教之影響。

作爲傳統文化的儒家倫理與作爲文化傳統的儒家倫理既有區別又相互聯繫，前者是後者的前提和基礎，後者是前者的流變與動態中的發展；前者是靜態中的歷史遺存，後者是動態中的文化在人的心理結構中的積澱，表現爲人們的行爲方式和生活樣態。這樣就得出了第一個結論：詮釋儒家倫理首先要弄清其內涵，又要把二者結合起來加以研究。唯其如此，我們才能既從文獻典籍層面又從現實的人的社會的實際出發，從傳統與現代，中國與世界這縱橫兩個座標中來考察儒家倫理在當代中國公民道德教育中的地位與作用。

儒家倫理在公民道德教育中的地位

由上述論述可順理成章地推論出以下結論：無論儒家倫理有多少特質與現代公民社會怎樣對立，也不管它有多少特質的精華可以作爲現代公民社會道德建設的文化資源；不管你承不承認它，中國公民在經濟全球化語境下的道德建設必須從這個實際出發，因爲它是中國人幾千年來特有的，現在仍在發揮影響作用的文化傳統。儒家倫理之于現代公民道德建設、社會主義精神文明建設、人格塑造等的地位具有根源性、民族性、母體性、前提性、不可回避性和勿庸置疑性的重要地位，不容任何人過份地推崇它、褒揚它、寵愛它或嫌棄它、厭惡它、否定它！它總是不斷地在動態的變異中從過去、現在到無盡的未來流淌在中國人血脈中的文化基因。這是指作爲文化傳統的儒家倫理的地位。

作爲傳統文化的儒家倫理在公民道德建設中的地位是可以成爲豐厚的“知識資源”，成爲構建現代化公民不可或缺的人文知識資源。而作爲“知識資源”和“人文資源”作用發揮的大小，又取決於我們用什麼樣的方法來詮釋、開掘、創造性應用這一傳統文化資源寶庫。詮釋儒家倫理的方法論不能採用簡單的一分爲二法，認爲批判就是棄去糟粕，而繼承就是吸取精華，其實它是一個有機的整體發揮它對歷史發展的客觀作用，而不是

精華與糟粕部分單獨各自起作用的，簡單的兩分法忽略了結構的整體性和作用的雙向性。儒家倫理中的精華與糟粕是複雜地揉和在一起的。例如整體主義是儒家的一個價值取向，它引導中國人重視家庭、重視民族國家利益，公而忘私、國而忘家、形成了中華一體的凝聚力，自古以來激勵著一代又一代正直的中國人發奮向上，不屈服惡勢力，堅持與外來的壓迫作鬥爭，它使海內外華人團結一心，實現了形神一體，在這次申奧活動中淋漓盡致地得到了體現。但整體主義在封建時代是“民本”與“尊君”一體兩翼的整體，它是泯滅個體主體性、創造力的罪魁禍手。它使個人難以在調節公開的行爲時承擔重要的角色。它還容易導致權威主義，在廈門特大走私案中，我們可以看到受賄者因獲知比自己官大的人已經“涉嫌”就以爲自己可以高枕無憂，結果釀成 600 多名黨政幹部牽涉進去的整體犯罪的觸目驚心的特大走私案。又如仁愛思想是有“差等的愛”，首先把愛施予有血緣關係的人，由愛父母、孩子、愛人、把愛心慢慢擴展開來，由愛親人到“老吾老及人之老”，再擴大到社會、國家是個同心圓，這一思想使孔子榮獲世界上公認的十大思想家之首的美譽。在中國歷史上，這一思想哺育了一代又一代志士仁人殺身成仁，爲國捐軀。以親子之愛爲核心的儒家傳統可以在中國的社會轉型中起到一定的“解毒”作用，即可以相對減少許多社會問題，諸如養老問題、孤兒問題、過分的貧富不均等等。這些是積極因素。它的弊端是可操作性不強，這個同心圓難以切實擴展開來，往往到了家庭就停止了，並不能在操作層面上不受經濟條件和其他條件的制約。在封建時代造就了不少滿口仁義道德，一肚子男盜女娼的封建僞君子。其次，親親爲仁，只講人情，父爲子隱，子爲父隱，不要公理、法律，生怕對不起與自己關係親近的人，情感浸蝕法律，導致我國社會長期以來權大於法，及腐敗難以徹底根除，這又是糟粕。

批判詮釋儒家倫理的方法論原則又是科學的唯物辯證法。不僅取決於對作爲傳統文化的儒家倫理能不能超越簡單的“兩分法”，而且取決於我們有沒有對待作爲文化傳統的儒家倫理的科學、正確的態度。這就要涉及到應怎樣看待我們自己，怎樣看待自己的文化傳統，有沒有“文化自覺”意識。對自己的民族文化有沒有自知之明、明白它的來歷、形成的過程，所具有的特性，作爲中國人在全球化背景下意味著什麼？搞清以儒家文化爲主幹的中華文化對當下中國人的影響與外國文化的異同及其關係。質言之，要搞清儒家倫理的文化傳統中究竟什麼是至今仍在阻礙著我們民族的優良性格，民族精神和凝聚力的因素，什麼是與現代化可以相通，並可爲全球化作出自己應有貢獻的文化精華？

不搞清以上幾個問題就說不清儒家倫理在公民道德教育中的地位與作用。

儒家倫理在中國公民道德教育中的作用

公民道德是公民社會建設的重要內容之一。現代化是包括器物的現代化、制度的現代化和人的現代化的良性互動的動態過程，其中現代化的社會整合的核心是公眾參與和社會生活的開放化、合理化。市場經濟的發展內在地要求公民社會的產生，而公民社會的建設歸根到底是通過人— 現代公民來實現，這就決定了中國在現代化、市場化過程中，公民道德建設顯得極爲重要。

公民道德是作爲政治社會的成員在公共生活中相互對待的道德，它是人們對陌生人的恰當的態度和行爲方式，它不是直接地由日常倫理引申，但必須以個人的人格修養作爲前提。公民道德只有在人們可以作爲政治社會的成員以平等的政治地位相互交往的社會才能形成。

傳統的中國社會是臣民道德，因而儒家倫理對現代公民道德的建立有著深層次的對立。但臣民與公民又都是

“人”。人文與科學的區別在於：其一，科學技術的成果一旦爲少數人創造發明出來，所有的人有共用的可能，而人文的智慧與經驗之積累，即使上升爲理論的作品，要真正變成自己的體悟，變成自己生命的智慧，對生命的意義、生存的價值、理想人格的思考，必須靠每個活著的人自己去體驗，去嘗試、去創造。其二，科學技術的發明創造日新月異，兩千年前的科技成果只能存放在博物館裏，根本無法與現代發明相媲美，而社會人文科學的成果，無論年代多麼久遠，軸心時代的孔子、老子、佛陀、蘇格拉底的思想與經典卻並不因時而失去價值，伴隨時光的流失甚至會發出更加耀眼的光芒。這大概是圍繞人的生命意義，苦樂，榮辱，生死等人文課題，古人與今人有著許多驚人的相似之處，古人的相對緩慢的生活節奏似乎更便於深入思考人生的真諦，而現代人在爲物質上的攀比競爭中很容易喪失了生活的意義。科學並不能全面地提升人生，所以現代人更加需要充滿人文內涵的儒家人生哲學來警醒、省察自己的生活。所以，有人主張，現代化不應以拋棄傳統爲代價，建新樓不一定要拆老屋，譜新曲未必不能彈舊曲。何況儒家的文化傳統並非古人的遺存，而是滲透在今人血脈中的基因。對儒家的傳統文化的批判應以對儒家的文化傳統對當下中國人的影響作爲前提，對活的文化傳統的理性把握，才能對傳統文化的文獻經典進行有效地批判性詮釋，使之成爲“知識資源”，成爲凝聚全世界華人的精神財富，成爲維護國家統一的牢固堡壘，在文化全球化的衝擊下，它不僅僅有一種抵抗優勢文化擠壓的心理功能，而且在一定程度上可以爲中國公民的生活原則提供正當性依據。

因而，考究儒家倫理在當代公民道德教育中的作用和價值，不能停留在靜態地對文獻典獻的現代詮解上，而應從靜態到動態，把儒家倫理的傳統文化與文化傳統結合起來加以分析，不僅要從社會的經濟、政治、文化的互動中將社會看作是一有機體，還要從全球化、現代性、人的全面自由的發展的視角加以審視。

在全球化語境下對中國公民的警示作用

經濟全球化不可能淹沒民族文化，而是對民族文化的繼承、創新和走向世界提出了更高要求。在全球化語境下復興中華文化並爲全球化作出應有的貢獻，首先要克服、消除儒家文化傳統給當下中國公民帶來的負面影響。不然你就不能以現代人的嶄新姿態參與到全球化進程中，你會使自身形象醜陋、行爲乖戾，不附合國際遊戲規則，缺乏作爲文明國度的中國人應有的風采。這些文化糟粕積澱爲中國人的國民劣根性是什麼呢？是封建家長制，等級觀念、人身依附、奴僕性格、權大於法、保守心理、官本位、個性不能張揚、獨立人格挺立不起來，拖著一條長長的無形的封建主義的長辮子。這些負面的東西是現代中國公民身上的隱患乃至毒瘤。去除這些東西既要靠制度創新又要靠全民族的反思、教育引導（應該看到經濟全球化有利於消解這些弊端）這要在經濟、政治、文化建設的互動中逐步克服。單純的制度創新敵不過“權力真理論”，敵不過公務員們所信奉的按“按長官意志辦沒錯”的集體無意識。誰的心中都明白“第一書紀第一規律”，權大於法，論資排輩在各類單位和部門中仍潛移默化地影響著人們，近親繁殖在無形中侵蝕著我們社會的肌體。至於儒學中的精華，深邃的人文精神、“三軍可奪帥，匹夫不可奪志”的人格節操，“剛健、弘毅、自強不息的進取精神與責任感”，“天下爲公、愛國爲民、義以爲上的價值取向”，“寬以待人、厚德載物、注重人際和諧的恕道精神”，“豐富的政治思想、治世經驗、從道不從君的爲官之道”，“立品爲人、修已篤行、知行統一的道德自覺與修養理論”等，這些都需要在每一個中國公民的日常生活工作中身體力行，發揚光大，需要在全球化的參與中與一切優秀的文化傳統交融，對話，讓世界瞭解我們，理解我們。我們不但要輸入文化而且要輸出文化。中國現在外貿上有順差，在文化交流上則是“逆差”，中國人瞭解西方超過西方人瞭解中國。這說明我們的文化有海納百川，有容

乃大的胸懷。在弘揚中華民族優秀的文化傳統時我們應當有足夠的自信。北京申奧成功和中國加入 WTO 意味著以儒家倫理爲主體的中國傳統文化具有極強的生命力。現在的問題是要設法使儒學精華成爲知識資源，進入到教育層面，讓青少年具有深厚的民族文化內涵，使他們能自覺地在網路上輸出文化，與西方文化對話、交流，在融合中復興中華文化。

在參與全球化的進程中我們必須糾正以往的失誤：對自己的文化傳統該批判的未能徹底批判，該繼承和弘揚的未能真正繼承和弘揚。與之相應還要扭轉中國人缺乏歷史意識的毛病。中華民族有 5000 年淵源流長的歷史，而中國的歷史“記憶”卻如此薄弱，近 100 年來中華民族發生了一種“集體健忘症”，尤其是年輕人有些人甚至認爲歷史悠久是落後的原因，美國歷史暫短所以發達，他們認爲歷史只是很久以前的一段已模糊不清的煙雲，許多偉大的歷史事件過於遙遠，對於今天沒有指導意義。由於複雜的歷史的原因，中國人相當程度上失去了對自己古代偉大思想家、教育家的崇敬心，不再有人有興趣在大中小城市建造象徵中國文化，中國民族性格與民族精神的孔子塑像。至於中國人的經典，許多人不知是什麼，或者無知的斥之爲封建主義的故紙堆，甚至斥之爲“發思古之幽情”認爲與現代化節奏格格不入。杜維明說，中國人一方面是源遠流長的文化傳統，另一方面只有短暫的“歷史記憶”。如北京大學有 100 年的歷史，但要把文革時期的資料找出來就非常困難。北大湯一介先生到哈佛訪問，想瞭解他的父親湯用彤在哈佛念書的情況，找到了湯先生和 1915 年到 1920 年在哈佛念書的成績單，也找到了給他講課的老師名字，同時還找到了他是從美國中部一個小學校轉學而來的證明以及介紹人，來美的交通工具。美國人十分珍視自己僅有的三百多年的歷史，採取各處措施用自己短暫的歷史對青少年進行歷史意識教育。所以在全球化語境下，中國人應有歷史意識，不知道歷史就不知道現在，更不知道未來的走向，不知道作爲中國人意味著什麼？不知道中國文化的深厚意蘊及在世界文化中的地位。這是儒家倫理的第一個作用，它可以警示每一個中國人反思自己作爲中國人意味著什麼？

儒家倫理在市場經濟、民主政治與公民社會建設中的作用

社會主義市場經濟與民主政治的建設需要倫理基礎和倫理秩序的支撐與支援，現代市場經濟的交換主體是獨立、自由的主體之間普遍協作，其運作方式是一種自行組織秩序，它把社會分工與合作從家族範圍和單位範圍拓展到家族以外的公司之間甚至世界性的更大範圍和更多的層次。

市場經濟的發展內在地要求其社會成員擺脫人身依附，確立起具有獨立性的個人。伴隨市場經濟的發育成熟，具有獨立性個體的人越來越突破血緣和地緣的限制，從注重情感到注重契約化。個人從人身依附中走出，又很容易走入“人爲物役”的陷阱。隨著政府職能的轉變，由獨立的個人組成的建立在一定利益關係基礎上的公民社會得以確立和形成。

市場經濟的發展內在地要求並催生著民主政治的建立，這種政體形式的建立要以個體比較充分地發展爲前提，並且要以公民權利至上的基本理念來支援。

民主政治不僅能容納，協調公民個體的獨立自由的發展，而且能消解個體間引發的各種衝突，推動市場經濟與公民社會在自由而有序，充滿活力的互動中健康而穩定地發展。這將帶來政府與公民關係的變化，使得社會主義的現代公民徹底告別官本位社會和政治身份等級社會，逐步走向民主、公正、自由、平等的法治社會。

市場經濟和民主政治都內在地要求社會倫理關係的純化，同時必然帶來社會倫理觀念和倫理秩序的深刻變化。其根本點“就是由血緣倫理、地緣倫理、親戚朋友倫理及單位倫理（即准宗法倫理）向適合於整個公民社

會並面向所有公民的普遍倫理轉變”。[1]儒家倫理在公民道德建設中的作用的發揮關鍵還在於制度的創設。

我們必須認識到：一方面文化傳統並不是經濟發展的決定因素，另一方面傳統文化或文化傳統對經濟發展的制約或促進作用取決於一定的制度條件。文化是一種“軟體”，只有在一定制度的“硬體”中才能發揮其應有的作用。制度是文化作用于經濟的根本環節和條件。比如“儒家以人爲本的思想，在專制制度下是不可能實現的，只有在民主制度條件下才能變爲現實”，“儒家群體本位主義，在封建制度下，往往成爲壓抑個體能動性、扼殺個性的思想工具，在現代市場經濟制度下卻可以成爲團結合作精神的導向。”[2]甚至可以轉化爲特殊的社會資本。普遍的社會倫理信任可以降低市場的“交易成本”或“額外交易成本”。建立一套公正的遊戲規則與民眾的道德信念和自覺遵守規範是一體兩面，市場經濟的前提設定不只是經濟的，還必須是道德的。“必要的公共倫理信念和道德規範，就是市場經濟普遍可能和持久進行的前提條件之一。誠實守信之于交易行爲，勤勞節儉之於資本積累，團隊精神之於企業的組織和發展社會道義和人道精神之於經濟管理等等，可以說明這一點。”[3]

儒家倫理在民主政治建設中的反效應不可低估。儒家倫理的民本思想，元典儒家中的獨立人格不能說與社會主義民主政治建設沒有相通相融性，但它們本身並不必然從內在要求民主的發展。因此“希望儒家道德思想必當發展爲政治上的民主制度，很難不是一廂情願的願望”[4]

官德是公民道德中最具影響的德性修養，行政倫理是道德發展的高級階段，在社會主義道德體系中，行政倫理處於最高層次。行政倫理的價值基礎是廉政，價值核心是勤政。在傳統文化中不乏廉政與勤政的資源與典範。但自前儒學社會就形成的十分濃厚的社會等級制度和等級觀念的制約下，廉政和勤政的制度保證是皇權的人治。這一遺毒現在又成了孕育腐敗的溫床。

總之，儒家倫理的道德資源只有在市場經濟，民主政治和公民社會建立的互動中反思和批判儒家文化傳統的糟粕，尤其是對爲官者的消極影響，才能發揮出其豐厚的優良道德傳統的積極效應。

在“知識社會”對人的全面自由發展中的作用

知識社會對人文道德素養提出了新的更高的要求，與工業革命不同，這次資訊革命在一定程度上也是文化領域的革命，與人們的猜想相反，資訊技術的迅猛發展，人的因素反而上升了。知識經濟的特點，是服務性經濟的在大規模發展，是從單線生產走向個別化總體服務，從而改變了社會的工作形態：從嚴格分工走向群體合作，從繁瑣的科層變爲扁而鬆的工作組，知識重心下移，在工作中需要按需的、及時的、集體的建構性學習。新的組織形態，把人從工業社會嚴格的機構和規章中解放出來，要求員工要能溝通、共事、質疑、應變、創新，而人際的交往達到了新的密度和強度，也因此對人的道德價值、情感、良心、精神、責任心、自覺性提出了新的要求。另外，知識社會容易使人盲目追求工具理性，而忽視目的理性。比如父母和老師（家長、學校、社會）通過某種不約而同的“共謀”，把一個以“應試教育”爲核心的理想世界灌輸給青少年。家長成了孩子的上帝，把自己的意志強加給孩子，使他們無法以自己的個性，興趣和才能出發營造適合於自己的理想世界。[5]虛擬世界使青少年的想象力和創造力得到了釋放，但種種失範現象極容易誤導他們的思想。[6]在西方娛樂文化的衝擊下，青少年對傳統文化的認同越來越淡薄。只認金錢和名利，不講精神和價值，使一些年輕人失去了同情心，內疚心和羞恥心。現在越來越多的學生不服從紀律，而且放任、反叛、無心向學，由於社會流行講人權、講自由，所以學生認爲自己有自由，沒有人可以說自己、管自己，甚至沒有人可以說自己不是。認爲學生與老師，子女

與父母都是平等的，因爲大家都是人，學生無必要尊重老師，子女無必要尊重父母。學校只管灌輸知識與技能，訓練應試的本領，以便提升學校的社會地位，學校變成生產產品的流水線，只見物不見人。現在青年人價值危機、信仰危機、無視權威、已成爲世界性問題。

綜上所述，知識社會需要人文精神，價值理想、而正在走進知識社會的人們又容易只見物質、功利，而丟失精神家園。儒家倫理雖然缺乏與現代性聯繫最緊密的科學與民主兩種質素，但如果僅用民主科學這兩樣東西來對中華民族的文化資源，（主要是儒學）進行一種判斷，那是愚蠢的。在儒家倫理中有著關於倫理學、美學、宗教哲學、人的充分自我發展、理性地面對失敗、對待義利、對待幸福、對待生育、生命智慧、精神價值、人格修養等豐厚的資源，它們可以培養中國人的文化能力、倫理的智商、體察自己和他人、以及如何在逆境中抗爭，使人能更深刻的洞見人世的人文知識、精神價值和人格素養。這些東西不僅不會反對民主，科學，反而使民主與科學的發展有了後盾，更符合中國人走向現代化的特色，這裏的標準是你不能一上來就拿西方的標準爲標準。

事實上，平心而論，儒家文化傳統經過 100 年來的西方文化的衝擊，尤其是經過近 20 多年的改革開放和參與全球化的洗禮，它已經融入了許多西方的先進思想和理念，科學與民主這兩樣東西（尤其是前者）開始真正深入人心。世界上恐怕不會有比中國到發達國家去留學深造的人數更多的國家，不會有人數比例那麼眾多的人對英文掌握得這樣好，也很少有像中國這樣在學習西方發達國家科技後，自己的國家在如此短的時間發生了如此大的變化。只要我們在吸取他人之長時，不要丟失自己的寶貝，只要我們能正視自己文化傳統中致命的弱點加以克服，只要我們在注重四個現代化的同時也注重政治民主化和人的現代化，而且使三者循序漸進，互相促進，互相影響，那麼，中國文化的復興和現代化的輝煌成功必然相互推動，儒家文化在全球文化中的地位肯定會日益提高。

註釋

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北京大學生的環境意識調查分析[1]

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為了了解北京市高校在校本科生和研究生對於環境問題的知識、態度和行為，研究人員於 1998 年 9 月對北京 10 所高校的 350 名本科生和研究生進行了問卷調查。調查結果顯示，北京的大學生在考慮環境問題迫切性時，以中國國情為依歸。關於中國社會發展的優先次序，學生最優先考慮的是經濟發展，其次才考慮改善環境，他們普遍不願意以犧牲經濟增長或減少社會福利來換取環境改善。調查又發現，北京大學生並不活躍參與環保活動，環保組織很少，涉及面很窄。他們對一些與環境運動有重要影響的書籍的閱讀率不高，對於環境、資源和可持續發展有基本的認識，對環境保護工作有熱誠及願意承擔責任，顯示知識分子對環境問題的敏感度較高，是推動中國環境運動的動力來源。

導言

中國國家環保局局長在一份名爲《全國公眾環境意識調查報告》[2]的序言中指出，調查結果表明，公眾的環境意識尚處於較低水平，與環保工作的要求還有相當的差距，要普及環境保護知識，提高公眾的環境意識，任重道遠。無疑，公眾的環境意識是一個社會文明程度的重要標誌，也是環境宣傳教育成效的集中體現。從個人的層面而言，許多研究結果顯示，環境意識是與一個人的教育水平有極密切的關係。本文匯報一個於 1998 年對北京 10 所大學的 350 名本科生和研究生進行了問卷調查的結果，概述中國大學生環境意識現狀和探討與環境意識相關問題。大學生是社會未來的棟樑，他們對環境問題的認識、態度與行爲對於推動中國環境運動的發展有重要影響。在文中亦引述中華環境保護基金會和中國人民大學社會調查中心《全民環境意識調查分析報告》[3]的結果作對比分析，以了解當今大學生與公眾在環境意識的異同，希望結果對於如何推動中國的環境宣傳教育有一些啓示。

研究目的及方法

爲了了解北京市高校在本科生和研究生對於可持續發展環境問題的知識、態度和實際活動，研究人員於 1998 年 9 月對北京 10 所高校本科生和研究生進行了問卷調查。調查成功訪問了北京 10 所高校學生共 350 人。被調查

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[1] 有關研究課題是由香港浸會大學地理系黃觀貴博士及前中國人民大學人口研究所所長郭志剛教授共同設計，並由人民大學研究人員負責實地調查。部份經費來自香港浸會大學 FRG 經費(FRG/97-98/II-32)。

[2] 《全國公眾環境意識調查報告》是由國家環境保護總局教育部立項，委托北京大學中國國情研究中心實施的一項全國規模的大型抽樣調查研究項目。報告由北京中國環境科學出版社於 1999 出版。

[3] 中華環境保護基金會和中國人民大學社會調查中心（1966）《全民環境意識調查分析報告》北京：中國人民大學

的大學有：清華大學、北京大學、中國人民大學、北京化工大學、北京理工大學、北京師範大學、北京醫科大學、首都醫科大學、中國農業大學、北京林業大學，涉及文學、理學、社會科學、工學、農學/林學、醫學、管理學、公共衛生學等專業。調查對象包括本科生 258 人，碩士研究生 51 人，博士研究生 41 人。其中，男生 178 人，女生 172 人。這些學生來自於全國 28 個不同省市自治區。其中，來自省會以上大城市的佔 30.6%，來自中小城市的佔 36.6%，來自鄉鎮的佔 15.4%，來自農村的佔 17.4%。由於被調查的對象是大學生，他們對於閱讀及理解問卷內容是沒有問題的，故調查採取自填的方式完成。爲了保証調查質量，調查時主要採用了在同一時間、同一地點集中填寫的方式。問卷內容分爲八個部分，包括調查對象的個人資料、環境世界觀、環境問題的迫切性、社會發展目標、對政府環境保護政策的看法、個人參與環境保護情況、個人環保知識取得的途徑等。現根據初步匯總統計結果進行分析及評述。

環境世界觀

問卷中提供了若干關於環境、資源與發展的陳述，請調查對象從四種答案中選擇以表示他們對這些陳述的意見。問卷中的一部份陳述是採自 Dunlap 及 Van Liere 的「新環境典範」[4]的調查問卷。這部分的匯總結果如表 1 所示，下面就調查對象對其中部分項目的評價意見加以分析。

表 1：調查對象對於環境、資源與發展若干陳述的評價意見(%)

有關陳述	極不同意	不同意	同意	極同意
當前地球上人口數量已接近地球資源所能承受的極限	1.4	24.3	54.3	20.0
大自然的平衡極爲脆弱且容易受擾亂	2.0	34.9	45.4	17.7
人類有權去改變自然環境來滿足自身的需求	16.3	32.6	44.9	6.3
人類生來就有權利去管轄自然萬物	38.9	48.3	10.3	2.6
人類過份干擾自然就會引致災難性後果	3.4	2.6	31.1	62.9
野生動物與植物在世界上，主要是供人類使用	37.7	55.4	5.1	1.7
健康的經濟發展是將工業增長速度控制在一個穩定狀態	1.7	18.0	63.4	16.9
人類要生存則必須要與大自然共處	1.1	0.0	23.4	75.4
地球好像是一艘空間及資源都有限的太空船	1.7	12.3	52.0	34.0
人類必須適應環境因爲他可以改造自然以滿足其需求	53.7	40.0	3.7	2.6
工業社會的經濟增長是有其極限的	2.3	28.3	61.1	8.3
人類正嚴重地破壞地球環境	1.7	5.4	50.9	42.0
人類必須無條件地保護地球上生物多樣性	3.7	25.4	40.3	30.6
現代社會應提倡適度消費，反對高消費的生活方式	1.1	13.7	57.7	27.4
只有維護生態平穩，才能保證經濟的持續發展	0.9	3.1	47.4	48.6
人類的發展必須以不危及下一代的需要爲原則	0.6	6.6	53.1	39.7
21 世紀的人類文明將呈現爲生態化的文明	0.6	11.4	60.3	27.7

在參加調查的大學生中有 74.3%對“人口已接近地球資源所能承受的極限”表示同意。由於中國是人口壓力十分巨大的國家，20 多年來堅持計劃生育，廣泛開展對人口問題的宣傳教育。顯然，調查對象中大多數對以上陳述表示同意是中國自身的國情所分不開的[5]。雖然多數學生同意“大自然的平衡極爲脆弱且容易受擾亂”和“人類有權去改變自然環境來滿足自身的需求”，但同意與不同意的比例差異較少。這表現出大學生在這一問題上處於不同的角度來回答問題。而這兩個問題使他們感到選擇同意或不同意難以表達他們的看法。調查又發現有 93.1%的學生不同意“野生動物與植物生長在世界上，主要是供人類使用”的說法。在對“人類過份干預自然常會引致災難性的後果”問題的回答中看出，同意和極同意比例分別爲 31.1%和 62.9%，合計達到 94.0%。說明即

[4] 見 Dunlap, R.E. and Van Liere, K.D. (1978). ‘The New Environmental Paradigm’, *The Journal of Environmental Education*, 9(4):10-19.陳述 1 至 12 採自 The New Environmental Paradigm。

[5] 有關中國的人口與環境問題可參閱：曲格平、李金昌(1992)，《中國人口與環境》，北京：中國環境科學出版社。

使認爲人類有權改變自然環境來滿足自身的需求的人中的大部份學生也知道這一權利的自然限制。此外，有90.3%的人同意健康的經濟發展是將工業增長速度控制在一個穩定的狀態；更有 98.8%同意“人類要生存則必須要與大自然和諧共處”。並且，有 92.7%同意可持續發展的基本發展原則，即“人類的發展必須以不危及下一代的需要爲原則”。以上結果，可以看出北京大學生對於環境、資源和可持續發展具有比較清楚的認識。

關於環境問題迫切性的認識

以下的提問目的是要了解大學生對環境狀態和發展趨勢的感知程度。並同針對中國和全球的不同情況，本次調查將中國和全球的環境問題分開提問。據《全民環境意識調查分析報告》(簡稱《全民意識》)所述，一般公眾對中國環境狀況繼續惡化的趨勢感知不明顯；其中知識份子較爲敏感。因此在這次調查中，設計了向北京大學生提問中國和全球有關環境問題迫切性的評價。本次調查關於大學生對中國環境問題的迫切性評價的統計結果在表 2 提供。從表中可見，森林面積減少、水污染、水土流失和大氣污染有最多大學生評爲「非常迫切」的環境問題[6]。

表 2：調查對象對於中國若干環境問題的迫切性評價(%)

環境問題	不肯定	絕對不迫切	不迫切	中度迫切	迫切	非常迫切
噪音污染	3.1	0.9	8.0	39.1	32.9	16.0
大氣污染	0.3	0.0	0.3	6.3	35.4	57.7
水污染	0.6	0.0	0.6	3.4	26.9	68.6
垃圾(固體廢物)污染	0.0	0.3	1.1	15.7	40.9	42.0
有害化學物廢物	1.7	0.6	4.6	30.0	40.0	23.1
風景名勝景觀破壞	1.4	2.0	8.3	35.1	31.1	22.0
濫佔耕地	0.6	0.3	2.6	14.6	34.3	47.7
海岸及海水污染	4.3	1.1	4.9	20.0	40.9	28.9
水土流失	0.0	0.6	0.9	6.3	27.1	65.1
酸雨	2.9	1.4	8.6	36.9	37.7	12.6
農葯殘留物	4.3	2.9	8.9	36.3	30.6	17.1
森林面積減少	0.9	0.6	0.6	6.3	21.7	70.0

爲了對本次調查中北京大學生對中國環境問題的評價加以概括，我們將兩次調查評價等級進行簡化，將三類不同程度的迫切的比例進行了合計。同時，《全民意識》調查的相應結果同時並列，以便加以比較(見表 3)。因爲兩次調查所列項目不同，並不能一一對應，這裡僅以本次調查項目爲基礎進行比較。並且，本次調查是以迫切性評價提問，而《全民意識》調查時以嚴重性提問。此外，在《全民意識》調查中將生活垃圾和固體廢物分成兩項爲提問，但在本次調查中卻是合併在一起提問的。因此，在表 3 中列出《全民意識》調查關於此項的結果時，同時提供兩項數據，括號中爲固體廢棄物一項的比賽。

[6] 亦可參閱由世銀出版的 China 2020 (1997), *Clear Water, Blue Skies: China's Environment in the New Century.* Washington D.C.: The World Bank.

表 3：大學生與公眾對環境問題迫切性概括統計與比較

調查對象	大學生	公眾*	大學生	公眾*
選擇類型	不肯定	不知道	迫切	嚴重
噪音污染	3.1	12.4	88.0	56.5
大氣污染	0.3	9.5	99.4	67.8
水污染	0.6	10.5	98.9	66.4
垃圾(固體廢物)污染	0.0 (13.1)	12.0 (64.2)	98.6	56.5
有害化學物廢物	1.7	----	93.1	----
風景名勝景觀破壞	1.4	----	88.3	----
濫佔耕地	0.6	----	96.6	----
海岸及海水污染	4.3	29.7	89.7	38.1
水土流失	0.0	----	98.6	----
酸雨	2.9	----	87.1	----
農葯殘留物	4.3	15.6	84.0	47.4
森林面積減少	0.9	13.9	98.0	61.5

*1996《全民環境意識調查分析報告》

從表 3 提出，在 1995 年《全民意識》調查中，一般公眾對中國存在的環境問題感知程度較低，認爲“嚴重”和“很嚴重”的合計比例最高也不超過 68%。而本次調查中，大學生對所列所有環境問題的感知程度非常高，所有各項問題被認爲迫切的水平均在 80%以上。由於本次調查在評價時使用了“中度迫切”，有一定可能造成“迫切合計”比例較高。那麼，很低的“不肯定”的比例從反面仍然能夠反映出大學生對中國環境問題的感知程度很高。如果按“迫切合計”排序，大學生們認爲名列前幾位的中國迫切環境問題是：大氣污染第一；水污染第二；水土流失和垃圾(固體廢物)污染並列第三；森林面積減少第四；濫佔耕地第五。如果按“非常迫切”一項的比例排序，大學生們認爲名列前幾位的中國迫切的環境問題是：森林面積減少第一；水污染第二；水土流失第三；大氣污染第四；濫佔耕地第五，垃圾(固體廢物)污染第六。可以看出，這兩排序的前幾位項目完全吻合，只是在序次上有一些差別。

對五年後中國環境的狀態的估計上，認爲將會變好(包括認爲“好多了”和“好”兩類)的合計比例爲 31.4%，認爲“一樣”的只有 13.1%，而認爲會變差的(包括認爲“差多了”和“差”兩類) 的合計比例爲 55.4%。這一結果反映了大學生中對於中國環境問題的危機感，同時也表現出對當前環境治理能力和發展前景並不是很樂觀。

本次調查還就全球若干環境問題按其迫切性作出評價，其匯總結果在表 4 中。從表 4 中“不肯定”一列的比例看出，北京大學生對全球環境問題的了解程度略低於對中國環境問題的了解。按照前面的兩種方式分別對他們的評價進行排序，排序結果在表 5 中。

表 4：調查對象對於全球若干環境問題的迫切性評價 (%)

全球環境問題	不肯定	絕對不迫切	不迫切	中度迫切	迫切	非常迫切
臭氧層破壞	2.3	0.6	2.9	19.1	36.6	38.6
跨國界酸雨問題	6.6	1.1	9.7	36.6	36.0	10.0
溫室效應	1.4	0.9	5.1	22.9	39.1	30.6
生物多樣性下降	1.7	0.0	5.1	17.1	38.0	38.0
熱帶森林消失	2.6	0.3	3.1	19.1	31.1	43.7
土地沙漠化	0.3	0.0	0.9	9.7	30.9	58.3
天然資源枯竭	0.9	0.6	3.7	20.0	36.3	38.6
輻射污染	5.4	1.1	12.0	38.3	28.6	14.6
能源耗盡	1.4	2.9	7.1	23.4	35.4	29.7
極端氣候事件增加	2.3	1.4	5.7	24.6	36.3	29.7

以“迫切合計比例”排序，北京大學生認爲名列前幾位的全球迫切的環境問題是：土地沙漠化第一；熱帶森林消失第二；臭氧層破壞和天然資源枯竭並列第三；生物多樣性下降第四；溫室效應第五。如果僅以“非常迫切”的比例排序，北京大學生認爲名列前幾位的全球迫切的環境問題是：土地沙漠化第一；天然資源枯竭第二；臭氧層破壞第三；熱帶森林消失第四；生物多樣性下降第五；溫室效應第六。兩種排序的前幾位可以看出，它們之間也有很強的一致性。

表 5：調查對象對全球環境問題迫切性的排序

全球環境問題	非常迫切	排序	迫切合計%	排序
臭氧層破壞	38.6	3	94.3	3
跨國界酸雨問題	10.0	10	82.6	9
溫室效應	30.6	6	92.6	6
生物多樣性下降	38.0	5	93.1	5
熱帶森林消失	43.7	2	93.9	4
土地沙漠化	58.3	1	98.9	1
天然資源枯竭	38.6	4	94.9	2
輻射污染	14.6	9	81.5	10
能源耗盡	29.7	7	88.5	8
極端氣候事件增加	29.7	8	90.6	7

大學生們對五年後國際環境狀況的估計上，認爲將會變好(包括認爲“好多了”和“好”兩類)的合計比例爲 25.2%，認爲“一樣”的有 21.7%，而認爲會變差的(包括認爲“差多了”和“差”兩類) 的合計比例爲 53.2%。反映大學生對國際環境前景不甚樂觀。

社會發展目標

在本次調查中，關於中國社會未來五年發展的一些優先考慮的問題中提供有四項內容可供選擇，它們是：(1) 維持高水平的經濟發展；(2) 維持強大的國防及警察部隊；(3) 讓人民在工作上和社區中有較多的發言權；(4) 應注重改善都市和鄉村的環境。調查結果表明，大學生們中多數認爲經濟發展與改善環境兩項作爲優先考慮。在上述四項內容中作爲首選考慮的分佈中，首推經濟發展的佔 49.7%，首推改善環境的佔 37.4%。對上述四項內容中作爲第二位選擇考慮時的回答中，選擇經濟發展的佔 31.4%，而選擇改善環境的佔 42.6%。相比之下，無論是在首選回答和第二位選擇回答中，第二項(國防實力)和第三項(民主參與)內容的選擇比例都相對較低。爲了取得

調查對象在綜合性更強的條件下如何評價環境問題，本次調查設計了更多項目供調查對象進行最重要、第二位重要和最不重要項目的選擇。選項包括：1、維持社會秩序；2、論人民在政府的決議過程中有較多參與的機會；3、阻止物價上升；4、保護言論自由；5、經濟成長；6、維持強大的國防及警察部隊；7、論人民在工作上和社區中有較多的發言權；8、應注重改善都市和鄉村的環境；9、維持經濟穩定；10、邁向一個較不冷漠，更有人情味和人道的社會；11、打擊犯罪；12、邁向一個有遠見和有理想比有錢更重要的社會。這些項目的調查結果在表 6 中集中提供。

表 6：調查對象對各項發展政策評價選擇 (%)

選擇項目	最重要	第二位重要	最不重要
1. 維持社會秩序	7.4	17.7	2.3
2. 讓人民在政府的決議過程中有較多參與的機會	3.4	9.4	7.1
3. 阻止物價上升	0.0	2.6	16.9
4. 保護言論自由	1.1	2.6	11.4
5. 經濟成長	28.3	11.1	0.9
6. 維持強大的國防及警察部隊	1.1	2.9	20.6
7. 讓人民在工作上和社區中有較多的發言權	0.6	2.6	5.4
8. 應注重改善都市和鄉村的環境	11.1	22.6	1.1
9. 維持經濟穩定	25.4	14.3	1.1
10. 邁向一個較不冷漠，更有人情味和人道的社會	4.3	4.0	20.3
11. 打擊犯罪	1.4	2.3	2.0
12. 邁向一個有遠見和有理想比有錢更重要的社會	15.7	8.0	10.9
合計	100.0	100.0	100.0

列在內容供選擇最爲重要的回答中，選擇“經濟成長”的比例最高(28.3%)，其次爲“維持經濟穩定”(25.4%)，然後是“邁向一個有遠見和有理想比有錢更重要的社會” (15.7%)。選擇“改善城鄉環境”爲首位重要的比例爲 11.1%，排在第四。選擇其他各項發展指標作爲首選重要的比例都低於 10%。在上述 12 項內容中選擇第二位重要的發展目標時，選擇“改善環境”的比例爲 22.6%，排在第一位。另外回答比例較高的選擇分別爲“維持社會秩序” (17.7%)，“保持經濟穩定” (14.3%)，“經濟成長” (11.1%)。其他各項的比例都在 10%以下。

考慮到本次調查的主旨是關於環境及可持續發展，調查對象在回答這兩個問題多次涉及關於環境問題，因此會有先入爲主的心理影響。在這種情況下，調查對象對於關於環境的內容十分敏感，因此有可能產生某種導向。一般而言，關於環境選項的比例會有所提高。正是在這種情況下，我們發現多數大學生選擇今後五年最爲重要的發展目標時，並沒有把“改善環境”作爲首選，選擇“經濟成長”、“經濟穩定”、甚至“邁向一個有遠見和有理想比有錢更重要的社會”的比例都高於“改善環境”，確實反映了這發展目標在調查對象心目中的重要性。同時，選擇其他發展目標作爲首選不意味著北京大學生不重視改善環境，只是相比之下他們認爲最當務之急是發展和穩定經濟，這反映出大學生對於社會發展各項內容採取了比較務實的態度。

在上述 12 項中，“邁向一個有遠見和有理想比有錢更重要的社會”一項是比較抽象的內容。但是在選擇首位重要目標時，它的比例高於“改善環境”。這反映了大學生中同時存在理想主義和高尚人生價值的追求。然而，務實態度和高尚追求之間存在一定矛盾。比如，在選擇上述 12 項目標中最不重要的一項時，結果顯示出比例較高的幾項分別爲：維持強大的國防及警察部隊(20.6%)，邁向一個較冷漠、更有人情味和人道的社會(20.3%)，阻止物價上升(16.9%)，保護言論自由(11.4%)，邁向一個有遠見和有理想比有錢更重要的社會(10.9%)。而“經濟成長”、“改善環境”、“維持經濟穩定”則都是比例極低的選項。

事實上，從上述 12 個方面的發展目標中權衡首位重要的選項，在大學生的認識中並不十分明確。比如，

以上問題答案比較集中於經濟方面和環境方面，實際上調查對象中在回答時需要權衡這兩者在他們心目中的權重。在調查設計中，問卷對上述 12 個方面進行了最重要和最不重要的選擇提問以後，相隔兩大類很多提問之後，又提問了如下問題：“您是否認爲在當前中國，環境問題比經濟發展更重要？”。回答爲“不是”、“不肯定”、“是”三種選項。通過調查數據對前面首位重要目標選擇與環境與經濟相對重要性的選擇所做的交互分析結果，有關部分顯示在表 7 中。

表 7：調查對象對於環境與經濟相對重要性前後回答的比較 (%)

環境問題比經濟發展更重要在多發展目標中選擇在第一位重要者爲	不是	不肯定	是	合計
5. 經濟成長	36.4	52.5	11.1	100.0
8. 應注重改善都市和鄉村的環境	--	20.5	79.5	100.0
9. 維持經濟穩定	27.0	47.2	25.8	100.0

從表 7 中可以看到，在前面選擇“5.經濟成長”的人(他們已經隱含地將經濟放在了環境之前)在要求明確回答兩者相對重要性時，一半以上人卻感到不肯定了。甚至有 11%的人的回答與前面選擇答案相反，認爲環境問題是比經濟發展更重要。在前曾經選擇“9.維持經濟穩定”作爲最重要的發展目標的人中也發生了類似的情況。而在前面曾經選擇“8.應注重改善都市和鄉村的環境”的人中盡管有少部分(20.5%)在要求明確回答兩者相對重要性時變得不肯定了，但沒有人發生返過來認爲經濟比環境重要。從這裏可以看出，關於主觀感受和評價的問卷調查中，調查對象容易自覺不自覺地受到調查題目的暗示，尤其對於後續問題的回答和明確進行比較選擇時更容易受調查題目和先導問題的影響。

此外，《全民環境意識調查分析報告》結果表明，來自全國的 3,663 名被訪者對十大社會問題(包括教育問題、物價上漲問題、人口問題、科技發展問題、社會治安問題、社會道德問題、環境問題、失業問題、貧富不均問題和住房問題)所表達的排序結果經過加權統計，環境問題被認爲是第六位需要解決的問題。在北京大學生對環境問題看法調查中，對 12 項發展目標只要求選擇其中前兩位最重要的和其中最不重要的，因此無法進行總排序的加權統計。但是，僅從以上所示發展目標的重要性選擇結果來看，在大學生中認爲改善環境的地位是比較靠前的。

對環境保護政策的看法

調查中對於環境保護與其他方面的關係還設計了一系列有關提問，這裏按答案選擇類型分別加以分析。表 8 說明，調查對象在對解決環境問題方面採取政策的看法是十分積極的。對“您是否支持在可能減慢經濟增長的情況下，也要加保護中國的環境”這一問題，採取支持態度(含支持和非常支持)的比例高達 78.8%，而採取反對態度的比例僅有 5.4%。這裏的回答表現出大學生們雖然十分重視經濟發展，但是反對單純注重經濟增長而不顧環境的破壞。

相比之下，調查對象減少社會福利開支而增加資源改善的提問顯得有所保留，持“非常支持”態度的比例比前一問題大幅度下降，而採取“反對”和“中立”態度的比例卻顯著上升。將對前兩個問題的回答結果及前面對於經濟與環境重要性問題的回答聯繫起來看，大學生所期望的是經濟增長同時帶動社會福利水平的提高和逐步改善環境，而不是犧牲經濟增長或減少社會福利開支以換取環境的改善。大學生們對於推行“排污收費”的環境管理制度和推行“誰污染，誰治理”的環境政策的支持率都相當高，分別爲 77.1%和 74.0%。並且，他們十分贊成在中國成立一些群眾性環境團體，其支持率達 94.0%。

表 8：調查對象對於採取保護環境的政策的態度 (%)

	非常反對	反對	中立	支持	非常支持
即使可能減慢經濟增長也要加強保護環境	0.29	5.14	15.71	49.14	29.71
減少社會福利開支而增加資源改善環境	1.14	16.00	29.14	48.00	5.71
推行“排污收費”的環境管理制度	2.29	10.00	10.75	43.14	34.00
推行“誰污染，誰治理”的環保政策	0.86	14.86	10.29	40.00	34.00
在中國成立一些群眾性環保團體	0.00	0.57	5.43	59.43	34.57

在表 9 中可以看到，與“對減少社會福利開支而增加資源去改善中國的環境”問題的回答類似，調查對象在對“是否願意爲了保護環境而過簡樸的生活”上雖然選擇支持的比例超過半數，但表示“非常願意”的比例較低，而表示“不願意”或“中立”的比例相對較高。這一特徵也同樣在“是否願意爲了改善環境而繳付較多的稅款”問題的回答中表現出來。

表 9：調查對象對於個人生活與保護環境的關係 (%)

	極不願意	不願意	中立	願意	非常願意
是否願意爲了保護環境而過簡樸的生活	1.14	12.00	28.00	50.29	8.57
是否願意爲了改善環境而繳付較多的稅款	0.29	10.86	25.43	58.00	5.43

關於當前政府對環境保護的投入和宣傳教育工作(見表 10)，絕大多數調查對象都認爲不夠，並且其中表示“極不足夠”的比例很顯著，特別是對政府投入的問題上更是這樣。結果表明學生對加強環境教育及增加環保投資有強烈要求。

表 10：調查對象對於環保工作的投入和宣傳教育的評價 (%)

	極不足夠	不足夠	中立	足夠	非常足夠
目前政府投入環境保護工作的資源是否足夠	36.86	54.29	6.86	1.71	0.29
目前政府的環境宣傳與環境教育是否足夠	28.57	63.71	6.86	0.86	0.00

關於“誰應該爲中國環境問題負最大責任”問題(表 11)，調查對象中大部分(66%)認爲是政府。其中，43.4%認爲當地政府應負最大責任，22.6%認爲應由中央政府負最大責任。儘管政府不是直接的環境破壞者，但是調查對象仍然認爲政府的責任最大，這是因爲企業和個人雖然可以自覺以實際行動參與環境保護，然而所受的局限性很大。特別是經濟活動的外部性(externality)問題，使得企業和個人往往形成不顧社會後果追求直接經濟效益的動機。對於這些損害社會公眾利益的行爲，只有通過制定有關的法律的規章制度加以社會約束才能得到有效的制止，而在這一方面政府的權威最大。

表 11：調查對象對於中國環境問題的最大責任者(%)

	當地政府	中央政府	當地大型企業	當地中小型企業	一般群眾
誰應該爲中國環境問題負最大責任	43.43	22.57	11.43	16.86	5.71

在《全民環境意識調查分析報告》結果表明，公眾認爲，目前改善環境問題，一是靠環境法規建設，二是

環境保護宣傳，三是國家增加環境保護方面的資金投入，四靠每個人對環境保護的努力。雖然本次調查中所詢問的是最大責任者，與以上調查提問方式不同，但是其中的緣故是相通的。應該說，多數北京大學生明確認爲環境問題的最大責任者是政府，而不再僅僅將政府當作解決問題的訟裁人，反映了他們對於政府在制定和推行環保政策和法規的責任的更深入的理解，即政府在環保問題上不僅是具體問題發生後的處理者，而且有責任採取措施防範於未然。他們並不局限於對環境問題具體事件的直接責任者，而是在討論總體環境問題的責任者，這是大學生與一般公眾認識上的不同。

本次調查說明，大學生們雖然對於環保問題的重要性有一定的認識，但是對於如何制止破壞環境的行爲卻並不知道如何去做。在回答“當您發現有污染事件時，您是否清楚知道可到何處去投訴”問題時，只有 12.0%的人表示“清楚知道”，而有 40.6%的人表示“不知道”，另有 47.4%的人表示“不肯定”。在對“長遠和有效解決環境問題的方法”問題上，有 72.6%的人選擇了“發展科技”的答案，23.7%的人選擇“改變生活方式”，另外有 3.7%的人表示“中立”，沒有發表明確意見。這一結果與前面所分析的大學生希望經濟發展、生活水平提高、同時保護環境的立場是一致的，多數人並不認爲中國當前需要以改變生活方式爲主要方法來保護環境，而是取各方面協調發展的觀點。

個人參與環境保護情況

在個人參與環境保護情況方面，調查問卷中列出 15 項具體活動，詢問調查對象願以何種形式參加。選擇答案共有六項，包括：不會參與參加、簽名請願、寫信往環保單位或投稿報刊雜誌、分派傳單喚起公眾關注、加入抗議隊伍、採取個人的直接行動(包括改變個人生活習慣)。表 12 列出了各類形式活動的選擇結果。從表 12 中可以看出，不參與的比例表現了對該項活動不積極的態度。例如，調查對象對第 12 項活動“爭取成爲無核電國家”的不參與率最高，達到 65%，表現出多數大學生並不將核電與環境破壞聯繫起來。此外對於“爭取動物權利”和“限制汽車增長”的不參與率也比較高，兩者都在 20%以上。將汽車工業作爲支柱產業的宣傳顯然對大學生有一定影響，導致其對限制汽車的不參與率稍高。不參與率在 10~20%之間的項目還有“10%土地劃爲自然保護區”、“回收氯氟碳化合物”、“保持人口零增長”、“保護未受破壞地區”、“宣傳中國 21 世紀議程”、以及“開發自然資源時應受嚴格管制”。不參與率在 10%以下的項目有“喚醒糧食危機意識”、“宣傳人類爲地球家庭的一份子的觀念”。“維護生物多樣性”、“全面節約運動”、“ 保護耕地”、“ 維護野生動物棲息環境”、“設立多一些公共空間或綠化地帶”。從上述項目的不參與率中可以看出，調查對象對於“爭取動物權利”與“保護生物多樣性”及“保護野生動物棲息環境”的態度有明顯差別，相當一部份人更關心的是維護物種保持和生態平衡，而並不是一般地強調動物權利。

表 12：調查對象個人參與環境保護活動形式的選擇結果（%）

活動項目	不參與	簽名	寫信	傳單	抗議	直接行動
要求政府立即回收氯氟碳化合物以減慢對臭氧層的破壞	17.43	44.86	11.14	12.57	3.71	10.29
宣傳「人類爲地球家庭的一份子」的觀念	7.43	25.43	12.29	40.57	2.00	12.29
要求政府限制汽車增長以控制城市空氣污染問題	22.29	31.43	18.00	16.86	8.57	2.86
要求政府保護耕地，嚴格限制將良地變建地	4.29	31.71	26.29	17.14	19.14	1.43
要求政府在舊城區內設立多一些公共空間或綠化地帶	3.14	36.00	33.71	15.43	8.00	3.71
工業部門開發自然資源時應受嚴格限制	10.29	33.71	25.43	14.29	13.43	32.86
參與保護地球上未受破壞地區的運動，如極地和熱帶雨林	12.29	32.29	11.43	25.14	8.86	10.00
宣傳中國 21 世紀議程	12.29	22.00	10.86	45.71	2.00	7.14
保護世界野生動植物，維護生物多樣性	7.43	22.57	14.57	34.00	5.71	15.71
參與爭取動物權利的運動	24.86	24.29	10.29	21.14	10.57	8.86
參與喚醒中國人的糧食危機意識	8.00	21.43	18.29	34.57	4.57	13.14
爭取中國成爲一個無核電國家	65.43	16.00	6.86	7.71	3.43	0.57
維護中國境內野生動物棲息環境	4.29	28.57	17.71	32.86	7.71	8.86
爭取將中國土地的 10%劃爲自然保護區	17.71	32.00	21.14	20.00	6.57	2.57
推動將中國人口成長在 2010 年前維持在“零增長”水平	13.14	22.86	10.29	32.86	5.14	15.71
推動全民進行全面節約〔節糧、節水、節地、節能〕運動	6.29	18.86	8.57	31.14	2.86	32.29
合計%	236.6	444.0	256.9	402.0	112.3	148.3
平均%	14.8	27.8	16.1	25.1	7.0	9.3

在願意參加的環保活動中在所取的形式上也因活動內容不同而發生一些變化。但是一般而言，調查對象更願意以參加“簽名請願”和“分派傳單喚起公眾關注”的形式與環境保護活動，而不願採取“加入抗議隊伍”的形式。這表示學生只願意參與一些非對抗性的環保活動。對“有沒有加入校內校外的環保社團”問題的回答顯示出，參加了環保社團的人只佔 5%，並且其中大部份人(4.3%)表示雖然參加了，但並不活躍。絕大多數人(81.4%)表示，尚未參加但有興趣參加；只有 12.6%的人表示對參加環保社團沒有興趣。由此可見，在北京大學生中環保方面的活動很不活躍，社會組織也很少，涉及面很窄。

個人環保知識及其取得渠道

調查問卷中，特別設計了若干問題來反映調查對象對環境方面的知識程度和環境知識來源及取得渠道的情況。調查中列出 5 本有關環境保護的經典書籍：《寂靜的春天》，《增長的極限》，《只有一個地球》，《21 世紀議程》，《我們共同的未來》。總的來說，大學生們對這些書籍的閱讀率不高。除了《只有一個地球》的閱讀率爲 34.4%以外，其他四本書的閱讀率都在 6%至 15%之間。

調查對象對於有關環境的重要國際會議及其文件的知識比有關書籍的了解程度明顯提高。在所列項目中包括：斯德哥爾摩人類環境會議(1972 年)，里約熱內盧國際環境與發展大會(1992 年)，《人類環境宣言》(聯合國)，《世界自然資源保護大綱》(聯合國)，中國第一次全國環境保護會議(1973 年)，《中國 21 世紀議程》。除了對於國內較早召開的第一次全國環境保護會議知道的比例較低(15.4%)以外，聽說過其他各項的比例都在 20%以上。

特別是對於《中國 21 世紀議程》、里約熱內盧國際環境與發展大會、《人類環境宣言》知道的比例較高，分別是爲 40.6%、48.3%、56.6%。

大學生們取得有關中國環境問題知識的正式出版刊物類型主要爲通俗讀物(雜誌、報刊等)，有 88.3%的人在這類讀物上得到過有關信息。然而，通過其他形式的讀物獲得中國環境信息的比例都較低，比如：專著(11.4%)，年鑑(4.0%)，學術期刊(22.3%)，工具書(10.3%)等。這反映出，大學生對於中國環境問題的了解程度並不深入，只有較少比例的人專門進行過學習和研究，中國的環境教育工作仍需深化，以強化學生對環境保護工作的承擔。

調查對象對於更廣泛的環保知識取得途徑的回答表明(見表 13)，大學生取得環保知識的最主要形式爲影響廣泛的大眾傳媒形式，如報紙、雜誌和電視、電台，表示“經常”能夠從這兩方面得到信息的比例都爲 76%。經常能從有關書籍和期刊中取得信息的比例則爲 49.4%，而從其他渠道經常取得信息的比例相對較低。

表 13：調查對象環保知識取得的途徑（%）

途徑類型	從不	偶而	經常
報紙、雜誌	0.0	23.7	76.3
電視，電台	0.0	24.0	76.0
與家人交談	17.7	67.4	14.9
與朋友交談	5.1	67.1	27.7
書籍、期刊	5.4	45.1	49.4
課程、會議	25.4	57.4	17.1
政府發佈消息	12.3	66.6	21.1
環保組織	24.0	60.6	15.4

總結

在世紀之交的今天，對發展道路的反思，已經成爲世界性的話題。大學生是未來社會的棟樑，他們的思想、信念與行爲，對推動社會發展起了極重要的作用。這個調查結果顯示，北京的大學生認爲中國目前最迫切的環境問題依次爲：森林面積減少、水土流失、水污染、空氣污染、垃圾、和濫佔耕地等。至於全球性環境問題，學生認爲土地沙漠化問題最爲嚴重，其他依次是天然資源枯竭、臭氧層破壞、熱帶雨林消失、生物多樣性下降和溫室效應等。可見同學在考慮全球環境問題迫切性時，亦以中國國情爲依歸。關於中國社會發展的優先次序，學生首推經濟發展最優先考慮的佔 49.7%，而首推改善環境的佔 37.4%。總體而言，學生希望經濟增長能帶動社會福利水平提高進而逐步改善環境，他們不願意以犧牲經濟增長或減少社會福利來換取環境改善。此外，北京大學生對於參與環保活動並不活躍，環保組織很少，涉及面很窄。大部分學生只願意用“簽名請願”和“分派傳單喚起公眾關注”的形式參與環保活動，而不願意採取“加入抗議隊伍”的形式。大學生取得環境問題的資訊主要來自大眾傳媒，他們對於一些環境運動具影響力的經典書籍的閱讀率不高，對於中國環境問題也缺乏深入的認識，中國的環境教育工作仍有待深化。雖然如此，北京大學生對於環境、資源和可持續發展有基本的認識，對環境保護工作有熱誠及願意承擔責任，顯示知識分子對環境問題的敏感度較高，是推動中國環境運動的動力來源。

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殖民地社會中的民族意識：香港回歸前後的公民教育

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1997 年 7 月 1 日是香港回歸祖國懷抱的劃時代日子。回歸後香港行政特區在「一國兩制」與「高度自治」原則下繼續發展。後殖民地(Post-colonialism) 教育將是香港教育的另一特色。誇大和忽視殖民地主義對香港的控制和幕後誘導作用，對真正認識香港實情絕無好處。而回歸前香港政府向來對公民教育是「明褒暗貶，明揚暗抑」的，故研究和展望廿一世紀香港特別行政區公民教育，是有現實需要和時代意義的。

殖民地主義以異族控制香港地域資源及戰略要塞，當然不欲被統治者民族主義高漲，故嚴禁學校談政治更明文規定，「重英輕中」及「暗抑中史」實是英人統治百年方針。不過，自從 1967 年香港暴動以後，英人重視「懷柔政策」，於課程上不著痕跡地幕後操控，少有公然「鎮壓」，淡化年輕一代中國青年的民族意識，在一定程度上頗為成功，故回歸後在公民教育方面，須下一番不偏不倚的「撥亂返正」工夫。

香港教育發展的歷史特點

許多人誤以為香港是自由港，香港政府奉行「積極的不干涉政策」，可以清靜無為，垂拱而治。雖然香港政府盡量不干預經濟去讓經濟自由發展，但政府在穩定社會的大前題下對米價、公共設施、醫療保健、教育、勞資糾紛仲裁和房屋等方面有一定程度上的介入，使香港擁有龐大廉價勞動人口以支援工商業的急速發展。(J.R. Schiffer, 1985)[1]除了殖民地掠奪資源和操縱特權外，我們不能不承認英國人在十九世紀末在香港推動的現代化「聲、光、化、電」建設，頗能傲視同齊。(區域市政總署博物館事務組，1986)[2] 而英國人重視工商競爭力的保持和發展，故亦重視買辦、通譯及公務員人才的培養，香港教育就在這環境下成長和茁壯的。

香港回歸後的公民教育

在 1984 年 9 月 26 日簽訂了《中英聯合聲明》[3]；自此，香港進入一個非殖民化的過程。教育在這過渡期中，既

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[1] Schiffer, J.R. (1985). Anatomy of a laisser-faire government: The Hong Kong growth model reconsidered. In P. Hills (Ed.), *State Policy, Urbanization and Development Process* (pp1-29). Hong Kong: Centre of Urban Studies and Urban Planning, University of Hong Kong.
有學者認為香港優惠低入息家庭的公屋政策與維繫社會穩定有莫大關係，[1]還間接減低貧富差距，可見香港政府在城市規劃扮演一定程度上重要的角色。

[2] 區域市政總署博物館事務組 (1986)。《香港鐵路博物館》。香港：區域市政總署博物館事務組，頁 9-10。
孫中山在十九世紀末年代曾看到英國人統治下的香港市容整潔，交通發達，洋房建築牢穩，因而泛起西化改革之心，可見香港的城市規劃比當時的清政府進步得多，而當時中國現代化的社經改革，直接或間接多取材自香港。

3 香港處於一個其他地區從未遇過的政治的狀況，這個狀況的背後有三條中國歷屆政府都不承認的不公平條約，中華人民共和國成立後，

可成爲社會穩定的力量，也是社會改變的根源。(Postiglione, 1992; 1997)) 香港教育制度一直如「拼盆形式」(香港布政司署，1981)，沒有長遠整體的目標和規劃，自從中英簽署聯合聲明後，由於不少問題已明朗化，如教學語言、私校問題及公民教育等問題才受到應有的重視 [4]。撇開有關港督(港英最後一任港督)彭定康政制改所引起的中英爭拗事件不論，「一國兩制」的模式是香港前所未有的政治狀況 [5]，如果能成功運作的話，將爲世界政治發展史上一項「新轉機」。

談及公民教育問題，「公民」是指具有一個國家的國籍身分，根據該國的憲法和法律規定而享有權利並承擔義務的人。從過去一百多年的殖民地子民到香港特別行政區公民概念的形成，港人面對個人身分與角色的轉變[6] 。公民教育的定義無絕對性的準則(Wright, I. (1993)) [7]。「公民」和「國民」的身分，相對公民教育而言，國民教育是狹義的「尋根源」--------民族教育部分，是公民教育範疇中重要的一環，也是一向以來在香港的學校公民教育中所欠缺的(學校公民教育指指引, 1985)。從廣義而言，公民教育是社化(Socialization)及再社化(Re-Socialization)歷程的一部分，是社會培養新加入成員在政治、經濟和社會生活中成爲理想公民的一個教育過程；不同的時空(光明日報，1995)、文化和意識形態下，對理想公民有不同的準則，而且決定了推行公民教育的目標、內容和方法(White, 1982)。

本港推行現代公民教育已廿多年[8]，其間遭遇不少內外困阻。在一般香港學校的環境中，通過課程的設計、評鑑的方法、畢業考核的要求，校方著重將知識灌輸給學生，較少顧及青少年的情感和理性的發展，故鮮能使培訓學生成爲自主、自決的公民(Neill, 1996)。因此，在學校推行理想的公民教育，除了灌輸「知」以外，還應注重「情」「理」的培養，透過實際生活經驗的體會，希望能將知識和技能融合成積極的生活態度。

香港推行公民教育，應該使香港市民在面對 97 前後的國民身分轉變時，能夠處於泰然、樂於接受及認同新的國民身分。英國的政治教育(Political Education/Citizenship education)中心訊息是帝國主義而非民族主義，教育目標在於政治啓悟(political literacy)(Porter, 1981)，即知識、態度和技能，及對當代政治學的理解。推行公民教育是香港政府九十年代教育政策過渡期的準備的目標之一(Hong Kong Government, 1996)。教育問題多變多端，客觀事實的發現，尚須不斷考究，而個案研究能夠提供問題成因之理解，對錯綜關係、動態變化之情境作適當的分析的研究(Yip, 1995)。然而天主教學校在公民教育方面有果敢堅毅的嘗試。

多次闡明對香港問題的立場，即：香港是中國的領土，作爲歷史遺留下來的問題，中國政府一直主張，在適當時候以適當方式收回香港主權。
1982 年前英首相戴卓爾夫人訪問北京，提出以「主權換治權」的建議遭拒絕，經英國外交大臣賀維多次談判，英國接受了鄧小平提出的「一國兩制」的政治構想，

4 參閱香港教育統籌委員會第一、三、第四號《教育統籌委員會報告書》及《學校公民教育指引》(1985)。

5 Bray, M., & Lee, W. O. (1993). Education, democracy and colonial transition: The case of Hong Kong. *International Review of Education*, *39*(6), 541-560.

6 除了要作好心理上的準備，還作好認知方面的準備，以改變生活態度，才能掌握應付環境改變的技能.Kelly, G. P., & Altbach, P. G. (1978). *Education and Colonialism.* New York: Longman.

7 「公民」(citizenship)(大英百科全書(1970)) －－－是個人和國家之間，由該國的法律所制定的關係，並因此而衍生出「公民」的權力和義務。
美國百科全書(1978)「公民」是個人與國家之間的關係，其中包括個人在該國完整的政治地位和他對國家的效忠，公民有其權利和義務。而中國則認爲公民教育(辭海(1979))是「資本主義國家爲訓練適應資產階級政治需要的公民而進行的政治思想教育」、「社會主義中愛國主義與國際主義教育(patriotism and internationalism education)是緊緊相關的。」(中國大百科全書(1992))因而歸類於德育課。政治課歸類於思想教育課。
台灣則認爲 「公民(citizen)具有一國國籍，而又享有公法上權利及承擔公法義務的人。國民未必都享有公權及公法義務，故與公民不同。國民如具公民資格，在法律上則享有憲法所賦予權利。“中華民國” 公民有選舉、罷免、創制、複決之權“憲法”十七條」。(大辭典(1985))
並參 Wright, I. (1993). Civic education is values education. *Social Studies, 84*(4), 149-152.

8 1967 年暴動後教署在課程上推出公民、經濟及公共事務、政治及經濟事務等科目,進行零散的公民教育。

在本港學校推行公民教育/國民教育的有不少困阻，我們必須認真對付。

首先確定在學校推行公民教育/國民教育的意義，爲了使受教者成爲一個面對大時代轉變的對社會、國家以至世界有貢獻的「好」公民，一般學校的文化和氣氛，制訂推行公民教育/國民教育的內容及範疇，界定學校在推行公民教育/國民教育所擔當的角色，在教學法、推行模式、活動設計、考量評估等，從實踐中改善；歸納政策決定者、執行者和受眾的意見，將在學校推行公民教育/國民教育的困阻鋪陳出來，然後尋求解決辦法。

教師教育是一種專業教育。教師教育能幫助教師有效地掌握學科知識和傳授技巧，與學生共同分享。假設教師有一定的使命感和專業精神，對學生的發展特質有深刻的了解，發現學生的學習和情緒問題，繼而積極尋求解決的方法。個人的學識、教學技巧、專業態度和應變能力，是「有效能教師」的指標(盧乃桂，1995)。從研究取向和成果的角度觀之，教師培訓者一般未臻拓展和批判知識的境界(Lanier & Little, 1987)。教師是實際推行公民教育時的人力資源，一般教師背景、文化及對民族文化的認同程度的差異，要組織一個有效能的工作小組不容易。爲解決這個困難，教師間須瀰漫著學習氣氛，積極推動公民教育統籌委員會工作，推動由統籌主任帶動提昇同事們對香港現勢的了解及對國家、民族的認同感。

學生反應方面，他律階段的兒童，或價值觀念不正確或混亂衝突的兒童，經過澄清討論後，還不能或無法澄清其行爲觀念，教師應該明白指引一條坦道，使其直道而行，自律的道德不可流爲放縱(permissiveness)。價值是行爲表現的一種，有事實可徵，有軌跡可循，而非只是個人主觀的「情感」表現，在價值建立的過程中，運用批判性的智慧逐步探討，在建立的歷程中，教師應標示明確的「價值導向」，而非完全的「價值中立」(value free) [9]。

在華人社會中，兒童的道德與價值觀念，直接受父母的影響，在多元化社會中，並沒有一個被所有人都接受的「良好公民」的意念(Lawton & Dufour, 1973)；香港是一個經濟主導的社會，升學和考試主導著教育，由小學一年級開始，教育首要任務是抗衡學生家長的價值觀；功利主義和政治恐懼是一般香港市民的心態(曾榮光，1986)。1991 年立法局引入直選，民間爭論民主進程步伐，意見紛紜，中、英關係發生變化，至九五年因「彭定康方案」、「臨時立法會」的法理問題爭拗升級，期間政治氣候乍冷乍暖。大家對「民族主義」、「愛國」、「國民」等名詞也不輕易提起，遑論從事推行工作，亦恐怕引起學生家長的敏感猜度，何況當時政壇上正興起「扣帽子」風。從與學生的談話中，可以發掘他們的求知慾，但他們對事件的因果一知半解，家庭與學校給予他們的支援有限，教師因爲課程緊迫，沒有時間解答學生的問題，家長以公民教育非「呈分」科目，不加重視，政治問題過去是教育的「禁區」，到九十年代才解禁，無論是教師及家長在政治知識、態度和技能方面，都未能滿足香港今日兒童正在被開啓的政治思想的腦袋。

公民教育應該是一門獨立學科，我們應以嚴肅認真的態度去面對，我們應抱持正義、仁愛，和平、自由、平等等觀念、拓闊個人及學生對香港的視野和局限。我們應培養個人及學生正確的國家、民族觀念；尋自己的根，認同自己的文化，投身本地建設，從客觀的認識開始，到理性的判斷和感情的培養，「扎根香港、胸懷祖國、放眼世界」。我們應不斷「思考、生活、實踐」，運用「價值澄清法」(Value Clarification)(Kirschenbaum, 1977)教授公民教育，知識、態度、技能三者並重。我們應觀察、思考、判斷、確定立場，作出個人的選擇和決定。

學校行政階層方面，吳清基(1984)建議：建立正確教育行政人員價值觀念，是提高教育行政決策合理運作

9價直中立是討論過程的態度，當學生未有足夠的知識作爲獨立思考的基礎時，教師應負起有方向性的價值指導。

的當務之急，鼓勵教育行政人員在職進修，增進教育行政人員知識能力，避免個人直覺反射決定和減少個人人格特質影響強化基層教育行政人員素質，不同教育行政人員作決策時，受個人因素影響的差異非常顯著；重視非主管職人員教育行政功能，許多重要教育行政決策的達成，原始創意往往來自幕僚人員的作業；加強教育行政專業態度訓練，促進教育行政決策的專業取向發展；提高教育行政決策合理運作，首先對影響教育行政決策的因素要有確切了解和掌握。個人因素方面，必須建立正確的理性個人價值觀念，增進廣博適用的個人知識能力，調適衝動的不當的個人直覺習慣，陶冶合適的完美的個人人格特質；在組織因素方面，應建立良好的有效祖織資訊溝通系統，改進和諧良善的內部人際關係，避免不當的有害組織外在壓力影響，慎選合理的可行的組織傳統習慣作法。(Stufflebeam, 1971)[10]

教師方面，Crick & Porter (1978)指出在不同的社會環境，對政治教育一詞有不同的理解，政治教育應有的內涵：認知層面(cognitive domain)、態度層面(affective domain)、交往層面(interactive domain)、行爲層面(action domain)。社會探究法強調對公眾的事件(public issues)開放而反思的探究。梁一鳴(1991)認爲社會醒覺(Awareness)和關注(Concern)是一種精神狀態，具體表現在青少年及社會事物的關注(產生興趣)、了解和探討。很多社會和政治事件是缺乏理論及信念基礎，教師的角色相對重要，探究的模式著重思考、探求和討論，更提供了運用邏輯推理和理性思考的訓練機會，可有助於教師教導學生探求、決策和判斷的能力，負責任的參與在於探究。推行國民教育不單是一個認知教育，更是情感的教育，不少教師對國家民族缺少認同感(香港教育工作者聯會，1996)，他們在小學推行國民教育可從認知層面開始，爲學生提供中國國情的資料，遇到爭議性課題時，先採取積極中立的態度，不爲學生提供答案結論；教師本身亦可透過推行國民教育的過程中，更新或塑造自己對國家的歸屬感，成爲一個愛國的中國特區公民，爲人師表，實踐一國兩制；如果作爲一個中國人對國情認識不足，民族情感薄弱。只愛「過去」，而沒有民族感情和國家觀念，欠缺承擔感；只愛「未來」，會脫離現實，愛一個理想中的烏托邦，是虛浮的、自私的；一個好國民應該承繼「過去」，認識「現在」，爲「未來」奉獻。

學生反應方面，公民參與(Spiegel & Mittenthal, 1986)[11]是一個難以捉摸的理念(Spiegel & Mittenthal, 1986)。對事物的看法、信念，即使有人實證，仍然要存懷疑，以不同角度分析資料，挑戰權威的態度，評估後用正面的解決方法，反思，加上創作性思考，其實是對自己信念的挑戰，教師感性的反應容易引起學生相應的

10.學校行政階層方面

自《學校公民教育指引》(1985)之後，教育署輔導視學組的督學建議學校在各科教學計劃中配合公民教育的零碎作法，只是形式上聊備一格，執行與否，全賴教師的自發與自律；踏入九十年代，社會政治氣氛鼓吹「民主」，學校如果要全面系統化推行公民教育，首先要取得校監、校董會、家長的同意和支持。對於推行公民教育的開明程度不一致，需要在尋求校董認同推行公民教育的意義時，要得到校董會大多數成員的支持，有一定的困難。政治氣候的乍冷乍暖，無論是校董、教育工作者或者是學生家長，普遍對政治敏感而且恐懼。學生家長對學校政策的關心和迴響，速度很快、聲音很大；因此家長對於推行公民教育的反應，亦是學校行政人員需要關注。

《指引》(96)指出公民教育的內容包括知識、反思、行動、價值、態度、信念和能力七部分；跟進評估是統籌工作不可或缺的。知識的部分可以評估，但態度和技能方面的評度考量很難，加上教師的工作量很大，一般香港土生土長的年青教師，對中國歷史、民族的觀念模糊，大部分「力不從心」，所以雖然學校設有公民教育統籌委員會，但有關課程設計、策劃活動、整理和分配資源、計劃和評估工作，校長責無旁貸的要負起領導工作(White, 1982)。有關信念、態度、價值觀和能力的評估，可以透過相關時事小評、道德處境生活實踐、模擬參與社會及政治活動進行(Scrieven, 1967)、經常公開或在早會時間與學生討論時事問題，讓他們發表意見，在交流中澄清某些價值觀念。

Stufflebeam (1971)提及的 CIPP 評估模式，範圍包括：C–事件發生前後的脈絡評估(Context evaluation)、I–投入工作的評估(Input evaluation)、P–過程的評估(Process evaluation)、P–成果評估(Product evaluation)。可以作爲評估工作的參考，但如何讓評估工作制度化，而不是隨負責教師個人學養主觀判斷，作爲教育行政人員在尊重教師工作滿足感之餘，又不失工作素質，是推行公民教育/國民教育的困阻。

11參閱 Spiegel, H., & Mittenthal, S. (1986). The many faces of citizen participation : A bibliographic overview. *In Citizen Participation in Unba Development*. Vol. 1. Washington, USA: Nation Training Laboratories.

參與(civic participation)-政治參與(political participation)、公眾參與(public participation)、基層參與(grass-roots participation)、普及參與(popular participation)、人民參與(people's participation)、社區參與(community participation)。

行動。研究實體安排每周早會主題，訂定全年公民教育活動計劃，循序漸進，利用多元化活動形式推行，逐步將早會公民教育內容加入測驗及考試中。將每天的早禱連結當日社會生活或政治事件，讓學生把關心社會事務生活化，從而影響家長的看法。初時答應試行把報章時事資料加在社會科第一次測驗卷中而不算分數，並且答應範圍不超越早會的公民教育時間內容；以後擴展至所有測驗、考試。九六年採用常識科，試題中，亦加入「香港現勢」部分；內容滲透在各類試題中，不超過 15%，教師擬試題時，不能讓學生感覺那是令他們「失分」的部分，而是使他們「得分」的部分，鼓勵學生從課本以外的資訊中獲取知識。

香港回歸後的歷史教育

教育目標是造就有創造力、有思想、有活力的人，(Jan Kluczynski, 1983) 須能幫助國家經濟與文化部門完成國家和地方的發展任務。

故此，香港教育推行教育改革加重民族教育成份，推行實是急不容緩。民族教育須注意要點:1.打破過往弊病:劃一性、封閉性、非國際性。2.在民族中仍重視個性原則:確立個人尊嚴、尊重個性、自由（與放縱、無秩序、無責任、無規律完全不同）、自律、和自我負責的原則。3. 在民族中仍重視個人尊嚴、尊重個性、自由、自律、和自我負責是不可分割的統一整體。[12] (日本臨時教育審議會關於教育改革的咨詢報告, 1984) 4.民族社會（national community）：1 政治：公民身份決定于國民身份，而民族社會是本土環境中最高層次。2 民族主義和愛國主義：在不隨意犧牲人權的前題下，強調國民身份及歸屬感、盡力協助國家凝聚力的形成和國力的增強。 5. 大學生應學習範圍：了解本國政府和文化基本意識形態，了解本國政、經、行政體制；了解本國社、政問題，參與的途徑和方式；了解本國公民的權利和責任[13]，及了解中國文化和歷史，以培養民族認同和愛國精神。

結論:民族為本的國際化科技化教育是廿一世紀香港教育新方向

邁向廿一世紀的香港特區， 回歸後約五年，須全面重組課程結構。在不削弱本港既有國際競爭力的前題下，宜突出歷史教育和公民教育。歷史教育強調近代現代史的興衰得失，中三至中七，校內校外考試都是必答題，以免部分教師取巧刪略不教。文化史部分，應強調近代現代經濟改革的波折歷史，讓學生了解當代經濟改革的迫切性和必要性。歷史教育和公民教育都應在非殖民地方面發揮應有的作用－－立足香港，胸懷祖國，民族爲本，面向世界。公民教育亦以民族爲本，結合歷史教育去培養理性爲本的愛國主義，然後強調基本法教育、法律教育、人權教育、環保教育與及道德爲本的性教育。

此外，要維持及增強本港既有國際競爭力，發展國際化(Internationalization)及科技化(Technologicalization)、電腦化(Computerization)，但仍須以「一國兩制」原則下的民族利益爲前題。所以可以說民族爲本的國際化科技化教育是廿一世紀香港教育新方向。

最後，透過民族爲本的歷史教育和公民教育，我們所憧憬的目標是培養學生具有更爲自主、自律地學習、獨立思考和有意義地生活的能力。而具有深遽睿智的文化修養、深厚的民族感情和使命感始可以爲學生生活添上源頭活水，提供內在的澎湃動力，去發展潛能，將來爲本港、爲祖國爭光立功，進而爲全人類作出獨特的貢獻。

12日本臨時教育審議會關於教育改革的咨詢報告,1984 年 9 月,轉引自（中國）中小學課程改革與試驗課題組赴日考察團《日本中小學教育和課程----中小學課程改革與試驗課題組赴曰考察報告》北京:人民教育,1994,頁 20-21.

13香港學生應該了解： 政治上：中國政府的意識形態是社會主義和共產主義; 經濟上：中國政府的是計劃經濟和社會主義市場經濟; 行政上：中國政府的是民主集中制和共產主義基本機制; 深入了解中國文化和歷史，以培養民族認同和 愛國精神。

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以「可持續發展」為路向的學校環境教育：挑戰與機遇

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「可持續發展」是近年社會關注的課題之一，亦是未來環境教育的重要路向。本文建議一個宏觀的、社區為本的、行動取向輔以多元化教學策略的環境教育模式。這個模式可通過統合正規課程、非正規課程和非正式課程推動以「可持續發展」為路向的環境教育。本文亦討論實施環境教育所面對的挑戰和機遇。

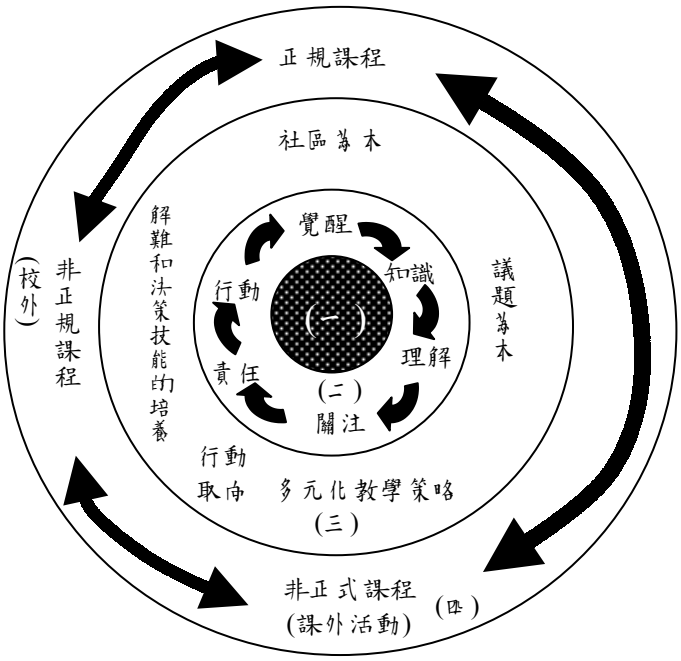
香港的環境問題漸趨惡化，大大影響我們的生活質素。根據柏蔚元、尼奧斯・斯坦(1999)的《邁向可持續發展？》一文，香港的空氣、水、土地的質量已開始遠離可持續發展的道路，進一步可能危害香港人的健康。行政長官董建華先生在一九九九年的施政報告《培育優秀人才 建設美好家園》提出要貫徹可持續發展原則，並打算成立「可持續發展委員會」(明報，2002)，希望透過教育活動「以增強市民及學生的『可持續發展』意識。」董先生認為：

> 「在二十一世紀將臨之際，我們面對的是兩個選擇：一是任由生活環境繼續惡化，以致大家身心受損，經濟發展不能持續；二是決意保護環境，務求經濟日益繁榮之餘，不斷提升生活質素，為自己和後代建設更美好的將來。我們的選擇應是很清楚的，生活富足與環境優美，絕對可以兼得，發展絕對可以持續。」(中華人民共和國香港特別行政區政府資訊中心網頁)

最近香港課程發展議會(1999)所編印的《學校環境教育指引》也提出本港學校的環境教育應以「可持續發展」為路向，其最終目的是(頁 4)「促使學生畢生都關注環境，而且具有遠見，並為他們作好準備，使能為環境保護作出有識見、合理和實際可行的決定，同時身體力行，致力締造一個能安居樂業、可持續發展的環境。」

事實上，「可持續發展」這個概念並非新生事物，早在 1980 年的《世界保養策略》(World Conservation Strategy)裏已經提出，及至 1987 年在世界環境與發展委員會(WECD)的報告《我們共同的未來》，「可持續發展」的概念開始被大家認同。1992 年聯合國環境與發展會議(UNCED)通過了《21 世紀議程》，各國掀起了實施「可持續發展」的熱潮，而世界各國不少的環境教育亦以「可持續發展」作為路向。

本文闡釋學校應如何推行以「可持續發展」為路向的環境教育，探討如何創造空間在學校實踐，並剖析可能面對的困難。



圖一：以「可持續發展」爲路向的環境教育概念圖

「可持續發展」的定義、概念和價值

如圖一所示，開展以「可持續發展」爲路向的環境教育可包括下列幾個層面：

(一)「可持續發展」的內涵十分豐富，不同學者和機構對「可持續發展」亦有不同的詮釋(如：許嘉琳等，1996；李子建，1998；Huckle & Sterling, 1996)，例如《我們共同的未來》指出「可持續發展」是既滿足當代人需求，又不損害滿足下一代人需求能力的一種發展(蔡亞娜、程舸、黃秉坤，1994)。張坤民(1997)認爲「可持續發展」牽涉三方面，一爲以自然資源的可持續利用和良好的生態環境爲基礎；二是以經濟可持續發展爲前提；三是以謀求社會的全面進步爲目標。澳洲昆士蘭省教育局的《地理 11-12 年級指引》建議「可持續性」(sustainability)應包括四方面：(i)經濟可持續性——發展是經濟上有效率，而發展的效益能夠分佈在不同的世代裏；(ii)社會可持續性——發展不會引致社會衝突，而且所有社會團體能參與環境和發展的決策；(iii)文化可持續性——發展能考慮受影響人士的價值觀，而且不同文化團體的傳統及其文化遺產應受到尊重；(iv)生態可持續性——發展應考慮生態過程、生物多樣性和生物資源的保養。(Department of Education, Queensland, 1992)就「可持續發展」的基本概念來說，英國的「可持續發展教育小組」(Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions, 1999)建議下列七個概念：

1. 相互依賴——社會，經濟與自然環境之間；由本地至全球；
2. 公民權(citizenship)及守護權(stewardship)——權利與責任，參與及合作；
3. 未來世代的需要和權益；
4. 多樣性——文化、社會、經濟和生物；
5. 生活質素，平等和公義；
6. 可持續轉變——發展與承載量；
7. 不確定性及謹慎行動。

(二)環境教育大致可分爲三種取向(approach)：

(i)認識環境的教育(education about the environment)，(ii)置身環境的教育(education in the environment)及(iii)關心環境的教育(education for the environment)。(i)認識環境的教育主要是幫助學生發展對人與環境互動的覺醒(awareness)、知識和理解。(ii)置身環境的教育鼓勵以學生爲本及以活動爲本的學習。這種取向以戶外教育爲主，主要是透過學生接觸大自然而培養他們對環境的覺醒和關注。(iii)關心環境的教育以改善環境爲主要目的，期望透過學生主動解決環境問題發展其責任感和行動能力(Tilbury, 1995)。部份學者認爲關心環境的教育應具備批判取向，培養學生對環境問題背後所含蘊的政治元素進行批判性反思，並積極參與不同層次的環境政治活動(Huckle, 1991)。

（三）在教學策略而言，以「可持續發展」爲路向的環境教育具備一些組元(components)，例如 Tan(1994, pp.470 – 471)指出環境教育宜包括下列特點：

1. 社區爲本(community-based)取向——課堂主要圍繞任何一個社區的民生活動、工業、自然資源及環境問題等；
2. 議題爲本(issue-based)——不同層次(國家的、區域的及全球的)的環境問題予以討論；
3. 利用實際生活處境(real-life situations)——實際生活處境可以是一件產品(如綠色電器產品)，一種現象(如氾濫)，或者是一個過程(如廢物循環再造)。
4. 解難技巧——解決問題的處境可以是模擬的，也可以與社區爲本的學習連繫起來；
5. 實地考察——學生需要在實地進行觀察和搜集資料或進行一些與環境保護有關的活動(如植林)；
6. 價值溝通和澄清策略——學生需要系統地和謹慎地發展自己對環境價值的看法。

Tilbury(1995)亦認爲「可持續發展」的環境教育應該是：(i)與生活相關(relevance)——鼓勵學生建立自己個人生活(如消費)習慣與環境問題之間的聯繫；(ii)價值的教授(teaching of values)——強調價值的統整(values integration)，意即要求學生明白他們價值立場所引致的環境後果，並知道其他不同的價值立場及其理據；(iii)議題爲本的學習——重視學生積極參與辨別和研究環境問題、尋求解決方法，透過行動去評估環境行動的影響；及(iv)行動取向——環境行動包括透過協商、勸說、消費主義、政治活動、法律行動和生態管理，來解決環境問題。

Fien(1997, p.22)則建議下列八種價值作爲世界「可持續性」倫理(world ethic of sustainability)；
人與自然；生態可持續性

1. 相互依賴(interdependence)：人類是自然的一部份，而且是依賴它生存；
2. 生物多樣性(biodiversity)：每一種生命都值得尊重；
3. 簡樸生活：所有人對大自然所造成的影響都應負上責任；
4. 物種間的平等：人類須善待所有生物；
5. 人與人之間：社會公義；
6. 基本生活需求：在生物圈條件的限制下，所有人和社會的需要都得到滿足；
7. 跨代平等：每一代留下的世界都一樣是多元和豐盛的；
8. 人權：所有人都有信仰、和平集會和結社的自由；

9. 參與：所有人和社群都被賦權爲自己和地球上的生命盡責。

近年，聯合國開發署援助祖國環境教育，通過啓動互動式教學項目加強中小學環境教育能力建設，邁向可持續發展的理想。李子建(1998) 認爲以「可持續發展」爲路向應是多元的，意即結合學生的特點以不同的教學法和教學情景協助學生掌握環境知識、技能和態度，並鼓勵學生身體力行，通過日常生活和社會行動實踐環保。例如中、小學的環境教育目標會因應學生的特徵而變化，初小學生較著重培養環境知識，高小至初中學生開始重視培養公民行動技能，而高中學生較強調累積公民行動經驗(表一)。

表一：環境教育的目標及其強調(Engleson & Yockers, 1994; Tan, 1994)

教育	行爲	知識	技能	環境教育目的強調
小學	環境習慣的形式	掌握和應用知識於周遭環境	觀察技能及簡單的實驗	知識和環境倫理(初小及高小)高小則著重公民行動技能
中學	於家中及社區事務裏實踐愛護環境的習慣	應用知識去解決在社區層面的問題	簡單的問題解決和決策	公民行動技能、公民行動經驗及環境倫理。初中則著重環境知識。

(四)Tilbury(1995)認爲以「可持續發展」爲路向的環境教育應以宏觀式(holistic)課程取向作爲基礎，這就是說「可持續性」應整合在各個學習範疇(areas of learning)。陳佩正(1996)亦指出環境教育具有跨學科的特性，是學科整合的最佳工具。除了學科(正規課程)外，應透過非正規課程(如校外機構所舉辦的活動)和非正式課程(課外活動)推行環境教育，正如《學校環境教育指引》(香港課程發展議會，1999a，頁 13)所言：「只有透過參與校內及校外形形色色的環境教育活動，才能使學生最有效地學習。」

在香港推行環境教育的挑戰

不少過往的研究顯示，香港學校的環境教育狀況並不算理想，取向較強調認識環境的教育，而置身環境的教育和關心環境的教育相對地受到忽視(Lee, 1997)。學校環境教育在管理和實施有被「邊緣化」(marginalised)的現象，例如不少學校沒有正式的委員會或專責老師統籌環境教育的推行；正規課程方面，環境教育主要透過滲透方式，在小學的常識科、中學的地理科、生物科、綜合科學科、社會科或學校所設立的德育、公民教育和宗教教育學程裏教授。課外活動方面，部份中學透過與環保有關的學會或興趣小組安排環境教育活動，部份小學則透過環保日、環保週或其他活動(如旅行、參觀、植樹、清潔活動等)讓學生參與(李子建，1998)。

綜合而言，在香港推行以「可持續教育」爲路向的環境教育，會面對兩大障礙(Ham & Sewing, 1987-88)：

（一）支援上的障礙：

一般教師的工作量都十分繁重，缺乏時間設計環境教育活動或計劃。另一方面，教師受到公開考試或校內評估的影響，精力多花在完成學科課程內容，以致缺乏上課時間教授環境教育。此外，學校缺乏財政和額外資源推行環境教育活動(如戶外考察)。

（二）教育上的障礙：

部份教師對「可持續發展」的概念以至環境教育的理念都沒有深入的認識，因此他們缺乏信心推行環境教育。部份教師則對「可持續發展」持有不同的見解，例如他們對環境倫理的看法可能偏向以人類中心主義(楊冠政，1996)，與強調以生態中心主義爲本的可持續發展觀點可能不甚相容(周儒，1992)。另外，一些教師可能對推行環境教育缺乏興趣，或缺乏適當的訓練去推行環境教育(Cherif, 1992；Stimpson, 1997)。

推行以「可持續發展」為路向的環境教育面對的機遇

縱使推行環境教育面對不少困難，但是最近教育改革的趨勢和課程政策的改變，對推行環境教育仍創造不少機會。在資源方面，學校可以透過「優質教育基金」、環境及自然保護基金等申請撥款，以資助進行環境教育活動；構思中的「可持續發展基金」也許會爲學校提供額外的資源支援環境教育活動。最近發表的《香港學校課程整體檢視改革建議》(香港課程發展議會，1999b)指出課程的改革應加強學生所需的基本能力元素，如積極的價值觀和態度(如環境教育)，鼓勵爲學生提供機會，「體驗課堂以外的生活，讓學生參加由學校或外間機構舉辦的活動」(頁 5)，也建議「利用課程統整，爲開放及高彈性的課程架構發展多樣化的學習模式」(頁 6)。

就課程統整而言，學校可以主題來統整各科教學，例如浸信會呂明才小學下午校在六年級實行課程統整，以「和諧綠世界」爲學校主題把中、英、常識、美勞、音樂、聖經等各科統整起來。學校也可以考慮發展以活動爲本的跨科目(科際)取向，用以統整課程和推動環境教育，例如 Kwan(1996)以「你今天有沒有摟抱一棵樹？」爲題，使學生從不同學科(如語文、數學、美術、音樂、舞蹈及戲劇、體育、健康、社會、科學、烹飪等)的角度認識「樹」及其對生態系統的重要性。除了綜合活動外，教師又可安排與「可持續發展」或「環境保護」爲主題的專題設計，爲學生提供從多角度思考問題的機會。此外，學校可與社會機構和環保組織結成夥伴，利用社區環境的學習機會，讓學生親身感受環境問題的迫切性，並透過身體力行去服務社區(如清潔社區、植樹、宣傳環境保護的重要性)。這些活動除了發揮環境教育的「社區爲本」取向和「行動」取向外，也豐富了學生的生活經歷，從中也提供了發展學生體能和培養他們對環境美感和覺醒的機會。如果在發展校本環境教育的活動過程中遇到困難，學校亦可考慮向大專院校尋求支援服務(如提供到校的在職教師培訓)，或與它們建立夥伴關係(如共同發展以「可持續發展」爲路向的校本環境教育課程)，這樣便可消除部份學校發展環境教育的阻礙。

理想的學校環境教育，應該採取全校取向，意即通過教職員工的團結和合作以及校外的支援締造一個有利環境，致力實現「可持續發展」的遠景(李子建，1998)。在未達致全校取向的層次之前，學校可以採取下列策略推動環境教育：

（一） 有些研究顯示，校長和一些「核心小組成員」(core group members)是推動學校環境教育不可或缺的因素(如 Lee, 1999；課程發展議會，1999a)。因此，校長宜扮演領導的角色，鼓勵師生發展校本環境教育活動，並嘗試在人力、物力和財政資源方面提供實質而充足的支援推行環境教育。在人手方面，校長可組織　地理科、生物科、綜合科教師或對環境教育有興趣的教師組成「工作小組」，作爲校內推行環境教育的核心成員。

（二） 在組織環境教育課程和活動方面，學校可先透過「滲透」方式，在一些與環境教育關係較直接的學科(如地理科、生物科等)加強「可持續發展」教育，學校也可利用考試後的時間或學期中

一段時間，先開展一些小規模與「可持續發展」有關的「綜合學習」單元，這樣對正規課程的教學進度影響較少。此外，學校可鼓勵高年級學生協助設計和組織環境教育活動；學校更可鼓勵家長參與和支持有關環境教育的活動，並在家中實踐符合環保的生活方式。

（三） 學校宜定期檢討校內環境教育的進展和評估學校環境教育活動的成效，並多與其他學校交流推動環境教育的經驗。

當學校環境教育發展至一定水平時，學校可考慮成立一個「環境教育委員會」，透過正式機制策動全校師生和員工制定校本的環保政策和長期的環境教育計劃。這樣，學校的環境教育才能「可持續發展」。

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澳門小學課程的發展：法令三八／九四／M

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前言

自一九八七年中葡聯合聲明在北京簽署，澳門教育進入了另一個新的發展階段。一九九一年八月廿九日澳門政府頒布第一一／九一／M 號的《澳門教育制度》法令，制訂了澳門教育制度的總綱。其後教育暨青年司於一九九五年／九六年度開始課程改革工作，包括修訂和編製各類澳門本地課程文件和教學大綱實施於官立學校，並再進而把成功的經驗推廣至私立學校。本文介紹澳門小學課程的發展背景和有關特色, 並進一步探討有關澳門小學一九九四年第三八／九四／M號教育法令和論述澳門課程改革的一些困難和阻力。

課程發展：法令三八／九四／M

一九九四年七月澳門暨教青司頒布教育法令第三八／九四／M號《學前及小學教育之課程組織》，進一步鞏固了澳門教育制度指導性框架（framework）及規定了課程組織之制訂和給予各中、小和學前教育有關教學內容和目標的指引。推行這些法令時，政府因應於澳門歷史背景和社會發展及官立和私校的行政和教學自主性情況，採取較爲靈活和開放態度，以制定各教育程度（包括幼兒教育、小學教育預備班及小學教育和初中及高中）課程發展的指導方針。教育法令有其普遍性和強制性的意義，但私立教育機構仍然是給予相當寬闊的空間和自由，這樣可以使其保留特色及發展校本課程和重整教學計劃。根據法令第三八／九四／M號第二條有關小學教育課程發展計劃有以下具體指引：

I. <u>小學課程目標和計劃</u>

一、 小學教育之教育活動旨在實現《澳門教育制度法律》第八條所訂定之一般目標。

二、 小學教育課程計劃包括單科目或多科目組別，以及強制參與之輔助課程活動，旨在促進學生之全面培訓及個人目標之實現，從而促進社會之進步及發展。

三、 教學內容應選擇可確保學童獲得及掌握對認知、社會情感及運動方面之全面發展所必需之知識、價值觀及態度，同時應誘發學童之求知慾及自我發展之興趣。

四、 教員應負責創造積極、有意義、綜合性及社會性之教學環境，以推動學生、其他教員、家庭及群體之參與。

五、 教育機構得在小學教育開始或繼續教授第二語言，而至第五年級及第六年級時，第二語言之教學應更規範及更具系統，且在不具強制性之前提下，應以本地區之兩種官方語言爲優先。

由於澳門仍然處於葡國殖民政府過渡期管治，由此對於第二言語的學習，以上第五項強調第二

語言的教學以澳門的兩種官方語言（即葡文和中文）爲優先選擇。

II. 小學教學大綱

一、 教學大綱係對教學過程作出指導之工具，用以制定教學目標及實質內容，使教育機構本身之教學計劃得以實施。

二、 教學內容及教學方法之選擇應符合學生之教育心理發展狀況及有關教學階段之目標，鼓勵學生積極參與及激發其作爲理性、道德及社會主體之自主性。

三、 教育暨青年司（葡文縮寫爲 DSEJ）設立一小組、負責爲本法規所指之各教育程度制定不同科目組別及科目之大綱，但不影響私立教育機構制定本身之大綱。

教學大綱爲法令中的第七條，其中最值得關注的部份是過渡期的政府爲因應傳統澳門教育發展型態和一九九九年十二月回歸中國的情況特別設立課程小組對澳門的不同教育程度（幼兒、小學、中學）制定各科目的教學大綱和課程指引。這些都是在葡國殖民管治末和回歸中國前的過渡期間教育制度所必須面臨有關延續與變遷（continuity and change）的處理問題。

有鑒於學科之間的相依性和因應學校整體課程的結合和連接，輔助課程主要是讓個別學校根據學生的背景和學習需求和學校的特色去制訂計劃以促進跨科目學習活動的目標。

第三八／九四／M 法令第八條有關輔助課程之活動有以下的指引：

一、 輔助課程活動指多科目或跨科目間之活動，旨在補足教育機構本身之教學計劃。

二、 輔助課程活動之整體大綱主要包括與自然環境、藝術、體育、運動、技術、衛生、互助及自願等有關方面之教育，旨在豐富學生之文化、公民及科學知識以及使其融入社會。

三、 輔助課程活動均載於教育機構年度活動計劃內，且由該機構教學機關負責作出評價，尤其是評價課程活動與教材、與學生已具有之能力或將獲得之能力之關係。

四、 教育機構之教學領導組織在考慮可利用之空間及課時，以及接受輔助課程之學生之特點之前提下，應協調輔助課程活動之整體大綱之實行。

III. 小學教育課程計劃

根據表一顯示，澳門小學教育課程計劃可以歸納爲五個範疇：

I. 品德教育 – 包括（1）道德教育，（2）公民教育和（3）宗教教育。

II. 基礎知識 – 包括（1）語言，（2）教學語言或第二語言，和（3）數學。

III. 常識 – 包括（1）社會，（2）自然科學，（3）健康衛生，（4）歷史和（5）地理。

IV. 美育及體育 – 包括（1）視覺教育，(2)手工，（3）音樂和（4）體育。

V. 輔助課程 – 包括跨科目活動，目的是豐富學生之文化、公民和科學知識以及使其融入社會。

澳門眾多的私校是由宗教、社團與及個人等名義等興辦。宗教團體辦學包括有天主教和基督教等，和政治團體包括中國、台灣、和葡國等。以上法令所擬定的小學教育課程計劃，私校對公民教育和教學語言和第二語言方面享有很大自主權，但官立學校的學生必須學習葡語。至於每週課時和節數，學校有權作出個別的調整，即每週組別節數爲 28 至 40 節，每節課時由 35 至 45 分鐘不等。

IV. 成績評核

長久以來，澳門政府對教育採取自由不干預政策，由市場力量帶導教育發展。澳門政府沒有制訂統一考試和學生能力評估機制，相對而言學校間學術水平和教學質量存在著較大的差異。

在課程發展的過程，三八／九四／M號教育法令第九條對於學習評核制度給予下列的基準：

一、 符合《澳門教育制度法律》所訂原則之評核模式應促學生之學業進步，顧及學習上之進展及進度，更應保障教學質量。

二、 幼兒教育及小學教育預備班之評核成績不影響學生之升學。

三、 評核內容及方法之確定應以所選擇及公佈之教學目標及教學過程爲依據。

四、 家長及監護人有權知有關學習進度之資料，以及有關決定年級或學習階段之晉升之標準。

五、 本法規所載之各教育程度之評核制度，須呈交有權限實體認可，但該認可須按日後頒佈之專有法規之規定爲之。

殖民政府採取自由放任態度，對民間辦學缺乏支持。學校各自爲政，教育理念傾向以精英主義和升學主義主導。一般學校多以學科考試成績作爲教學評量，對於以下不同的教學評量模式（除下列第（4）項）較少應用於日常教學活動中：

（1）安置式評量（placement evaluation ）
（2）診斷式評量（diagnostic evaluation）
（3）形成式評量（formative evaluation）
（4）總結式評量（summative evaluation）
（5）標準參照式評量（criterion-referenced evaluation）
（6）常模參照式評量（norm-referenced evaluation）

V. 輔助及補習教育措施

澳門教育的一個重要特色是學校輔助及補習教育措施，以幫助學生克服學習和升學的困難。學校的學習科目數目繁多，授課時間和學習活動緊迫。第三八／九四／M號法令的第十條對輔助及補習教育措施有以下的指示：

一、 由教育機構舉辦之旨在幫助學生克服學習上不足之一系列課程之內外活動，均視爲輔助及補習教育措施。

二、 教育機構應確保對學習任何課程組別或對學習課程科目有困難或不足之學生得到輔助及補習教育。

三、 輔助及補習教育措施得以不同形式進行，尤其是：

a. 有輔導人員指導之補習室，旨在解決學生學習上之問題及輔助其完成作業；
b. 指導學生及向學生提出意見之計劃；
c. 有關課餘時間之利用之特別計劃；
d. 選擇性課程，旨在使用新教學策略及對空間及課時作不同安排。

四、　爲執行輔助及補習教育措施，教育機構在有需要時得要求本地區現存之公共教育、衛生及社會輔助部門提供合作。

五、　教育機構之教學領導組織應對所提供之輔助作出總評核。

事實上，輔助及補習教育是澳門學校教育的一個重要組成部份。這方面反映澳門學校課程編排的緊密情況和對學生、教師和家長造成的心理壓力和精神負擔。學生於課餘和週末回校讓教師給予輔助或補習，但另方面會失卻了有益身心的課外活動和個人興趣發展。

結語

對於澳門課程發展和其後於一九九五／九六年度開始作出的一系列課程改革，至今的成果教育工作者雖然仍未有一致的定論，根據沙法爾克（Schaffarzick,1995）的理論認爲有效的課程發展計劃應包括以下各項元素。（詳見《課程：理論與設計》75 頁。）：

（1）　決定需要；

（2）　理論基礎的建立；

（3）　目的及目標的使用；

（4）　照顧到發展心理學及學習研究；

（5）　分組合作；

（6）　資源的製作；

（7）　早期傳播的規劃；

（8）　員工培訓的準備；

（9）　試驗及修訂；（如試行點）

（10）　持續的發展。

課程發展和改革是一項龐大和漫長的工程。澳門政府於一九九一年八月訂定了一一／九一／M號關於《澳門教育制度》的總綱。其後於一九九四年制定了對上述教育法例的補充法例：（1）法令三八／九四／M；（2）法令三九／九四／M；和法令四六／九七／M。根據澳門政府的構想，設立二八／九四／M號法令是希望由一九九四／九五學年開始，透過在幼兒教育第一年、小學教育預備班和小學教育一年級教學實驗方式實施，然後再加以改善後再推廣至私校。

從沙法爾克（Schaffarzick,1995）的課程發展計劃檢討澳門課程發展的過程，我們可以瞭解一九九一年澳門教育制度總綱的制訂及其後有關的課程法令的實施，澳門教育發展於回歸中國後已經進入了嶄新的階段。另方面，對於回歸後的課程改革和實施策略及官私校體制在謀求異同及教育目標和行政自主方面仍然有待努力取得各方面共識和作進一步改善。這些包括沙法爾克所論述的第（2）及（5）至（10）項目，與及改善其他先存的教育情境與社會條件和教育意識型態，包括澳門官立和私校行政和教學體制的分歧，員工福利和範疇、績效責任、資源分配、學生背景、評核制度，與及九年義務教育的實施等問題將會是廿一世紀澳門課程改革新的挑戰。

表一：小學教育課程計劃〔澳門 1994 年頒佈的法令《學前及小學教育之課程組織》（第 38/94/M 號）〕

組別	培訓內容（科目）	每週課節(E) 最少及最多課節（F）		指導
		一年級至四年級	五年級至六年級	
品德教育	1.1 道德教育 1.2 公民教育（A） 1.3 宗教育	1 – 2	1 – 2	A. 由教育機構自行決定，至少開設一科。 B. 按教育機構之教學語言來選定。
基礎知識	2.1 語言 2.1.1 教學語言（B）2.1.2 第二語言（C） 2.2 數學	18 – 20	19 – 22	C. 私立教育機構可在中文、葡文及英文中選擇一種；官立機構遵照《澳門教育制度法律》第三十五條之規定。對第二語言之教學內容必須詳細考慮，應注意學童之年齡及所採用之教學方法。
常識	3.1 社會 3.2 自然科學 3.3 健康衛生 3.4 歷史 3.5 地理	4 – 6	5 – 7	D. 課時由教育機構訂定。 E. 組別之節數最少爲二十八節，最多爲四十節。
美育及體育	4.1 視覺教育 4.2 手工 4.3 音樂 4.4 體育	4 – 8	4 – 8	F. 每節課最少爲三十五分鐘，最多爲四十五分鐘。
輔助課程(D)				
每週最多及最少節數		28 – 38	30 – 40	

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孔子與陶行知教育思想的比較

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孔子是中國教育史上最為著名的教育家；而陶行知則是中國近現代傑出的教育家之一，要對中國古今教育思想有所了解，認識孔子和陶行知的教育思想，看來是頗基本的。本文嘗試在描述兩者生平的基礎上，以比較的方法去分析兩者在教育主張、教學看法和教學哲學等三方面的異同，從中勾劃出中國古今主要的教育思想，並使人對這兩位教育家的思想有較概括的認識。

前言

孔子(公元前 551-前 479 年)是中國教育史上最爲著名的教育家。他的教育思想對中國古代教育的發展有極重要的影響，被世人尊稱爲萬世師表，亦是中國古代開創私人講學的教育家之一，其所建立的儒家學說自漢以後亦成爲中國歷代教育和文化的核心內容，要學習和了解中國教育的歷史，就不能不對孔子的教育思想有所了解。

陶行知(1891-1946)是中國近現代傑出的教育家之一，是五四運動以後具有影響力的人民教育家，他既批判中國傳統的舊教育，亦反對洋化教育。他所建立的生活教育理論和實踐，不單體現了二十世紀初中國的國情和時代特色，亦大大推動了近現代中國教育的改革和發展，是影響當今中國教育發展的主流思想。

故此，要對中國古今教育思想有所了解，學習和認識孔子和陶行知的教育思想，看來是最起碼的。此文嘗試在描述兩者生平的基礎上，以比較的方法去分析兩者在教育主張、教學看法和教學哲學等三方面的異同，使人對這兩位中國古今教育家的思想有較概括的了解。

兩人生平

孔子名丘，字仲尼，出生於春秋末期。孔子小時生活於當時文化中心的魯國，有“周禮盡在魯”的說法，這使孔子從小就受到西周傳統文化的薰陶，崇拜和嚮往西周教育與文化。他雖自小便立志當官，好學不倦；惜仕途不大順利。約於三十歲時，他看到「天子失官，學在四夷」，故衝破學在官府的桎梏，投身興辦私學，實行“有教無類”。孔子亦曾率領弟子到過周、齊兩國，一面了解民生和政治；一邊以隨問隨答方式講學，指出“學而優則仕”，並提倡“仁”和“禮”作爲做人和從政的道德標準。五十一歲的孔子回魯國作地方官，至五十六歲升爲代理宰相，政績裴然；但亦因此被迫下台。於是他又專注教學授徒，帶領弟子周游列國，漂泊了十三年，及至六十八歲才返回魯國，自此以後便專心從事教育和整理古代文化典籍的工作。後世所流傳的《詩》、《書》、《禮》、《樂》、《易》、《春秋》等六經；差不多都是經孔子搜集加工才得以保存。此外孔子一生學而不厭，誨人不倦，有弟子三千多人。當中精通禮、樂、射、御、書、數六藝者有七十二人。而《論語》一書則是其弟子輯

錄的孔子言行錄，是研究孔子教育思想的主要資料。

陶行知，原名文濬，後改知行、行知。他小時受惠於教會學校，至 1914 年畢業於金陵大學後，赴美留學；他初入伊利諾大學攻讀市政學，後轉入哥倫比亞大學研究教育，爲杜威的中國學生之一。1917 年回國應聘於南京高等師範學校，建議將“教授法”，改爲“教學法”； 並於 1926 年起草了《中華教育改進社改造全國鄉村教育宣言書》，提出了“教育必須下鄉，知識必須交給農民”。他身體力行，一年後創辦了曉庄試驗鄉村師範學校，實踐“生活即教育”、“社會即學校”、“教學做合一”等教育主張。1932 年又於上海創辦了上海工學團，以“工以養生，學以明生，團以保生”的宗旨來辦教育，除了鼓吹學科學外，亦創立了小先生制和“即知即傳”的教育方法。抗日戰爭爆發後，他又於 1939 年在重慶，爲難童創建育才學校以補償普及教育中的遺憾，提出培養學生做“人中人”不做“人上人”；並提倡解放兒童的創作力。1946 年，他又建立重慶社會大學，提出新大學之道：“在明大德、在親民、在止於人民之幸福。”從他一生推動教育普及的實踐中，可見陶行知先生確實是中國現代史中最著名的人民教育家。

教育主張的比較

孔子和陶行知對教育有不少的主張，爲了便於比較和分析，此文用教育哲學的角度將他們兩人的教育主張；歸納於教育的定義、目的、內容和社會功能四個方面。

從表一中發現孔子和陶行知都視教育爲治理社會國家的一個重要手段，孔子提出庶富教治國三步驟，指出不教而殺謂之虐，肯定了教育對管治人民和國家的重要性；而陶行知則明確教育是爲改造社會而設，他認爲教育人，能達至天下爲公的社會。但在教育的目的方面，兩者都有不同的側重。孔子所提倡的仕而優則學，學而優則仕，是一套士人教育觀，帶領了不少後世儒家學者以做官爲個人學習目的；反之，陶行知因有受西方平等文化的薰陶，加上面對日益衰落的中國社會，深感教育的目的是要讓所有受教育者能自主和明理，做自己和國家的主人。

表一：孔子和陶行知教育主張的比較

	孔子	陶行知
教育的定義	教，上所施下所效也；育，養子使作善也(論語說文)	生活教育是給生活以教育，用生活來教育，爲生活向前向上的需要而教育(1939，見《文集》，頁 694)
教育的目的	仕而優則學，學而優則仕(論語子張) 學也，祿在其中矣(論語衛靈公)	我們要教人，不但要教人知其然，而且要教人知其所以然(1936，見《佚文》，頁 99) 民主教育是教人做主人，做自己的主人，做國家的主人(1945，見《文選》，頁 306)
教育的內容	子以四教：文行忠信(論語述而) 不學詩，無以言，不學禮，無以立(論語季氏) 主張習六藝六經	用活書、活用書、用書活(1935，見《文集》，頁 468) 主張教育要學習科學、創造和民主
教育的 社會功能	“不教而殺謂之虐”(論語堯國) 提出“庶”、“富”、“教”治國三步驟(論語子路篇)	教育爲改造社會而設，爲教育社會人才而設(1918，見《佚文》，頁 7) 教育爲公，以達到天下爲公(1945，見《文選》，頁 306)

至於教育內容方面，孔子因自小受周禮的薰陶，深感先賢古人的言行是榜樣，故主張以西周的六藝六經爲教育內容；而陶行知卻是一名積極反對傳統八股的教育行動家，其所提倡活用書，讓學習者學習科學、創造和民主等都具備了創新的意義。最後，在教育定義方面，陶行知將杜威主張的教育即生活，改變爲生活即教育；指出生活決定了教育的環境，實際的生活是教育的中心，而教育的意義亦在於改善生活，其教育的定義與生活緊密連繫；然而孔子的教育定義則只圍繞著教育的過程和目的，指出教育是一個學習的過程，並能使學習者得到增值的效果。當中一個強調教育與環境的關係，而另一個視教育爲一獨立完整的過程。總言之，孔子和陶行知兩人的教育主張皆重視教育的功能和其目的性，然而在教育的定義和內容上，卻有所不同的側重。

教學看法的異同

在教學方面，孔子和陶行知都各有一套看法，當中孔子對教學的看法，爲二千年來中國教師對教學的取向提供一個基礎。

根據表二，孔子在教與學的主張至今仍爲教育工作者所樂道；他所主張因材施教、有教無類、溫故知新、學而時習之、不恥下問和學思合一等教與學的方法和態度，皆適用於現今的教學環境，這充分體現出孔子一生在教學實踐的經驗和心得，是歷久常新的。而陶行知在教學方面的看法卻只側重與做的結合；他主張教學做合一，指出如何做，則如何教，亦如何學。並提出以即知即傳的方法來推廣教育；他亦不屑僞知識，故倡導教人求真學做真人。

至於孔子和陶行知對教師的取態，則有相近亦有相違之處。孔子倡導教師身教的重要，指出其身不正其令不行；並提出教師要學而不厭，誨人不倦。而陶行知雖然要求教師要做改造社會的靈魂和教學生去學；但他卻突顯出師生的平等，提出師生要共教、共學、共做和共生活。此外，有關學生學習的作用和成果方面，孔子和陶行知亦有根本性的分歧。首先，孔子視人有高低之分，他期望學習者能透過教育獲得士人的道、德、仁、藝等特質；並提出教育對過高和過低的人來說是無效的。但在陶行知的心目中，所有人皆可受教，無分彼此，而每個人教育的成果是要人皆有民主和自治的能力，這與現代社會的基本需要是一致的。

最後，有關學校的看法，陶行知提出社會即學校，認爲生活的環境亦是學與教的場所；這論點對當時中國教育的不普及和教育資源不足，是有積極的意義的。而孔子在春秋時代亦看到西周的秩序盪而無存，官員已不能把持教育，加上各地諸侯管治的需要，私學便隨之而起。事實上，孔子亦是推動中國古代私學發展的重要人物。綜合以上四個方面，孔子和陶行知在教育的看法，基本上是異多於同，要分析個中的原因，看來要從更高的層次比較孔子和陶行知的教育思想。

表二：孔子和陶行知對教學看法的異同

教學	孔子論語	陶行知
教與學	實踐因材施教 有教無類(論語衛靈公) 學而時習之(論語學而) 溫故而知新(論語爲政) 學而不思則罔，思而不學則殆(論語爲政) 毋意、毋必、毋固、毋我(論語子罕) 教而好學，不耻下問(論語公冶長) 能近取譬(論語雍也)	教學做合一(1927，見《文選》，頁 284) 如何做，則如何教，亦如何學(1932，見《佚文》，頁 75) 即知即傳人，會的教人，不會的跟人學。不會教人的不配受教育。(1935，見《文集》，頁 449) 千教萬教，教人求真，千學萬學，學做真人。(1946，見《文集》，頁 821)
教師	學而不厭，誨人不倦(論語述而) 其身正，不令而行，其身不正，雖令不從。(論語子路) 三人行，必有我師焉。擇其善者而從之，其不善者而改之(論語述而)	先生的責任不在教，而在教學，而在教學生學(1919，見《文集》，頁 13) 教師稱爲指導員，不稱爲教員，指導學生教學做，與學生共教、共學、共做、共生活(1926，見《文選》、頁 281) 鄉村教師做改造鄉村生活的靈魂(1926，見《文選》，頁 277)
學生	唯上智與下愚不移(論語陽貨) 志於道，據於德，依於仁，游於藝(論語述而)	要教學生爲民主的小學生(1946，見《文集》，頁 819) 想有能夠共同的自治的公民，必先有能夠共同自治的學生(1919，見《文集》，頁 19)
學校	天子失官，學在四夷(左傳昭公十七年)	社會即學校(1932，見《佚文》，頁 76)

教育哲學的分歧

要分析孔子和陶行知的教育思想不同的原因，要再深一層比較兩人的教育哲學觀(詳見表三)。首先孔子和陶行知對社會的看法是有根本上的不同的，孔子的理想社會是一個天下有道的社會，各人皆尊仁重禮；而社會的本質是一個差序的格局，君君、臣臣、父父、子子，每個人皆有其定位，而應安份守己。但陶行知卻認爲社會本質是變動及不可測的，其心中理想的社會，是一個大眾皆有幸福的社會；表面上，他好像與孔子倡導天下爲公的理念是一致的，但本質上他倆對人是否生而平等有不同的取態，這不單突顯出中西價值的分別，亦體現出人類發展的成果。

表三：比較孔子和陶行知的教育哲學

教育哲學	孔子	陶行知
理想社會	大道之行也，天下爲公(論語禮運) 天下有道，禮樂征伐自天子出(論語季氏)	大學之道在明大德、在親大眾，在止於大眾之幸福(1946，見《文集》，頁 538)
社會本質	君君、臣臣、父父、子子(論語顏淵)	宇宙是在動，世界是在動，人生是在動(1934，見《文集》，頁 407)
知識論	知之爲知之，不知爲不知，是知也(論語爲政) 我非生而知之者，好古，敏以求之者也(論語重氏)	知爲行之始，行爲知之成(1932，佚文，頁 75) 去與取，只問適不適，不問新與舊(1922，見《文選》，頁 275) 故欲求常新之道，必先去舊之方，試驗著，去舊之方也(1919，見《文選》，頁 271)
價值觀	天下有道則仕，無道則隱(論語泰伯) 不義而富其且貴，於我如浮雲(論語述而) 見賢思齊焉，見不賢而內自省也(論語里仁) 己所不欲，勿施於人(論語顏淵)	沒有道德的人，學問和本領愈大，就能爲非作惡愈大(1942，見《文集》，頁 723) 也只有肯跟老百姓學習的人，才能做老百姓的真正領導者(1946，見《文集》，頁 813)

至於知識論方面，孔子認爲知識是客觀存在的，假若人對某事認識了便是知，而知的方法是從古籍和思考中得到的；新知識是孔子沒有考慮的課題。而陶行知的知識論正如他的名字行知，體現了知識和行動的結合，知識、實踐、新知識、再實踐是不斷累進的過程，當中他亦提出知識有新與舊和適與不適之分，這亦奠定了他敢於否定老師杜威所提出教學即生活的主張，而創建提出適合當時中國社會的“生活即教育”理論。在價值觀方面，孔子就個人高度提出了豐富的人本主義的價值準則，包括有修身自省、推己及人、重義輕利等高尚品格；而陶行知則以社會爲出發點，主張以平民大眾的標準爲準則，合乎大眾群體的規範便是有價值的人。

從上文可見，孔子和陶行知的教育哲學基本上是南轅北轍，是完全不同的。孔子的教育哲學整體上類近精華主義的取向，提倡應以古爲鑑，學禮習仁以求仕的教育觀。而陶行知則較似重建主義的取向，認爲透過教育與人和社會兩者的互動，使中華民族成爲一個教人好學的民族，去創建一個中國人民大眾的新社會。

總結

孔子和陶行知都是生活於一個動盪的中國社會環境。孔子在面對春秋時代各地諸候挾天子以令諸候的狀況，他提倡仿古習周禮以重建社會秩序，這一方面推動了私學在中國的施行，另一方面又促進了百家爭鳴的學術風氣，但卻又無意間建立了影響中國二千多年的儒家文化，使教育成爲歷代君王選士治民的工具。陶行知活在清末民初，整個社會既動盪又混亂，在去封建立新風和西風東來的年代，他一方面極力反對傳統腐敗的文化，另一方面亦反對洋八股的引入。他所與時代脈搏息息相關的教育試驗，創建了一套生活即教育的理論，既有中國的特色，又推動了全民教育觀的建立，他那種以教育人民，去改造社會的觀念，至今仍適合當代的中國教育。最後，孔子和陶知行的教育思想的不同，反映了他們受身處的社會人文環境所影響，而他們在中國古今社會的教育事業所作的貢獻是廣受認同的。

- 此文曾於 22-1-2000 在香港大學比較教育研究中心舉行的「邁向比較教育研究會」中發表。
- 註：爲使各讀者直接了解孔子與陶行知兩人的教育思想，各表列的內容皆直接引述兩人原文，當中有關陶行知觀點的年份是陶原文出處的年份。而所引述的文章則來自下列之書本
    1. 見文集爲《陶行知文集》
    2. 見佚文爲《陶行知佚文集》
    3. 見文選爲《中國現代教育文選》

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從成本效益角度看直接資助計劃對優質學校教育發展的影響

王常錦意

導論

1760 年工業革命的成功及在英明的君主帶領下，英國的國運在十八世紀開始欣欣向榮，表明要向全球掠奪殖民地。由於美國在 1776 年脫離英國獨立，英國人喪失不少在美國的資產，在龐大艦隊的支援下，英國人便轉向東方，欺凌國勢較弱的國家，以滿足擴張殖民地的野心。

當時的印度，亦淪爲英國的殖民地。英國商人發現了在印度種植的鴉片(Malwa)，向中國傾銷，可以帶來高達千倍的利潤，便不顧中國人的生死，拚命的向中國輸入鴉片，賺取數量驚人的白銀。

在中國，煙毒之氾濫造成嚴重的經濟和社會問題。1835 年林則徐以『數十年之後，中國將無可用之兵，亦無可籌之餉』上奏清朝道光皇帝，道光深受感動。1839 年林則徐以欽差大臣身份南下廣東厲行禁煙工作，可惜，卻成了 1840 年中英鴉片戰爭的導火線，中國戰敗，在 1842 年簽訂定南京條約，把香港島割讓給英國。1858 年，英法聯軍攻打中國，中國又戰敗，把九龍半島在 1860 年割讓給英國。1898 年，李鴻章代表中國簽署「中英邊界拓展條約」(北京條約內的一個條款)，批准英國租借新界 99 年，1997 年租約期滿。所以，由 1898 年開始，香港便由香港島、九龍半島及新界組成爲英國在中國南面大門的一個殖民地。

在英國政府的眼中，香港土地面積小，又缺乏天然資源，她掠奪香港祇是求取立足點去發展遠東貿易(Lau 1987)。因此，殖民地政府根本不重視香港的教育，辦學擔子只是落在教會的傳教士和華人辦的私塾承擔！

殖民地政府的教育政策

香港教育制度一直如「拼盆形式」，沒有長遠整體的目標和規劃。自 1842 年開埠至 1981 年整整 139 年統治本港的日子裏，只是因爲要準備背景資料給國際顧問團(Visiting Panel)對香港教育制度作全面的檢討而編寫《香港教育全面檢討》，以便顧問團爲香港教育政策的未來發展作出適當的建議。

漠不關心的年代

做任何事，都應該先訂下一個明確的目標，再切實執行，才容易收到預期效果。可惜，香港政府從 1842 年統治香港，直至 1993 年 9 月才正式的訂定「香港學校教育目標」(香港被英國殖民政府統治 151 年後)，這是殖民地教育缺乏遠見及理想的旁証。

師資的良窳，直接關係教育的成敗，可惜，殖民地政府從 1842 年統治香港，直到 1939 年(統治香港八十七年後)，才開始有系統的師資訓練。香港的師範教育目標，祇是把師範視爲一種職業訓練課程，並不是一種專業；而香港的師範學制，自 1939 年以來，紊亂不堪，充分表現出政府對師範教育的漠視，完全沒有一套完整的計劃去發展師資訓練，訓練師範生可以負起「傳道、授業、解惑」的責任爲社會培育下一代。

教育是當權者利用來訓練和控制國民思想的滲透工具，殖民地政府在香港推行的教育政策，最成功的地方就是強化英語教學，這個政策，由 Sir John Pope Hennessy (Governor of Hong Kong 1877-1882)指令全港政府學校皆要教授英文，全港學校亦要把英文定爲學習的主要科目，直至百多年後的今天，特區政府要推行母語教學，亦遭到不少的困難，香港人重英輕中的心態，真是根深蒂固！

社會壓力下的改進

1949 年，中國政權易手，香港的學生不能回國升學，再加上第二次世界大戰後，英國人對殖民地的政策亦因應世界性的普及教育潮流而要修訂，殖民地政府在 1965 年推出「一九六五年白皮書：教育政策」，定下爲所有學齡兒童提供學位的目標，在 1971 年要把目標完成。

殖民地政府在 1974 年推出「一九七四年白皮書：香港未來十年之中等教育」，界定了中學教育的發展方向，由於政府承擔了中學的發展，亦決定透過資助學校去擴展中學學位，但也間接成了影響私校發展的分水嶺，使一直在香港教育界佔一重要席位的私校招架乏力，從此日漸式微。

港人對殖民地政府的認受性增強

從晚清末年開始，中國的政局一直處於劣勢，內憂外患，使一些中國人，離鄉別井到香港暫時居留，過一些較平和的生活，這一些「移民」，抱的是「過客」心態，不一定會有植根於香港的意圖。

1966 年，中國爆發「文化大革命」，紅衛兵的行徑影響到香港某些人士亦在香港擺放「炸彈」等去製造暴亂，失盡香港人的民心，在無從選擇之下，港人寧取殖民地政府的統治，可以安享平穩的生活。大家既然選擇植根於香港，自然想發展經濟，賺取利潤，同心合力之下，這也是香港經濟於七十年代開始起飛的原因的之一。

工商界求才的壓力

戰後的香港工業開始發展，憑著低工資、低成本、低價格的優勢，在市場上亦可找到出路。但踏入七十年代，受到兩次石油危機的打擊、各國保護主義興起等，香港的工業產品要高質素化才可以找到市場。政府在 1973 年推出的「一九七三年綠皮書：教育委員會對香港未來十年內中等教育擴展計劃報告書」亦引述了香港工業聯會的《意見書》，接納發展中等教育，爲工商界培養更優質的僱員以改善產品質素去競爭銷路。

九年免費基礎教育的推行

香港沒有自然資源去發展，所以，更要倚重人力資源、國民的精力、技能和適應力去爭取貿易和勞工市場。香港工商業的穩步發展，使港府稅收收入大增，使政府可以落實由 1971 年推行免費普及小學教育，由 1978 年起推行初中免費普及教育。在實施九年免費基礎教育的政策時，在 1971-1977 年度因爲津貼中學未能供應足夠學額，政府的權宜手法是向辦得較嚴謹的私立學位「買位」應急，所以，在 1971-1977 年間，私立中學學生人數急升。隨著津中的相繼落成和《教統會第三號報告書〔1988〕》的發表，政府削減向私校「買位」，在 1990 年，政府和 20 間私立中學簽訂十年買位合約，預計在 2000 年，便不用再向私立中學買位，全港所有初中學生，皆可受教於政府中學或政府資助中學，但私校的發展又應該朝那一個方向走？

殖民地政府在後過渡期的教育發展策略

1984 年 12 月 19 日，中、英兩國政府簽署了關於香港問題的《中英聯合聲明》，確認中華人民共和國政府於 1997

年 7 月 1 日恢復對香港行使主權，所以，香港由 1984 年開始，便踏進殖民地時代的後過渡期。

中華人民共和國香港特別行政區〈基本法〉亦在 1990 年 4 月 4 日第七屆全國人民代表大會第三次會議通過，規定香港特別行政區實行的制度，以保障國家對香港的基本方針政策的實施。

根據〈基本法〉第六章第一百三十六條的條文：香港特別行政區政府在原有教育制度的基礎上，自行制定有關教育的發展和改進的政策，包括教育體制和管理、教學語言、經費分配、考試制度、學位制度和承認學歷等政策。社會團體和私人可依法在香港特別行政區興辦各種教育事業。

回應 1984 年簽署了〈中英聯合聲明〉，香港政府只用了 13 年的時間(1984-1997)，便推出了教統會的「七本」《報告書》和《學校管理新措施》，制訂了香港一系列的教育政策，特區政府也不可修改。

教育是百年樹人的大業，教育政策一定要慎密周詳的小心策劃和釐定，以期達到教育的目的，殖民地政府匆匆的推出這一系列的《報告書》，除了大花金錢外，實在看不到任何策略去挽救學生的低劣成績。在 96/97 財政年度，教育方面經核准的公共開支達 398.2 億，佔政府經常總開支 21%和非經常開支 8%，如此龐大的教育經費，得出中學生如斯的成績，大學生的水準亦是公認的下降，公帑的支出，實在需要好好的檢討！

從經濟及行政角度看香港學校的經營策略

在香港辦學，要接受教育條例(Education Ordinance)及教育規例(Education Regulations)及其附屬法例和因應需要而修改的條例和規例的約束。中學、小學及幼稚園要受教育署監管一切的運作。從經濟方面去看，本港的學校可分三大類，即完全由政府辦理的官立學校、政府資助而由志願團體主辦的資助學校，以及私立學校(其中有部份私校接受政府買位或接受政府的『直接資助計劃』等)。

政府學校

政府學校(中學和小學)，由教育署負責辦理，所有教職及非教職人員皆是公務員，由公務員聘用條例(Civil Servant Regulations)約束，一切運作，要完全聽從教育署指示。

資助學校

資助學校是政府根據中/小學資助則例作全面資助，而委託志願團體負責管理的學校。政府給予資助學校非常豐裕的津貼，亦給予資助學校教職人員優厚的福利，在殖民地政府的大力培植下，香港的資助中學學生，佔全港中學生人數的 80%，官立中學學生只佔 8.1%，私立學校則只有 11.9%。政府花費每年差不多 30% 的稅收去辦教育，而津貼學校的僱員和官校的教員又享有高薪厚利，如果全港達 90% 的中學畢業生皆是受業於他們，但是會考成績卻是如斯不濟，這些老師實在是難辭其咎！

補助學校

香港在 1842 年開埠，政府漠視教育，主要的辦學責任都落在教會的傳教士身上，英華男校創校於 1843 年、聖保羅男校創校於 1851 年、聖若瑟書院創校於 1875 年等，都是教會全資辦學。直至 1873 年，政府接納當時的中央書院(Central School) (政府主辦的第一所官校，即現時的皇仁書院)校長兼總督學 Mr. Frederick Stewart 的建議，用補助計劃(Grant-in-Aid Scheme)去獎勵辦學成績優良的學校，學生成績愈好，學校受補助(bonus)愈多；但如果學校不用心辦學，學生成績不佳，則老師要被革職(dismissed)，學校亦得不到政府

的補助(bonus)去營運。我們祇要看看深受家長歡迎的「老牌名校」，都是那十多間歷史悠久的教會開辦的學校，它們嚴謹及問責的辦學精神，都是秉承於這個要「問責」的「補助計劃」，再加上辦學的神職人員把教育事業作爲終生的奉獻，更是相得益彰。

津貼學校

政府對補助學校學生的每年成績考核，都非常嚴格，每年都由總督學及英倫派來的督學(Royal Inspector of Schools)親到該些學校去進行考核工作。在政治局勢及考核人手不足的情況下，政府引入資助則例(Code of Aid)鼓勵志願團體辦學，一來可以響應二次大戰後世界性潮流的普及教育，二來又可以乘勢打擊多有政治背景的私校，三來又可以把教育視爲資本主義社會的資本累積策略(Offe，1984)，所以，政府給予津貼學校各種優厚的津貼，亦邀請一向辦學聲譽良好的團體經辦新津校，到現在，津貼中學(連補助中學在內)，差不多有四百多間，分佈全港，成爲最強勢的學校組織。

不過，津校所享有的是變相的「終生聘用制」和「終生津貼制」，倒是帶來了不良的後果。津校拿取的所有津貼，不會因辦學不力或學生成績不好而被扣除，政府更依時每年因應通貨膨脹而作調整；津校老師亦不用問責，不用因學生成績低劣而被革職，祇要不犯刑事案，便可以快快樂樂的拿取高薪繼續誤人子弟，直至六十歲，才因退休而要離職。這種政策，是導致某些缺乏責任感及無教師專業操守的教育界人士濫竽充數的在教育界爲教師，看香港學生的成績低落，行爲亦有偏差，老師們應好好的作一個自我反省及檢討；政府亦應對這「津貼」政策來一個大改革！

私立學校

私立學校，顧名思義，是私人資金作營運的學校。這種學校，依經營的策略，可以分牟利與非牟利兩種。因財政來源的問題，這些從 1842 至 1991 年，從未被政府眷顧的學校，特別是中文學校，不少都有政治色彩，接受台灣國民政府或中國大陸政府的資助去求存，以維持非牟利的性質；牟利的私校，一般來說，都是一些自我定位的英文中學，摸準香港人崇英貶中的心態，能在官津的夾擊下生存。

右派學校

這些學校，就是指那些親台灣政權的學校。在 1949 年之前，由於畢業生可以回國升學，而殖民地政府又對教育事業持漠不關心的態度，家長在無可選擇下，把子女送入這些學校受教育。國民政府遷台後，對這些學校亦有金錢上的資助，但由於七十年代中期至八十年代，殖民地政府大力擴辦津貼中/小學，又推行九年基礎教育，再加上八十年代落實的〈中英聯合聲明〉，這些和北京政權對立的學校，已經自行退隱。

左派學校

香港教育的特點是『一元化學制、多元化辦學』(陸鴻基，1988)，換句話說，就是指殖民宗主國和殖民地政府並未能全面控制香港的教育，對這些政治立場親「強而有力的政府」的學校，殖民地政府更小心處理。五十年代爆發韓戰，西方國家對中國實施禁運的封殺。殖民地政府在 1952 年趁機修訂教育法例，取代 1913 年的教育法例，尤其把重點放在管制學校和教員把學校利用作政治活動。從此，新教師的註冊，要先經警務處政治部作嚴謹的思想及背景審查；而行政局更有權拒絕學校教師註冊、撤銷已註冊教師的資格、封閉任何學校、控制學校的所有課程及教科書等，把這些政治色彩鮮明的學校作有力的箝制。

其實，在香港開辦的左派學校，不單在財政上全無殖民地政府資助，連在這些學校任教的教師，在 1990 年以前，教育學院的「在職教師訓練班」從不收錄入學，這已不是甚麼秘密。這種手法，桎梏了左派學校聘請「好學養」人士入職爲暫准教師(Permitted teacher) 。爲了子女的前途，港人多不會把子女送入左派學校讀書；直至 1991 年，政府公佈實施「直接資助計劃」，這些左派學校才有一線生機。

香港教育水準低落：政府的全盤津貼式資助帶來的負面影響

香港的官校教師是公務員，公務員的升級標準，主要放在年資方面，祇要年資夠，而又沒有犯什麼「曾被人投訴」的過失，通常都不要任何積極進取，便可以順利升級，所以，公務員的隊伍，大家覺得到都是「按本子辦事」，這是避免犯錯的一個最實際的方法，津校教師的實際福利，比公務員爲佳，他們佔有香港教師市場人手的八成以上，對教導港人子弟成材可謂影響深遠。

香港中學畢業生在(1987-1997)的主科會考成績

香港在 1971 年實施普及小學教育，在 1978 年實施初中普及教育，在 1981 年實施「中四學位分配辦法」把中三成績較佳的學生派往官/津校繼續高中課程，這些經過中學和小學十一年教育的學生，理論上，他們的會考成績應該不太差，但會考的成績是使人失望的。尤其是中國語文科，中文是自己的母語，成績如此不濟，老師的教學態度和學生的學習心態皆有問題。

老師的教學態度

「師範生的學歷已低，學習缺乏動力」(motive)，但求合格(pass)，便取得檢定教師資格去謀生……」(Chan 1998)。由於大學學額的急劇膨脹，成績較理想的人都可以入讀大學，教育學院在 1993 年 9 月開始，已經把收生標準降至兩次中學會考合計，成績有 6 科(E)級已經可以申請入讀，師範生學歷如此低，再加上沒有任職教師的使命感(commitment)，怎能稱職爲教師？

「香港對教師的要求非常高：許多教師應該(但並不是)精通兩種語言。」(《國際顧問團報告書》段 3.8.1)，香港學生中/英語言水準低落，這該是原因之一。

「香港教學水準平庸。當局必須爲教師提供更多機會，讓他們可以主動訂出一些發展專業的計劃，從而培養出專業精神。」(《國際顧問團報告書》段 3.8.45)自從〈中英聯合聲明〉在 1984 年簽署後，殖民地政府已經爲那些教師提供了不少的福利；再以 1997/1998 學年的一間標準班級結構的津貼中學爲例，這間學校由原定的 50 位教職員結構(參：中學資助則例：頁 39)，因爲要回應政府近年來的種種減輕老師工作量的新政策，最高可以聘用 62 位教職員，比標準額高了 24%；如果以該校在 1995/96 年度得到教育署的經常性津貼額 $24,139,448.35(這祇是老師們拿取的扣除了他們 5% 公積金供款額的薪金)去粗略試算，這間學校的老師薪金津貼(Salary Grant)在 97/98 年度，大約$30,415,705.39，超過三千萬元，如果再加上教署對津中要承擔的其他津貼費，沒有設津貼申請上限的五年一次校舍修葺大維修除外，政府對一間標準級及標準校舍設計的津貼中學每年的津貼費近四千萬元，這些公帑，是否花得太寃枉？

學校的問責制度

香港的津貼中學，從開埠至現在，從沒有因爲學生成績差而被教署封校，教師更不會因教導無方而被解僱，因爲要解僱一位老師，手續繁複，學校爲避免麻煩，通常都祇好讓這些所謂老師任教下去，直至自行流失。津貼中學是既得利益者，所以在政府推出的「學校管理新措施」(1991)，邀請津校加入時，反應冷淡，是意料中事，那一些津校願意放棄「不勞而獲」的一定有的既得利益而去再「逐鹿」去找更多營運資源？政府便唯有推出《教統會第三號報告書(1988)》「直資學校」的建議，推行「直接資助計劃」，希望從另一角度去資助及鼓勵私校/津校發展爲另一強大的體制，讓家長選校時有更多選擇 (《第三號報告書》段 4.64)，政府給直接資助學校的津貼比津校爲低 (《第三號報告書》段 4.60)，如果津校因直資學校的其他條件而肯轉爲直資學校，政府的資助成本可以減少，而政府又批准直資學校可以向家長收取額外費用(《第三號報告書》段 4.60-4.62)，學校要向家長徵收額外費用，一定本身要有使家長信服的地方，即是說，校長的辦學一定使家長有信心，家長才肯爲子女多付額外金錢去接受更佳的教育。所以，理論上來說，如果學校加入直資計劃，他一定要積極辦學，提升學校效能，才能吸引學生及家長，對暮氣沈沈但接受政府龐大津貼的津校，能起一定的啓導作用。

直接資助計劃應可帶來一個轉機

直資的背景資料

《國際顧問團報告書(1982)》從一個公平均等的角度去批評殖民地政府統治香港 140 年來的教育政策，指出：「香港的教育體系有不少極爲明顯的問題，當局必須加以注意。其中有些更是長期性的問題：例如公平及份量的問題。雖然社會人士的注意力與目標會隨不同環境與觀點而作出改變，但負責策劃及製訂政策的人員應有能力辨明各種趨勢及制定適當的策略去加以應付：這是當局在教育管治方面須長期留意的事項。」(《顧問團報告書》段 4.5)

顯而易見，顧問團是在批評香港的私校政策，「一般私立獨立學校質素低落，當局並無施行提高質素或下令停辦的政策去把情況改善」(《顧問團報告書》段 3.4.32)。香港的私校，在政府剛推行初中免費教育(1978)的時候，因爲政府需要向他們「買位」去安置初中生去補充官/津初中學位的不足，曾經風光了一段日子，但由 1982 年開始，「買位」總數隨津校的迅速膨脹已逐漸下降，政府祇向質素較好的二十多間私校買位，其餘的五十多間，便陷入財政困境，甚致要關閉，政府也再沒有加以援手。

還有，在上文 3.3.2 所論及的左派學校，政府是否亦應該「辨明趨勢」而對它們有政策上的改變？這些在立場上是親北京政府的學校，殖民地府在後過渡期應採取那一種策略去幫助解決他們長期以來被孤立的困境？

《顧問團報告書》指出，政府要使質素較差的學校「追上水平」。「正如我們指出，香港的基本教育制度現在已成形。入學人數增加得既速且多。學校制度現在應該集中應付學生迅速增加所帶來的挑戰 – 這些新問題是與質有關而多於與量有關的。當所有要讀書的人都得以入學的時候，社會的期望便會轉向把教育質素方面各種參差的現象加以改善。參差的現象包括例如不同學校的不同資源種類及不同的成績等。」(《顧問團報告書》段 3.4.33)。

「沒有一個教育制度可以令所有學校有完全一律的質素。當局的目標應該是不斷漸漸的將較差學校的質素提高至最好學校的水平。」(《顧問團報告書》段 3.4.35)。

政府的直接資助計劃，就是回應(《顧問團報告書》 而由《教統會第三號報告書 1988》)建議去推行。

直資政策的效益

行政局在 1989 年 9 月 26 日正式批准「直資計劃」的推行，教育署亦由「新成立的私立學校檢討組」(Private School Review Section) 專責處理直資計劃的事宜。由 1989 年開始，教育署每年都用行政通告的形式邀請資助及私立學校 (國際學校除外)參加，條件亦很優厚和寬鬆，如「前身爲資助學校的直接資助學校，可獲准隨時退出該計劃，但須最少給予教署九個月通知」「直資學校有充份的自由去訂定符合基本教育的課程、學費及入學資格」等(31)，但是這計劃並不受津校歡迎，除了聖保羅男校在 1990 年以高姿態公佈想加入，但也被一些教育界所謂領袖公開亂扣帽子，指該校「追求貴族化教育，剝削貧苦子弟入讀」,一連串的漫罵，使該校的夏永豪校長面目無光，該校亦無奈撤回申請，保持津校身份。從此，亦再沒有任何津校申請加入直資計劃。

1991 年 9 月 1 日，一共有 9 間學校加入直資學校體制，其中 5 間是左派學校，4 間是國際學校。

福建、香島、漢華、旺角勞校和培僑是在殖民地政府孤立下尚可掙扎生存的左派學校，「直資計劃」給予他們的津貼，猶如一枝強心針；我們都希望，這些學校在解決經濟困局後，能並肩和香港官/津學校一樣， 承擔了教育香港下一代成材的責任，爲實現「港人治港」培養人材。教育署爲表示向這些學校修好，教育署署長李越挺先生亦出席了培僑中學 92 年度的畢業典禮爲主禮嘉賓。這是一個相當有意義的社交事件，亦間接向北京政府表明和平合作的意向。

其他在 1991 年參加直資計劃的國際學校，因爲亦有收錄一些喜歡修讀這類學校的香港本土學生，教育署亦批准給予直資津貼以資助那些本土學生，這是香港政府一個十分慷慨的行徑，因爲香港有足夠的本土學校讓他們讀書，這些學生入讀這四間收費高昂的國際學校又得到政府的直資津貼，這祇是一個向外國民主國家標榜香港政府的「民主」作風手法而已！

直資政策對香港教育體系發展的影響

在直資政策津貼下，「多元化辦學」又幫助了兩間學校的發展。

在 1992 年 9 月，恆生商學書院和李寶椿聯合世界書院加入直資計劃，爲香港的預科學生提供另一類的預科教育。

恆生商學書院，開辦預科的商科課程，主力培育學生報讀大學的商管、經濟、會計等課程，爲香港的工商業提前訓練接班人。這間學校的畢業生成績非常好，繼續大學課程的學生超過 95%。

李寶椿聯合世界書院(Li Po Chun United World College)是United World Colleges體系學校在世界各地的八間成員學校之一，他們辦學的宗旨是訓練學生確認他們個人對社會的責任和認識自我及自己的潛能，收錄入學的學生都有優異的中學成績，修讀國際承認的〝International Baccalaureate Diploma〞預科文憑，該校畢業生入大學的比率是 100%。李寶椿聯合世界書院的學生，40%是香港本土學生，60%是來自世界各地的精英份子，由於香港政府能給予直資津貼給香港本土學生，亦可間接幫助了那些外國學生繳交較便宜的學費。這 60%外國學生畢業後，都是回國升學居多。他們學有專長，都是他們自己國家的棟樑，香港曾經協助培育他們成材，飲水思源，如果教育是一個長線投資的話(Carnoy，1990)，對這類學校的投資亦可視爲一項重要的資本累積策略，既可協助他們的母國增加人力資本，香港亦可能會獲益(Offe，1987)。

直資政策發展的局限

由於受申請規條所限，政府給予直資學校的資助，遠比給予津貼學校的資助爲低，學校一定要努力運作，爭取好成績去吸引學生入讀並繳付差額的學費。這樣的辦學方式，學校和老師的壓力肯定不輕，又怎可吸引傳統收取大量津貼的津貼學校加入去自找苦吃！所以，這個計劃自 1991 年 9 月 1 日實施以來，到目前，祇有 13 間學校加入，可算是慘淡經營！

結論

星加坡前總理李光耀先生，在 1965 年 10 月 9 日宣佈星加坡脫離英國獨立的時候，曾經說過：〝the worthwhile return of education.....a good citizen robust, well-educated, skilled and well-adjusted.〞星加坡獨立後，經濟穩定，國泰民安，這和該國一貫以來重視教育投資，成功地通過教育，能融合國內各民族知道要爲自己國家的利益，放棄一己之私利，首要發展經濟，建設和富強自己的國家。

Schultz(1961)亦認爲投資在人身上，如教育、訓練和遷移等，經過一段時間，可以得到更大的報酬。香港的教師們，薪酬偏高，福利亦優厚，政府又安排形形式式的在職複修去協助他們進德修業，希望能提升他們的見識及工作能力，改進教師隊伍的人力資源，使他們用心教學，教導本土學生成材，增加社會的生產力。政府對教育界的龐大投資，如果能強化了教師們對工作的使命感，回報率應是不錯的。

特區行政首長董建華先生在 1997 年的〈施政報告〉(段 101)亦提出了「教育制度檢討，增加教育開支，使香港學生得到優質教育」；其中亦提出「檢討現時有關私立學校的政策，使私立學校制度更活躍、更多元化，並鼓勵私校創新和爲家長提供更多選擇」，是董建華先生看到「直資計劃」能驅使學校要追求卓越，「在明確的問責制度下，以有效率和具成本效益的方法，達到社會對優質學校的期望，滿足社會的需求」。

我亦希望，在特區政府亦支持的「多元化教育的體制下」，直接資助計劃能爲香港的教育帶來蓬勃的生機！

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Education Reform and Language Selection in Hong Kong: Brief Remarks by a Linguist on the "Medium of Instruction" and "Mix" Issues

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Linguistic theories distinguish between human faculty for language, for any language, and the realization of that capacity through the use of particular language in particular situations. There exists a fundamental contradiction between the linguist's endorsement of the human faculty for language that inevitably emerges equally in all of us and the popular belief of the different worth of varying ways of speaking. Regrettably, this latter belief is as unfortunate as it is real. While linguists have to contend with the political realities of labeling speech as languages and dialects, as standard languages or jargons, as mixed or not, there is no room in their theory for degrees of adequacy for the human language faculty. It is a matter of dogma in linguistics that human beings have the same potentials for expression and that capacity for language matures fully in each individual (with the exception of individuals who have been raised in inhumane conditions) and it finds its realization – its expression -- in an individuals' proficiency of use of some variety of language. There is no contradiction between this dogma, with its implication that varieties of language are adequate for the purposes of expression to which they have been put, and the obvious fact that individuals a) conform to social norms that also embrace language expression and b) strive for better expression to suit particular purposes of expression. What then should these norms be and what is better expression?

In this note, I will attempt some partial answers. My main point will be that individuals will accomplish adequate communication quite happily through participation in communicative interaction that is meaningful to them. I base this point on my fundamental belief that learners as any other communicating individuals manage their speaking so as to note and adjust inadequacies, relative to the interactive situation they find themselves in.

FUNDAMENTAL PREMISE

The premise

Linguistic-grammatical theory today rests on the axiom that "…normal human intelligence is capable of acquiring knowledge [of language] through its own internal resources, making use of the data of experience but moving on to construct a cognitive system in terms of concepts and principles that are developed on independent grounds… languages are held to "grow" by virtue of common human resources" (MacSwan 1999:8-9).

[1] I thank in particular Professor J. V. Neustupný of Obirin College, Tokyo, and also Dr. G. Bruche-Schulz of the same Department of English Language & Literature as myself for their comments that helped me shape this paper.

This being so, it is a logical necessity for linguists to endorse in principle as fundamental the premise that all languages are equally worthy, equally suited to be the conduit for an individual's expressive purport. In the context of language selection as medium of instruction, this fundamental premise was, for example, expressed in a UNESCO declaration of 1953. The child's mother tongue is the right selection. In today's formulation, the school should be so organized as to allow the child to use its own language and the developing child's own language should be celebrated by all participants in the educational process.

Modulations

In practice, what is the child's own language may not be that easy to determine. Children from a "traditional" village that has been incorporated into an urban educational district and other children from the uptake area whose families have moved into the district will of course have had different speaking experiences. Especially in areas that are fast developing, accommodations have to be made by all parties to these differential communicative backgrounds. (I will return to "linguistic diversity" below.)

Schools that use the children's vernacular as the medium on which expressive, cognitive and emotional growth of the child is based follow best practice. In countries with a very well established system of a continuum of varieties from national standard thru regional speech to contemporary dialect, individual differences may well be bridged by teachers' accommodations of speaking according to linguistic-behavioral norms at intermediate points on this cline.

Additional languages have a role to play. Great care has to be taken if other languages are introduced. Bilingual education is one possible accommodation to realities of differential communication practices in a community and to future communication goals:

"Ideological, idealistic and research-based doctrines of educational provision […] plead for the foundations of education being laid in the primary language while the second language is gradually built up in the development of bilingual skills […] when local cultural, political and religious factors have to be taken into account, as is the case everywhere, then language policy in education has to co-ordinate what is feasible with what is desirable." (Baetens Beardsmore 1999:509-510).

Should an educational system take a bilingual turn, it must be organized in such a way that no child's speech is marginalized.

To implement a curriculum which will include goals to implement particular language norms, it is of paramount importance that adequate noting, evaluation and adjustment of all deviations in the children's speech from that of the norm takes place. This management process however must be present in the children's own speech. It is initiated in the teaching situation and the child has to be the one to apply it. How this can be brought about is a pedagogical problem which interfaces with but cannot be solved by linguistics alone. Good teachers know to initiate in children this process of child-managed acquisition. Also, pedagogy along the lines of what is currently proposed under the label of "language awareness" may point in the right direction; and interactive, negotiating pedagogies that stimulate active exploration of speech practices may be compatible with what linguistics mandates.

What is also absolutely important is that no secondary inadequacies (personal communication, J. V. Neustupný) occur. By that I mean, among other matters, that not a single child's speech and educational chances must be devalued because of a teacher's higher expectations for children whose speech reflect the characteristics of an elite.

APPLICATION

Diversity among pupils

When a child who speaks a different variety from that (those?) already used in school joins school, the society and the educational system should make every effort to give that child an education in the child's variety. When I say diversity and different variety, I refer to "language" as well as to the non-grammatical "discourse" differences and other behavioral competences that enable successful participation in school events. Children's differing ways of speaking must be respected and schooling must accommodate to the child's language and discourse behaviors.

Placing the child's language behavior at the center can organize schools and the educational process in different ways. This again is not a problem for which linguistics alone can predict successful solutions. A few suggestions may however not be misplaced here. First, small classes would seem imperative because otherwise how can the child be engaged in speaking such that the child's own language management is stimulated? Second, a child could be placed with others like him/her which would broaden the inclusiveness of the teacher's speaking in the children's language variety and which would of course support mutuality of interaction between all children and the teacher. Another way could be that teachers use several language varieties and discourses in a linguistically diverse class – which of course requires that the teachers are competent and willing and trained to do so, small classes, a conducive physical environment, and so on.

If a child's variety of language cannot remain the medium throughout the years of learning, education in it must be made available for as long as it takes to enable the child to make a transition into the majority's language environment without harm to the child's affective, cognitive, expressive and otherwise behavioral development and school performance in whatever regards.

A disturbing fact of educational language practice is the apparent belief that one language and only one language can be a medium at any one stage of education. This monolingual ideal does not reflect realities of language practices outside of school in most communities around the world. If the recognition of "foreign languages" is taken into account, then I cannot think of a single community that is not multilingual. As a matter of fact (personal communication, J. V. Neustupný), multilingual (multivarietal) classrooms have always been there. Even today, strictly speaking by linguists' criteria, probably all classrooms are multilingual (multivarietal). What this paper advocates, in harmony with professional beliefs among linguists, is the necessity to manage these situations.

Classroom discourse can and in my opinion should reflect community practices. Teachers should be trained in interaction and language management and be willing to interact in multiple ways of speaking (of languages and discourses) in their classrooms, to appropriately connect education with children's family and community experiences and practices of communication.

Multilingual state policies

States (and the equivalent, e.g., SAR's, territories, and so on – wherever in governance the responsibility for education lies; another term could be "political community") are major stakeholders in language management with regard to their young citizens. Besides realities of their respective language situations, states have overt policies to help organize future communication in support of related state goals. Hong Kong is an example of a political community with an explicit

trilingual (Cantonese, Putonghua and English) and biliterate (Chinese and English) policy that supports its unique position as a SAR and its domestic social and economic goals.

Such policies in no way contradict the principle that language selection in education depends on the choice of the child's own variety. Multilingual policies merely challenge the educational process to organize education for best results.

Progression

There is nothing mysterious about teaching languages. There is an abundance of good practice to learn from. For example, only a few weeks ago, the Department of Chinese and Bilingual Studies at the Polytechnic University of Hong Kong co-organized an international conference on plurilingualism (Plurilingual Hubs in the New Millennium; http://www.cbs.polyu.edu.hk/hubs/) and many of the papers addressed directly and very helpfully precisely the issues of the timing of introducing new languages, the amount of curricular time to give to them, methods of enabling acquisition including content teaching and if so what content to cover at what levels of education and in what progression, of assessment (which should be specifically tailored to the methods and desired outcomes) and so on. Teacher training and teachers' communication and pedagogical practices are obviously especially crucial determinants of outcome.

Perhaps the single most important action we in Hong Kong can take is to tap best practices from elsewhere with a view to thoroughly understanding their particular situations and then to draw lessons for ourselves in view of Hong Kong's peculiar educational and linguistic circumstances (and taking into account social and economic goals). I feel it is worthwhile to selectively indicate one here.

Acquisition of English is on top of many Hong Kong parents' and the Hong Kong government's educational agenda. One pedagogical choice to enable English acquisition by pupils is some kind or other of bilingual education. Baetens-Beardsmore who co-organized the Plurilingual Hubs conference reviews operational variables for teaching English through the bilingual technique of teaching a combination of languages and other subject content. He comments on Brunei and Singapore. His comments are of value to Hong Kong. The operational variables are "the most difficult ones to manipulate in applying any language in education policy" (516). Among his operational variables are:

"Teacher competence"

*H*e observes how even when teachers do their best to implement a policy, they "fail to understand the process of an integrated content and language-learning syllabus. This leads to a pedagogic strategy which produces reactive language but not active language usage, thereby at times defeating the major objective of a bilingual programme using content-matter to help the language learning process" (518).

As a linguist, I agree wholeheartedly with the necessity of integrated teaching and active language management to enable language learning.

"Language strategies in classroom teaching practice"

He observes how "teacher-fronted activities … tend to hinder active language usage by children… also tend to lead to pseudo-questions and display questions to reveal knowledge already known by the teacher" (520).

As a linguist, I agree wholeheartedly with the necessity of active and interactive language management in enabling language acquisition.

"Whole-school policies"

He observes how the "mistake is to concentrate on the language side alone, where what is needed in bilingual education is an integrated approach that takes into account a whole set of parameters" (521).

As a linguist, I agree wholeheartedly with whole-system approaches to accomplish educational outcomes, including language acquisition.

Lessons for Hong Kong are that, among many other operational variables, unless teacher competence assures success, language strategies in classroom teaching enhance interaction and enable learning, and the approach is integrated, Hong Kong should not implement bilingual methods.

Furthermore, Hong Kong's language and education situations are radically different from many that inform current literature and practice however. Experience internal to Europe relies on distances between languages in all regards: grammatical and socio-linguistic and other behavioral-contextual distances are minor indeed compared to the gulfs that separate Cantonese (and even more so Chinese-Putonghua) from English language practices. Educational resources and traditions may well be just as far apart. In such light, the following questions expressed by the Chief Inspector of the Luxembourg Ministry of Education where three languages are successively introduced and used in the school system should give cause for serious concern in Hong Kong (quoted by Baetens-Beardsmore, 513):

- To what extent does the passage from one language to another hamper intellectual development, not only in language studies but in all the subjects on the curriculum?
- To what extent does the simultaneous use of two languages prevent children from comfortably expressing their thoughts and feelings?
- To what extent is bilingual education responsible for a certain mutism in pupils, a tense attitude, a lack of self-assurance and personality, an inability to produce personal and creative work?

These questions warn that bilingual education solutions differ significantly in their outcomes and that success depends on particular circumstances in the particular community as well as on the proper implementation of education and language management theories.

'Mix'?

Closely related to the medium of instruction and bilingual education discussions in Hong Kong is the issue of 'mix'. Languages are in ever increasing contact in contemporary society. That names for things (lexical items) move across languages is hardly a novel phenomenon and an entirely healthy phenomenon. People who already know English may readily recognize some loan words in Cantonese (or in my case in Swedish) that have been borrowed from English. "A borrowed word is one which has moved from one lexicon into another [language's lexicon] where it is coded with language-particular morphology and mapped to PF [phonetic form] with language-particular phonological rules" (MacSwan 235). Children acquire and all people use borrowed words and they behave like any word that constitutes a language.

It is, further, a tenet of linguistics that people adapt languages to appropriate use each in its particular context.

This is an unremarkable claim. It merely says that behavior is differentiated and mostly for good reasons. One doesn't cut cheese with an axe. And just as a majority of the world's population is multilingual, that majority as easily and naturally code-switches. What's appropriate in one moment in a particular contextual configuration of thought and action is not in the next; one way of speaking is appropriate to the one context, another way of speaking to the next one.

It is a fact that children's language faculties mature so that they become competent members of the communicative community and command a multiplicity of the expected varieties that are used in that community. When the family or significant others with whom they interact use several languages and varieties of languages, the children develop competence in these and use them appropriately, i.e., "keep them apart" as systems and apply them according to communicative context . These facts need not be challenged. I repeat, these facts are proven and not open to challenge.

To these facts we add the observation that much before the end of schooling, early in fact, students are completely fluent in Cantonese (thus, their linguistic individual growth is essentially complete). During that schooling, they begin acquiring also English. However little English they may know, what could possibly be wrong with trying some of it out in an utterance? Since they know their Cantonese, does generating and uttering an additional piece of language to that to which most people are accustomed in any way subtract from their Cantonese competence or harm the hearer?

Presumably the utterance was meaningfully directed at and exchanged with some other person, and was deemed fully adequate by that interlocutor. It would seem a praiseworthy behavior and an act of linguistic innovativeness. Praiseworthy at least in that the student is trying out his/her English – the acquisition of which is one of Hong Kong's most pressing educational goals. Code-switchers/-'mixers' do not have limited linguistic competence in comparison with others. They actually know more of languages, because they can draw also on the English lexicon in such a way as to adequately integrate a piece of that different language into an otherwise Cantonese utterance.

Incidentally (as J. V. Neustupný reminded me), for those among you who are familiar with language acquisition theories, this agrees with the belief common in applied linguistics that interlanguage errors testify to the learner's advance of acquisition of the target language, subject of course to making sure that the target norm does not disappear from the acquisition process.

Integrating languages meaningfully in discourse – isn't that a much nicer expression than the so maligned expression 'mix' -- is no mean achievement which presupposes considerable linguistic skill. I might add that the more they learn of English, they better they will become at code-mixing!

Code-switching (-mixing) "enhances rather than limits the expressive capacity of an individual" (MacSwan 250). He demonstrates how "putting the recursive grammars of two languages together generates infinitely many strings that are not in either infinite language taken separately" (251). In simpler terms, an individual who draws on the resources of more than one language (however little that individual knows of the second language) can generate many more utterances than if he/she were to speak only the one language. I praise expressive inventiveness in these terms but I am not suggesting that education should give up on enabling students to progress in their acquisition of others' language norms. Of course they should be so enabled. There is no contradiction between the praise of code-switching behavior and the goal of progression as long as pedagogy assures that students remain active learners and language managers moving in the direction of the teaching norm.

And if a student knows to name a concept in only one language, say, in English, does that do any harm to the

student or to anyone else? The answer is obvious as the question is silly. Of course it does not do any harm. But it does provide an opportunity for the person to learn the equivalent name in the other (or another) language.

It is not the fault of code-switching-mixing that society differentiates the use of varieties according to contexts. It is however a matter of educational policy to determine whether some content will become associated with English rather than Cantonese by virtue of being so taught. This is a matter that has nothing to do with code-switching/-mixing and it requires separate discussion. My own value in this regard is clear: a democratic society should strive to give all people the opportunity of equal access to information and to participation in political processes. Educational language selection policy and practice should reflect that value. Citizens today face ever more complex issues of environment and governance and a language shared by all facilitates informed decisions and understanding of their consequences.

CONCLUSION

I am the first one to admit that I assume in this note that learners want to learn, including wanting to acquire languages and discourses. If they do not, I have nothing to say. Other than my fundamental belief in a pedagogy that respects the children's own languages and discourses, I advocate a language management approach to language development in learners.

Linguists who work with language management theory (*for example, see* Neustupný 1987, 1989) are by no means alone in advocating such an approach. Ball and Lardner (1999) discuss the secondary English classroom in the public school in the United States and argue the importance of a pedagogy according to which "[T]eachers and students become monitors of their own and each other's grammar and discourse patterns". This can be accomplished by "focusing on participation patterns in interactive discourse in order to raise the awareness of teachers of the links between their own styles of communication and their students' responsiveness in classroom exchange"; and such "intentions and expectations need to be evident in observable or, we might say, audible behaviors in the classroom."

Individuals will accomplish adequate communication quite happily through participation in communicative interaction that is meaningful to them. I base this point on my fundamental belief that learners as any other communicating individuals manage their speaking so as to note and adjust inadequacies, relative to the interactive situation. School is but another interactive, communicative situation.

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Catering for the Needs of Gifted and Talented Students by Defining an Appropriate Curriculum

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INTRODUCTION

Gifted education is a universal issue that raises public attention in recent decade. The mission of education is to ensure that the educational needs of all students are met so that their potential can be fully developed. It follows that gifted and talented (G&T) students require 'special' education because of their extraordinary abilities and intelligence. When the development of gifted education in Hong Kong is still in its early stage, the Education Department and other related institutions have taken positive steps in planning and expanding the future development. Particularly, some literature studies assert the development of curriculum on gifted education is of great importance for accommodating the educational needs of G&T students. In this essay, I would like to discuss the issues about catering for the needs of gifted and talented students by designing an appropriate curriculum. A case study about a pilot school that undertakes the 'school-based programme for academically gifted students' highlights the implications for the school as a whole. In order to nurture high potential students with appropriate learning opportunities and challenges, the development of curriculum on gifted education is a critical aspect that requires considerable attention.

GIFTED & TALENTED STUDENTS VS EDUCATIONAL CURRICULUM

There are so many definitions to describe the term 'Gifted and Talented children (G&T)'. Personally speaking, I like Ogilvie's definition (cited in George, 1992) most. The author stated that "Gifted and talented children are those identified by professionally qualified persons, who, by virtue of outstanding abilities, are capable of high performance. These are children who require differentiated educational programmes and services beyond those normally provided by the regular school programme in order to realize their contributions to themselves and society." From another article 'Growing up Gifted' by B.Clark (1983), there is another clear and precise meaning: "gifted children usually exhibit the ability to generalize, to work comfortably with abstract ideas, and to synthesize diverse relationship to a far higher degree."

Due to their exceptional ability and performance, the regular school programmes are inadequate to cater for the educational needs of these students. The journal 'Gifted and Talented Children' by T. Darling (1986) highlighted the importance of differentiated programme for these students. Darling suggested that if the G&T student's potential is developed fully, a different strategy and programme should be derived in order to satisfy their needs. More importantly, as a parent, teacher or educator, our job is to make every effort in helping these students to develop their abilities

through a proper channel. In this way, their talent and intelligence will not be wasted but catered for. It follows that a special programme other than the regular curriculum should be prepared.

According to the journal 'A Differentiated Curriculum in Mathematics' by Rae Deeley (1996), the aim of such a special programme is to create, foster and nurture a total learning environment for the gifted and talented students with the objective of enabling them to develop to their potential within a directing or interesting environment. Deeley argues that "the basic curriculum is unlikely to be sufficient for gifted learners." Instead, they want and need extra materials to extend their knowledge and potential. The author further states that deepening and widening their learning content and giving them challenges are effective ways for strengthening their thinking skills. In other words, we need to provide opportunities for G&T students to engage in open-ended tasks to a level of complexity to which they are satisfied. Although the above journal puts focus on mathematics teaching, the ideas can be applied to all other subjects.

When the importance of developing a special curriculum for G&T students is widely recognized, how to design an appropriate curriculum is another issue that raises my attention. Particularly, the quality and characteristics of a school's curriculum are vital ingredients to the eventual realization of the student's capacity. It is of great importance to create an optimal match between the students and the curriculum. In order to deliver an effective curriculum to these children, O'Day & Smith (1993, cited in Colangelo & Davis, 1997, Chapter 10) have suggested several elements for designing a successful curriculum for gifted learners:

- Meaning-based: it emphasizes depth over breadth; concepts over facts. Learning is grounded in real-world issues and problems that students care about or required to know. High-ability students will lose their intensity in uninteresting busy work or lack of depth in the subjects.
- Higher-order thinking (analysis, synthesis, and evaluation): it provides students the opportunity of demonstrating their understanding in advanced content and ideas. It also cultivates modes of 'professional thinking'. Gifted students engage in higher level and abstract thinking and they prefer hard and challenging work.
- Self-learning: it allows students' involvement in planning, monitoring and assessing their own learning. Active learning and problem solving are promoted.
- Intra-and interdisciplinary connections of subjects.
- Technology-relevant: new technologies are used as tools for the learning process.
- Provisions for acceleration and compression of content since gifted learners can master new material in shorter time than typical learners.
- Integration of content by key ideas, issues, and themes.
- Opportunities for independent learning based on students' interest and capacity.
- Use of inquiry-based instructional techniques.

Theoretically, a comprehensive curriculum for G&T students will be produced if the above elements are included in the design. It is hoped that the special curriculum can accommodate the educational needs of G&T students so as to attain optimum levels of learning.

GIFTED EDUCATION AND CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT IN HONG KONG

As I have mentioned previously, a well-designed curriculum will enhance G&T students' potential and extend their ability. Being the responsible educators, we must not just 'throw' these students into the designed curriculum without giving further guidance, assistance and support. Rather, we should "remain an active partner in the educational process, reinforcing and complementing the activities with the gifted and talented students." (Lavin & Rothman, 1991) Therefore, implementing gifted curriculum and programmes will bring significant influences to the school as a whole. For instance, it is vital to understand the school head's involvement in supporting the curriculum development; to assess teachers' knowledge, skills and attitude in designing the appropriate curriculum contents; to evaluate the response of G&T students towards the curriculum; to ensure the availability of sufficient resources for implementing the curriculum; and to foster parents' understanding and support to the curriculum development. Thus, many practical challenges and implications are foreseeable when the curriculum on gifted education is being implemented in the mainstream schools.

CASE EXAMPLE–A PILOT SCHOOL UNDER THE "SCHOOL-BASED PROGRAMME FOR ACADEMICALLY GIFTED STUDENTS"

The Education Department in Hong Kong stresses on quality education. Teachers and schools are encouraged to pay attention to individual differences in learning. In 1990, the Education Commission Report No.4 (ECR4) recommended the development of a school-based programme in mainstream schools with the aim to meeting the needs of academically gifted students. Then, 19 primary schools were invited by the Department to try out the school-based curriculum scheme for academically gifted students. The objective of this pilot project was to develop the potentials of gifted students and to cater for their educational needs.

The primary school at Shatin in this case was the one that took part in the pilot. According to the headmistress, to satisfy the teaching needs and educational ideals was the main reason of joining the scheme. The school wanted to go deeper in gifted education. Besides, it could obtain more teaching resources from the Education Department.

Creative teaching as the theme of curriculum development

In this school, the teachers-in-charge have implemented creative teaching as the theme for developing curriculum on gifted education. The curricular contents, strategies, activities and programmes were all designed for promoting creative teaching. Most importantly, the essence of the design was to meet the learning needs of G&T students.

Following the theme of the school's gifted curriculum, teachers wanted to promote students' creative thinking ability. It also aimed at satisfying the element of 'meaning-based' in the design of a high quality curriculum for gifted learners. Through the discussion of open-ended questions with "6 W" (Why, What, Where, Who, When and How), students were encouraged to provide creative, flexible answers. Answering these questions provided opportunities for students to think deeply, and it also trained students to solve real world problems. As students were free in answering questions, they would feel less bored and their learning interest would be stimulated accordingly.

Moreover, students could also develop their self-learning ability. Having high reading ability, they would solve their

own problems by reading extra books and other subject-related materials. In addition, students were taught new information technologies. They were then required to develop, or to create advanced products (e.g. compositions, graphic design) by using these technologies. Furthermore, creative thinking was emphasized on every subject so that the intra- and interdisciplinary connections were established.

Through the creative teaching approaches and activities, students in this school found satisfaction in what they had learned. However, some other elements for developing successful gifted curriculum are still excluded. Thus, there are rooms for these pilot schools to further develop their curriculum on gifted education.

The major forces influencing the design and implementation of gifted curriculum

School heads

The headmistress claimed that she had learned a great lesson from the pilot scheme as she realized her role as an initiator of gifted education. Recalling from her experience, she had performed 'multiple' roles in curriculum development, as a director, a supporter, a coordinator and a policy-maker.

In order to design and implement an appropriate curriculum for the school, the headmistress needed to consider whether the proposed curriculum was compatible with the school ethos, the mainstream curriculum, as well as cooperation between students and teachers. Thus, she largely focused on teacher training, team spirits and participation so as to motivate teachers' contributions. In fact, the responsible teachers agreed that the headmistress' passionate support and assistance had created a good atmosphere for developing the gifted curriculum.

In addition, the headmistress had played an important role in organizing resources and in establishing connections with schools outside. For example, she made effort in obtaining more resources from the Education Department in designing the teaching contents, approaches and related activities. Guest speakers had been invited for introducing creative teaching to teachers. Other professional speakers were also invited for sharing their experience and knowledge about creativity with the students. In this way, students' learning interests were promoted and they had acquired more useful knowledge from curricular activities.

Teachers

According to the headmistress, the appointment of mature, experienced and trustworthy teachers-in-charge was one of the key elements that contributed to the success of designing and implementing a gifted curriculum. Especially, the quality of the gifted curriculum was largely dependent upon their level of involvement, commitment about gifted education, understanding and handling approach towards G&T students. It was because teachers were those who planned, implemented and evaluated the curriculum.

However, the teachers-in-charge and a few other responsible teachers claimed that their knowledge and skills were inadequate for designing and implementing a 'suitable' curriculum. This explained why the school's gifted curriculum did not include all of the necessary elements for developing a successful gifted curriculum as discussed previously. Moreover, many teachers also complained that their workloads were heavier because they needed to spend extra time and effort in developing the curriculum. Sometimes, they found difficulties in resource allocation and time management.

In order to deal with these problems, the headmistress decided to enhance teacher training on gifted curriculum

planning, development and evaluation. Teachers were encouraged to take further study. At the same time, workload reduction was granted to allow teachers more time to plan for creative teaching during the curriculum try out. Teachers were advised to utilize the limited resources more fully by means of sharing.

Students

Regarding the effectiveness of the gifted curriculum, students' response must be taken into account. After evaluating the implementation of creative teaching in gifted curriculum, the headmistress recognized that the progress was too compressed. Students were not given adequate time for in-depth thinking. Furthermore, many students faced difficulties when they were required to handle some questions that required thinking. This was largely the result of the traditional teaching approach. In addition, there were time limitations which constrained students to learn effectively.

Obviously, these learning difficulties discouraged students' participation and their enthusiasm about the curricular activities. The design of gifted curriculum was good and appropriate, but students could not achieve the best results to develop their potential in full. As such, the objective of catering the educational needs of gifted students was just unachievable.

Parents

On the other hand, the headmistress perceived the message of gifted education had not been spread widely. Thus, many parents did not understand the concept and advantages related to the development of gifted curriculum. For instance, some parents worried about the extra time that their children needed to spend on joining the curricular activities. They did not understand the importance of these activities would eventually maximise their children's abilities and intelligence. Because of these reasons, the effectiveness of the gifted curriculum was adversely affected.

In order to increase parents' participation, the headmistress realized there was a need to strengthen communication with parents. She gave strong consideration to organizing school-based activities and providing support to parents. It was expected that these activities would further facilitate the development of gifted curriculum.

CONCLUSION

Many literature theories assert the view that gifted education should aim at facilitating students of high potential to explore and develop their abilities and intelligence. While the curriculum and activities on gifted education should be designed to cater for the needs of G&T students, several important elements are recommended. In the course of designing and implementing the curriculum for gifted students, the pilot primary school in the case example highlighted the particular role and the likely implications regarding to the reform. Anyhow, when a well-designed, well thought out curriculum takes place and if it is supported by educational leadership, the opportunity of maximising the G&T students' potentials would be significantly enhanced.

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The Use of Literary Texts in Primary Level Language Teaching in Hong Kong

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INTRODUCTION

Traditional course books include many extremely dully written materials that have neglected the interest of learners of a second language. As our approach to teaching English has been shifted from the traditional oral-structural approach to communicative approach, course book publishers try to produce more speech materials that they consider really situational and very 'communicative'. Nevertheless, according to the basic objective of our new English syllabus in 1997, teachers have to enable our learners 'to develop an ever-improving capability to use English' (CDI,1997).

It is doubtful that the use of speech materials is the only means to improve learners' ability to use English. R. Carter and J. McRae (1996) points out that literary texts contain 'culturally-rooted language which is purposefully patterned and representational, which actively promotes a process of interpretation and encourages a pleasurable interaction with negotiation of its meanings.' They advocate that imagination as a vital source for language learning must be developed. Through imaginative interaction with the text, learners learn to read, infer, and think creatively. They can become more aware of the target language and better readers of the world.

In the present paper, I am going to show the use of literary texts, especially short stories, are appropriate teaching materials for young learners. I tried to use a short story in two versions, a narrative text and a drama script, in teaching primary three pupils. Learners were asked to think imaginatively about the story, to discover the use of present tense, to appreciate the music of the texts, to recognize certain new vocabulary, to act out and rewrite the story. Activities included listening to the story, reading aloud practice, role play, making word walls, retelling and rewriting the story. Children's participation was active. The teacher's role was more a provider of resources and a motivator than an instructor. A happy and enjoyable learning environment was created and learner involvement was great. It implied that genuine communication cannot depend on some conversational speeches which are only communicative on the surface. Literary texts especially short stories are valuable sources for language teaching.

I would conclude that effective language learning is based on the use of literary texts under appropriate teacher guidance. Teachers need to focus on choosing appropriate reading texts and flexible teaching methodologies which can provoke reading interest and enhance language development. R. Carter and J. McRae (1996) suggest that a wider range of texts should be provided for reading. Learners need to develop a habit of reading extensively and effectively on their own. When children become independent language learners, they can really develop 'an ever-improving capability to use English'.

Text selection

J. McRae & R. Boardman (1984) have pointed out that the final goal of second language teaching is to enhance learners' ability to read literary texts comprehensively and happily. J. McRae (1991) has listed out factors that need to be concerned in text selection. He prefers texts that

> 'To be usable and valid, a short text must have a clear and readily identifiable setting, and/or situation, and/or characters. Any one of these can be sufficient.' He adds that, '…there will almost always be a turning-point in the passage, something that will indicate a movement within the passage, implying a beginning, a middle and an end.' (p.44)

In this sense, short stories are always the most ideal literary texts for language teaching. Ellis and Brewster (1991) have encouraged the use of story-telling in the primary sector because they believe that every child likes stories. It is very true that children find stories easy to access and understand since most stories have familiar settings. Through reading stories, children can discover more about the world and foreign cultures that they are curious about. They enjoy learning the language because they can think and exercise their imagination freely when reading stories.

In the present study, I have chosen the story of 'Jack and the Beanstalk' in two versions, one is in direct speech and the other is a narrative description. I would like children to discover the difference between these texts as they read. This story is one of the most familiar ones for children. The main character, Jack, is a boy. Children can penetrate themselves into the character. The adventure of Jack in the story is always attractive to young children. As for the character of a giant, it is imaginary and familiar enough to young children. This may associate their memory with the giant in the story of Alladin.

Language choices

Vocabulary

Teachers believe that vocabulary needs to be simple and concrete in a text. It is especially true for young children. N. Schmitt and M. McCarthy, eds., (1997) point out that most beginning learners have problems to learn vocabulary directly from context.

I agree with their observation, that most young learners always find it difficult to guess new vocabulary. Even when children understand the meaning, they are not able to explain it to the teacher in the second language. They lack confidence and their basic content vocabulary is really limited. Usually, primary school teachers use pictures to illustrate the meaning of new vocabulary and children are allowed to use their mother tongue to explain their meaning. In this way, the work of guessing becomes possible and easier. Vocabulary learned from the chosen texts are: beans, beanstalk, giant, castle, gold, goose, grow, rich, sell, buy, chase and laying. For those nouns, children can guess easily from pictures and real objects. For verbs and adjectives, they need to understand them from context.

However, traditional reading activities emphasize the comprehension of the text only. Teachers are satisfied when learners have answered all the questions about the content correctly. J. McRae and L. Pantaleoni (1990) emphasize the importance of learners' response to what they read rather than understanding every single word or comprehension of the text. It is important to let children make guesses from context and allow them to remember the meanings by images. They suggest that learning vocabulary from cards is probably more effective because learners can acquire a sense of

progress and achievement.

Grammar

Effective grammar learning is no longer teacher-centred and transmissive. We allow learners to investigate the grammar rules. Carter (1997) states that,

'A study of grammar in texts is a study of grammar in use.' (p.34)

In order to be able to use the language expressively and correctly, it is better for learners to understand more about the usage of grammar rather telling how it is used. Teachers are responsible to foster learners' language awareness and ability to reflect on the language. As Ellis and Sinclair (1989) have suggested that the more conscious and reflective the learner is, the more effective the learning will be.

The grammar focus in the two texts is the use of simple present tense to indicate things happening and to express simple truth.

Phonology

It is the 'music' of the text. G. R. Roberts (1999) reminds second language teachers that our learners are not ready to understand the relationship of letters to corresponding sounds although they have learned the alphabet. He adds that children, at the early stages of reading, need to be taught how sounds can be attached to letters. Young learners need to be taught how to blend phonemes, blends, digraphs, syllables, and morphemes. Teacher demonstrations and classroom practice are necessary. When children can discover memorable sound patterns from texts, their confidence to read increases. When they can read fluently, they enjoy reading.

Activities like building up the word-wall, making the word-train and word-tree, and making use of letter-sound or sound-letter relationship to read can foster children's competence in pronunciation and spelling. Finally, teachers need to pay attention to teach proper intonation so that the music of the text can be brought out naturally.

STAGES AND THEMES OF TEACHING FROM THE TEXTS

Pre-reading stage

J. McRae (1991) reminds teachers that the pre-representation of an imaginative text is a 'warm-up' exercise that enables learners to understand the reason for reading it. He stresses the importance of the pre-reading stage as the key part of the whole learning process.

In my try-out, I used a picture of Jack's family to show the background knowledge of the story. In the picture, children saw a cow, a boy and a woman with sad faces in a small hut. I asked questions to elicit the relationship between the boy and the woman, why the family was happy or sad, what they were going to do with their cow. They were encouraged to infer and express their ideas freely. Some of them were shy to open their mouths because they lacked the confidence to speak in English. In order to encourage more pupils to join in the guessing activity, I allowed some less able pupils to use some mother tongue in their expression. I let the others to help them in converting the mother tongue

into English. I went on to ask them if they had cows at home and why not. They laughed and started to imagine what would happen if they had cows at home. It took quite a while for this brainstorming and I found they really enjoyed thinking imaginatively.

In the beginning, I did not tell them any answers but asked them to read the text and try to find out if their guesses were correct. Children were clear about what they were going to find out when they started their reading. They were excited to know the story and prove their guesses by themselves. I let them read the narrative text of the story first.

While-reading stage

For young learners, learning certain basic vocabulary, which may impede their understanding of the text, is important. It is very common for teachers to use pictures to show the vocabulary at the beginning of every lesson in the primary school classroom. I do not reject the use of pictures to show new vocabulary. However, I find that when children are able to grasp the main idea of the story, they can explore the meaning of new vocabulary presented in the text. As some stories are so familiar, it is not difficult even for young learners to guess the meaning of basic vocabulary. They learn when they read. They read and they learn. It is important to train young learners to make reasonable guesses for the meanings of new vocabulary by reading the whole text rather than just showing them what they are by pictures although this is the most convenient way.

As the story of 'Jack and the beanstalk' is one of the most popular stories, many pupils could guess the meaning of most vocabulary like beanstalk, castle, giant, and the gold eggs. They were proud of understanding these new words by themselves. Then I asked them to draw beans, beanstalk, goose, castle, and the giant on the blackboard. They were so excited to draw what they could imagine. Then I showed them a wall-picture of the story, and asked some of the brighter ones to label the new vocabulary to the objects on the picture. This activity was helpful for the less able learners to understand those vocabulary and remember them more easily by images.

I let children listen to the cassette while they read the story for the second time. J. McRae (1991) points out that listening to and reading the text simultaneously is important because

"The text comes to life when read or performed; it comes off the page, and becomes very much more than either simply a reading text or a listening exercise." (p.110)

I agree that texts become alive when it is presented orally especially by native speakers. Children enjoy listening to the story when they can read at the same time. They not only can understand the text better but also appreciate the music of the text when they read.

I asked the class to read aloud after the listening activity. I believe that young children need to imitate and practise pronunciation together at this early stage. Although J. McRae (1991) says that there are many better ways for teachers to check and practise pronunciation, I find that class reading is necessary for young learners with less confidence. Children may prefer to read aloud together before they can carry out other reading activities like jigsaw reading. They need to build up their confidence with peer support.

In order to develop an awareness of a letter-sound relationship, children were asked to build up word-walls, word-trains, and word-trees. Different groups were doing different worksheets. They searched words from the text and other reading materials in the class library. They discovered many words with the same beginning and ending sounds.

When they finished their worksheets, they had to show their work to the others. I let them and helped them read out what they had written down and stuck all worksheets on the board. I told them to add new words when they encountered them in future reading materials.

In the past, I used to check children's comprehension about the text after they learned the vocabulary and pronunciation. Teachers like to ask traditional questions like: What did Jack sell? What did Jack see when he climbed up the beanstalk? Who wanted to eat Jack? However, J. McRae and M.E. Vethamani (1999) have reminded teachers teaching literature that the focus of teaching is no longer on mere facts searching but on the interaction with the text. They point out that teachers need to provide chances for free response. I tried it. I asked my pupils the following questions:

- Jack sells his cow for some beans. Do you think he is stupid?
- Why is he stupid/not stupid?
- What do you pay when you buy something?
- Look at Jack in this picture. Do you think he is happy?
- Why Jack is not happy?
- Is the cow a good friend of Jack?
- Why do you think so?
- Do you think Jack is greedy when he takes the goose away?
- Can you take away things that do not belong to you?
- Wolud Jack take the goose to the police?
- Will you take it home or to the police if you were Jack?
- What will your mother say if you take a gold goose home?
- When Jack becomes rich, what will Jack buy?
- What will Jack's mother buy?
- When you become rich, what will you buy or what will you do?
- What will your mother/father buy?
- What do you think the gold goose will eat in order to lay gold eggs?

All these questions allow pupils to think imaginatively and respond freely. However, I encountered some difficulties in explaining my questions to the pupils. They were surprised when they understood my questions. Some of them still tried to refer to the text to find out answers as they used to! It took quite a long time to enable them to think imaginatively and start to answer my questions. At last I allowed them to use their mother language and they began to react more actively then.

Then I presented another text to my pupils. It was a drama script of the same story. In the text, some of the basic vocabulary were replaced with relevant pictures. Children had to listen to the cassette and find out the words missing in the text. It was not a difficult task. I let them listen for the second time, and asked them to pay attention to the way that different people spoke. Then jigsaw reading began. They were very excited and tried to read with proper intonation and stresses. When I invited them to read individually, they were enthusiastic to participate. I realized that they were confident and interested to read at that moment.

Pupils were asked to role-play the story of Jack and the beanstalk by following the drama script text. I monitored the role-play and encouraged them to act in front of the class. Pupils enjoyed acting and watching the role-play. Different pupils were invited to act out. Later, some pupils played my role as monitors enthusiastically. The actors and actresses were practising their pronunciation and intonation of the target language spontaneously and productively.

Post-reading stage

Usually teachers will be satisfied at this stage when they realize that their pupils can read independently. The foremost objective in traditional reading is comprehension. When pupils can answer most of the questions about the content of the text, the lessons are supposed to be successful and over. However, J. McRae (1991) reminds us that more meaning may emerge after repeated and careful reading, more ideas may be constructed when learners become more informed and aware. He repeatedly stresses the importance of communication about the text, learners' response and their reaction to the text. It implies that further exploitation of the text can be carried out at this stage. Children should learn how to use the language but not the facts from the text. Language learning can only take place through the process of genuine communication.

I let children discuss in groups about the following questions:

- Do you like Jack?
- What do you think about Jack? Lazy? Brave? Greedy?
- What do you think Jack usually does?
- Who is the man that gives Jack some beans? A magician? A fairy?
- Why does that man give Jack the beans?
- If someone gives you some beans, what will you do?
- Can a goose speak?
- What do you think the goose can be? A princess? A witch?
- Do you want to have a goose that can speak? Why?

They tried to write down their answers on a piece of cardboard. When they came back to me after their group discussion, they started to express their ideas according to the above questions. There were always no definite answers for every question. The goal of this activity was to elicit free response and it was easier than the previous stage. When they expressed their ideas, they naturally used the simple present tense.

Then I tried to ask pupils to discuss for a written assignment. Each group had to rewrite the drama script by negotiating new words to replace the pictures in the text. They were very excited to do this activity and it did not take a very long time to finish. I walked around the class and realized that they were thinking more imaginatively than before. They were braver to use their own words.

At last, each group came out and role-played their own drama in front of the class. The new stories were very interesting and imaginative. I appreciated their thinking and performance. I told them that their stories were so good that they could go home and tell the stories to their relatives.

RESULTS OF THE TEACHING

Analysis of the effectiveness of using literary texts

Course-books always provide stereotype conversational speeches. They are usually boring and referential, but not imaginative and representational. Teachers always find that it is hard for young children to learn and remember new vocabulary from these speeches. We try many ways to help them remember new words learned like: copying the new words for assignment, dictation every week, and spelling activities in the class. However, children still forget what they learn.

Literary texts provide a meaningful base for vocabulary learning. In the try-out, vocabulary was presented in a story. Children learned the new vocabulary in context by making their own guesses for the meaning of new words. They enjoyed and were proud of being able to learn by themselves. It is not surprising to find that most of them could remember all the new vocabulary learned from the story.

Literary texts are a rich source for learning activities of building up word-trees, word-trains and word-walls. They foster the development of an awareness of the letter-sound relationship. They are helpful for pupils to remember the pronunciation of the new vocabulary. In the past, children always forgot the spelling of new words because simply they could not read them out. Literary texts are a springboard for activities like reading aloud, jigsaw reading, and role-play. They familiarize children with the pronunciation of the new vocabulary and makes it easier for them to remember the spellings. Moreover, in participating in these oral activities, children learn to use proper intonation and appreciate the beauty of the language.

Group discussions and rewriting activities based on the literary texts can provide writing practice to consolidate vocabulary and grammar learning. Children can avoid the monotonous copying of new vocabulary. They become free writers with their own thinking. They become eager to learn to express their ideas in the target language. Their learning becomes more effective with the use of literary texts because they simply enjoy their learning.

Learning difficulties encountered

Time is always a problem. It is quite rigid in a primary school time-table that every week we have ten English lessons. Every lesson has 35 minutes. Every week there must be a dictation, a listening lesson, and an ETV (educational television) lesson. We have to finish most of the modules in the course-book which provide only a little amount of literary texts. Teachers have to select suitable texts and make good use of the limited time available.

For young learners, they are not accustomed to respond freely during their language lesson. It takes time and effort for them to understand what the teacher means in the second language. I would suggest that a little use of the mother tongue in giving instructions may be helpful. To elicit children's response needs to be patient. When we require children to think of something imaginary, we need to give examples. Usually children can think but they cannot express their thinking in the second language. In the early stage, we need to allow them to use a little mother tongue in their response. It is important that teachers need to develop learners' confidence to think as well as their ability to use the language. This is always not easy.

During group discussions, some brighter pupils may tend to dominate as leaders. This may be helpful or harmful.

Teachers need to be very careful to monitor the discussion so that all members are doing the job. My pupils complained their friends were like dictators when their opinions were not accepted. Teachers need to encourage children to negotiate.

IMPLICATION FOR FUTURE TEACHING

There is a growing tendency for language teachers to use literary texts in teaching Chinese, the first language in Hong Kong. Teachers encourage children to rewrite stories and poems creatively. It is found that children learn and use the language more effectively when they have freedom to think and express their own ideas. It is time for English teachers to evaluate the use of literary texts and think about an adaptation of our teaching materials in teaching the second language. L. Machura (1991) after her experience of using story books to teach English in Poland concludes that no course-books are capable of offering young learners to 'gain access to a richness and magic of language'.

After my try-out, I realize that effective language learning depends on the process of exploiting literary texts. I am aware that the main objective of reading is not merely for comprehension as J. McRae and L. Pantaleoni (1990) have mentioned. Learning activities like class discussion, reflection of what has been read, role-play, rewriting and retelling stories that can activate learners' free response need to be encouraged. Through class interaction, children can develop and increase their communicative and language competence. To bring about children's improvement in the use of English, we need to provide our young learners a wider range of literary texts (R. Boardman and J. McRae, 1984; R. Carter and J. McRae, 1996). We need to read with our learners together. We hope our children can become effective readers and language users.

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中學中國語文科新修訂課程(2002)的考察

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香港課程發展署計劃在 2000 年 9 月推行中學中國語文科的修訂課程。在 2000 年年底和 2001 年年初作過好幾次簡介和諮詢，其間有不少老師提出寶貴意見，有贊成的，有反對的，也當然有抱有保留態度，希望多了解一點的。

這個修訂課程的設計籌劃，本人曾經參與，對課程的構思以及發展過程也有一定的了解，因此希望藉著這個機會向各位報告。由於有關課程的文件材料現在已經廣爲流通，一般人對課程的基本框架、方向都有所認識，所以本人在這裏不再重複，希望集中時間討論一些曾經仔細考慮過，但沒有在文件中鉅細無遺寫出來的問題。這些問題是：(一) 修訂課程的目的；(二)“範文”(指定篇章)⟶ 範文(語文範例)⟶ 學習材料; 及(三)文化的學習，以下分別討論。

修訂課程的目的

在未回答爲什麼要推行修訂課程之前，我們首先需要確定這個課程和現行課程有何不同，有所修訂的是什麼地方？下面是一個簡單的比較：

現行課程

(中學中國語文１９９０)

教學目標

1. 培養學生閱讀、寫作、聆聽、說話和思維等能力，提高學生學習本科的興趣，並使學生有繼續進修本科的自學能力。
2. 藉著本科的教學，啓發學生的思想，培養學生的品德，增進學生對中國文化的認識，並加強學生對社會的責任感。

(中學中國文學１９８６)

教學目標

1. 培養學生閱讀中國文學作品的興趣，提高理解、分析、欣賞中國文學作品的能力，並能對一些適合他們程度的作品，

修訂課程

(中學中國語文２００２)

課程宗旨

1. 提高讀寫聽說能力、思維能力、審美能力和自學能力；
2. 培養語文學習的興趣、良好的語文學習態度和習慣；
3. 培養審美情趣，陶冶性情；
4. 培養品德，加強對社群的責任感；
5. 體認中華文化，培養對國家、民族的感情。[1]

[1] 見《學會學習：學習領域——中國語文教育：諮詢文件》(香港課程發展議會，2001 年 11 月)，頁 71、73 及 12。

作簡略的評論。

2. 使學生透過文學作品的學習，獲得中國文學常識。
3. 增進學生對中國文化的認識。
4. 使學生藉本科的學習，收陶冶性情、美化人格的效果。

從這個比較可以看出，雖然行文用語和表達方式有點不同，但兩個課程的整體目標和內容，基本上是差不多的。比較大的分別是修訂課程包含文學部份，可以說是把現行的語文課程和文學課程併合爲一。此外文化部份由增加對中國文化的認識改爲體認中華文化，培養對國家、民族的感情；由以前的認知層面推進到榮辱與共的身體力行層面，更爲強調。不過，即使是在現行課程之中，語文老師所做的也不限於增加學生對中華文化的認識，其實也兼顧到體認力行方面，也從不會輕忽家國的情懷。

但這樣是否意味只要把現行課程的語文、文學部份合而爲一；在文化部份再加強體認，那就等同於修訂課程呢？恐怕不是。

因爲修訂課程最重要的地方，不在於重新設定學習方向和內容，而在於更新教學模式。

現行的課程雖然也提出讀、寫、聽、說四種語文能力的訓練，也強調品德及思維能力的培養，但在實際施教的時候，不少老師其實把大部份的時間花在指定篇章的講授方面(習慣上稱爲“範文”教學。這裏要順帶澄清“範文”這個觀念。“範文”在香港一般理解爲教科書內所選取的文章。以中四、中五這些要面對香港中學會考的班級來說，“範文”更往往只是指中學會考範圍內所指定的二十六篇文章)。教學步驟往往是：一．學生預習有關篇章；二．作者介紹及篇章題解；三．講解課文，包括字詞音義、段落意義、全篇主旨等等；串講完畢則，四．就篇章中某些重要內容及寫作技巧作出討論，最後附以某些語文練習。

語文科的教學任務、教學進度往往就由講授哪些指定篇章、講授多少指定篇章去決定(這是指一般的情況，我們知道某些學校、某些老師其實已經不再採用這種方式，而改用單元設計，根據以提高語文能力爲目的教學重點而自行選用、組織教材施教)。

這樣的“範文”教學有什麼問題呢？不少老師會問，這難道不是行之多年的教法嗎？難道我們不需要學習古今的優秀篇章，不需要從中汲取養份嗎？對這個問題應該這樣看：“範文”教學、串講“範文”本身並沒有問題。不僅沒有問題，而且是必須的，因爲在語文學習的過程中，某些階段學生要先理解、欣賞、模仿優秀的作品，這樣才能豐富儲積，才能認識基本的技巧，才可以逐步提升爲語文運用的能力。模仿，是學習的其中一個階段，以優秀的篇章——範文爲模仿的的對象，完全沒有問題。

但現時的“範文”教學卻往往不是這樣，“範文”並不是作爲一個示例，而是作爲死記硬背的材料。學生是否已掌握一篇“範文”，決定於他們是否知道這篇文章的主旨是什麼，篇中各段落之間的關係如何，用了什麼寫作技巧等等。學生如果能夠熟記這方面的分析說明 (多半先由教師、“天書”代勞)，在測驗考試時準確答寫出來，就視之爲學生已經掌握有關篇章的證據。最極端的情況甚至是：學生把有關篇章的分析背得滾瓜爛熟，但對篇章原文卻很陌生。因此可以說，現時的“範文”講授，往往已經異化，疏離於作爲示例以轉化語文能力的目的。

此外，目前的“範文”——指定篇章的種類和數量也未盡人意。這些篇章大部份是文學性的作品(也是千挑萬選出來的優秀作品)，這些篇章作爲文學作品去研習，去欣賞，去精講精讀是非常需要的。但如果作爲語文學習的範文，卻並不足夠，因爲在語文運用中，文學性創作只是其中一部份，除此之外還有生活、學習、工作中所需要的實用語文，例如寫一個報告，作一份建議，解釋一個問題，說明一件事件等等。全以文學作品作爲

範例，並不完全恰當。將語文教學過份集中於“範文”講授，更是偏差。修訂課程之所以提出，主要目的之一就是要改變這種情況。

“範文”（指定篇章）⟶範文（語文範例）⟶學習材料[2]

那麼我們還需要不需要“範文”？怎樣才可以令“範文”達到原本的作用？修訂課程提出的建議是：

1. 取消指定篇章(“範文”)
2. 擴闊學習材料
3. 鼓勵單元教學

不設指定篇章，也就是說，不以某些篇章的內容作爲主要的教學及評估對象，這樣老師和學生就必須重新思考，學習某一篇章的作用目的是什麼，是把有關篇章的內容結構的分析背熟，還是從其中學習到寫作的竅門，轉化爲自己的能力？

隨著指定篇章取消，學習材料自然而然會擴闊。以前學習集中於有限數量的幾十篇，現在就要根據學習需要去重新選用。選用的準則是：切合明確的語文學習重點，有助於提高語文能力。這些學習材料固然也可以是以前的指定篇章，但在教學中的作用就要重新考慮，在教學編排中，要認識對有關篇章的講解、引導在達致某個學習目標上有什麼作用？而不是爲講解而講解，更不是把對某一篇章的認識當作語文教學的最終目的(除非這篇章是作爲文學作品去研習。在文學研習中，對文學作品本身的欣賞了解，就是一個目的。但在語文科中，文學學習只是其中一部份，不能只從文學學習的角度去處理所有篇章。而且即使是作爲文學作品學習，最終的目的也應該是培養提高審美情趣、能力，使學生可以自行閱讀欣賞其他作品。)

而且，只要能達到有關的語文目的，就可以自由選用，而且可以選用多篇、多種材料。自由選用的好處是可以因應學生的實際程度和需要，切合學生的興趣。以此體現校本設計的精神，便於達到愉快學習的目的。相反，如果篇章是指定的話，那無論所面對的是什麼學生，都要用相同的材料，除非程度剛好適合，否則無論過高過低，都容易令學生失去興趣，而且亦不容易根據他們語文實況取長補短，以作有針對性的訓練。

當教學以單篇的文章爲重心的時候，只要一篇一篇的去教，就已經算作完成教學任務，但隨著選材自由化以及多樣化，自然就引出教材組織的問題，修訂課程提倡用單元的方式去組織材料。組織設計單元的時候要有全局性的考慮，使各個單元總合起來時可以涵蓋全部主要教學重點，擺脫以前由有限的指定篇章決定語文訓練重點這種做法的局限性。單元根據教學重點設定之後，可以選用不同形式的多項材料，每種材料處理的精粗詳略可以不同，教學的目的不在於引導學生對有關材料鉅細無遺的掌握，而在於從多項材料中抽取與有關教學重點相關的成份，在比較、分析以及適量重複的過程中達到提高語文能力的目的。修訂課程要求把範文變回真正的範例，通過這些範例引導學生認識篇章要怎樣結構，怎樣推展，怎樣遣辭造句，怎樣營造效果，怎樣達致某種語用功能。運用範文教學的最終目的是要學生把範文的優點汲取過來，轉爲己有，再在自己的語文運用中表現出來。這樣範文才真正起到範例的作用，才是名副其實的範文。

文化的學習

修訂課程的其中一個特別標舉的部份是中華文化。文化的學習是現行課程裏面也有的，事實上是不可能沒有，因爲現時的“範文”裏面充滿中華文化素材，在課文講授中不可能不觸及文化元素。

既然如此，何以又特別提出中華文化的學習？這裏要先提一件前一兩年發生的事。香港的一所教育學院招生，其中一項測試是朗讀文章，以看看咬字讀音的水平，其中一篇裏有“乾坤”兩個字，結果有不少考生竟然讀作“肝申”。表面看來這是字詞學習中的缺失，但想深一層，就會知道其實是文化認識貧乏的問題。乾坤、陰陽、天地，這是中華文化思想內的基本觀念，如果一個學生對中國傳統文化有一定的接觸，有基本的認識，根本就不可能出現這種錯誤。(除非他在口語中知道“乾坤”這個觀念但不知道寫法如何，以致不能把所見的“乾坤”二字與口語中的“乾坤”觀念連結起來。但即使是這樣，也意味著這個考生平日有關中華文化的閱讀不足，否則從上下文義之中應該可以推知這兩個字就是口語之中的“乾坤”。)

這種情況和中四、中五教學集中講授二十六篇指定篇章也可能有關係。學生既然大部份時間精力都放在這些有限的指定篇章之上，其他材料就會很少涉獵。因此只要在這些篇章中不出現“乾坤”二字，學生就很可能不懂。香港一般中學生閱讀量很少，出現這種情況毫不足怪。這種對中華文化無知的情況是很普遍的，極需改善。

但我們顯然不能通過指定篇章去改善這種情況，所以在設計新課程的過程中，曾經考慮(事實上也著手做過)參照美國人 Eric Hirsch 的方法，[3] 具體列出一定的文化項目，以此作爲中學生對中華文化認識量的參照。當時首先參考一般文化書籍中對文化的分類，然後再在每一類之下具列項目。至於應該怎樣分類、分多少類，包括什麼類以至每類下面收集多少項項目，都不可能有完全客觀的標準，當時的計劃是設立工作小組，由大專、中學教師及課程發展署的同工組成，根據專業經驗首先草擬若干項目，經向部份語文科教師諮詢修訂後，再向全港的語文教師全面諮詢，最後以最大的專業共識爲依據確定。

在準備的過程中，發現所需列入的項目極多，單是列出項目(不加說明)，也要數十頁。有老師擔心無法施教(“要教”是一種根深柢固的觀念，一時間不容易接受學生(在教師指引下)“自學”的提法)，爲免加重教師心理／教學負擔，最後決定不具列條目，而只是列出物質、制度、精神三個內容類別，和認識、反思、認同三個學習層面。[4]

物質性的文化項目例如豆腐、羅盤；制度性的例如科舉、傳嫡；精神性的例如孝道、中庸等等，一般人都知道大體上的區別(雖然未必可以截然劃分)，無庸贅述。這裏希望集中介紹一下“認識”這一個層面。

爲什麼要認識中華文化，這似乎不說自明，作爲中國人，當然要對本身的文化有所認識，這一點相信很少人會有異議。但除此之外還要指出的是，對中華文化的認識和語文能力有很深切的關係，這也是中國語文科要特別標舉中華文化的原因。語文一方面是文化的一部份，而另一方面語文又自然包含文化的內容，兩者難以分割，譬如說，在“他是我們公司的諸葛亮”這句話之中，如果聽者不了解《三國演義》以來“諸葛亮”在中華文化中的象徵意義，根本就無從理解。另外如“八月十五是中秋，有人快活有人愁”，也要先了解“中秋”在中華文化有團圓之意，然後才可以看出上、下兩句之間意義上的聯繫，否則就會變得如“一月一日是元旦，有人快活有人愁”一樣近乎毫無關係的兩句話了(更準確的說法是變成了“還用你說”的 truism，因爲任何一天都是有人快活有人愁的)。

其他如漢語之中的“我再考慮考慮”一般上是一個委婉的拒絕，和英語的“I will consider it again”表示真的重新考慮不同。缺乏這些了解，會影響語文溝通的有效程度。甚至可以說，對中華文化的認識是良好中文能力的一個條件。

不過，要知道多少，要了解多深才算認識中華文化，卻很難說清楚。仍然以諸葛亮爲例，可以有以下的深

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[2] “學習材料”是修訂課程文件中的用語，目的在於強調：一，超越單篇的限制，二，以學生爲中心去學習。

[3] 參 E.D. Hirsch, Jr., Joseph Kett, James Trefil (1988). *Cultural Literacy: what every American needs to know.* New York : Vintage Books, 1988 ; E.D. Hirsch, Jr., Joseph F. Kett, James Trefil (1988). *The Dictionary of Cultural Literacy.* Boston : Houghton Mifflin.

[4] 見《中學中國語文課程指引（諮詢稿）》（香港：香港課程發展議會編訂，2000 年 12 月），頁 18 至 20。

淺層次：

1. 知道諸葛亮代表智者
2. 知道諸葛亮代表智者，省稱孔明
3. 知道諸葛亮代表智者，省稱孔明，是三國時代蜀國的丞相
4. 知道諸葛亮代表智者，省稱孔明，是三國時代蜀國的丞相，其代表智者是經《三國演義》渲染的結果
5. ……

一個中學生要認識多少個這樣的項目，對每個項目認識要達到什麼程度，這都難以客觀釐定。[5] 如果真的要由老師一一講授的話，那就更不知如何處理了。老師的擔心不是沒有道理的。

因此，即使在最初要爲中學課程定出文化項目的時候，基本思路都不是要求老師逐一講授，而是指引學生自學。而所謂自學，也不是按照某些條目一一研習記誦，因爲這樣會把本來很有趣味的知識變得枯燥呆板，把學習的樂趣變成學習的負擔。較爲理想的自學方式是和語文學習結合，在潛移默化的活動中進行，其中一種方法是閱讀小說，以金庸的《射鵰英雄傳》爲例，書中有豐富的、不同類別的文化素材，兼括器物、制度、地理、歷史以至文學、宗教、思想、人倫各方面。有趣味性，又有優秀的文學技巧，在享受閱讀的過程中又自然而然增加對文化方面的認識，可謂一舉數得。在適當的時候，老師更可以引導同學思考書中人物道德上的抉擇，例如郭靖應忠於蒙古，抑或忠於南宋；華箏公主間接逼死郭靖之母的恩怨情仇；以至段王爺、瑛姑、周伯通的三角關係，以及應否寬恕裘千仞等等，都是文化反思認同、思維訓練的良好題材，而且亦切合一體多面、環環相扣的課程精神。[6]

文化學習的成效如何評估，這是還沒有好好解決的問題。最直接的想法當然是考核學生知道不知道“初唐四傑是哪四個”之類，但這類考核既會把文化學習變成枯燥的死記硬背，而且在未有具體條目之前更難以實行，因此並不可取。

其中一個比較可行的方案是和聽、說、讀、寫的考核結合，同時進行。以閱讀、聆聽能力測試爲例，可以部份選用包含文化成份的材料，或是設計題目時預設考生對文化有一定的認識，否則不能妥善作答。至於說話、寫作就更簡單，部份題目可以就文化課題設定，考生需對有關課題有基本認識才可以有良好表現。

如果真是採用這種方式的話，那麼在考試課程就應該有明確的說明，甚至明確地定出這類題目的比例。

最後要提到的是現行中六高級補充程度《中國語文及文化》科的問題。這科的第二卷是“文化問題”，考核的是學生對文化課題的思辨評斷能力，雖然也涉及語文表達能力，但以前者爲主，後者爲次；和上文剛說到的把文化認識結合語文能力考核，以語文能力爲主，文化認識爲副，輕重主次顯然不同。如果《中國語文及文化》科繼續保留，那和將要推行的修訂課程各有偏重取捨，可以並行不悖；但如果學制改變，《中國語文及文化》科取消，那麼這一種文化反思的能力是否應該繼續考核，考核的方式如何，是否另設一卷，或在修訂課程的考卷中闢出一部份，都是要認真考慮的問題。

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[5] 最近國務院僑務辦公室編纂了《中國文化常識》，所希望解決的應當就是這些問題，可以作爲參考。參國務院僑務辦公室編：《中國文化常識》（香港：世界傑出華人基金會有限公司，2001）。

[6] 同註 4，頁 9，〈第四章　學習範疇目標及教學說明〉。

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對當前香港教育改革的一些哲學反思*

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前言

筆者前曾爲文論及，當前的世界性教育危機，從宏觀角度看，是因當前時代的哲學文化偏向發展——經驗主義、實證主義、物理主義、科學主義在主導著，使人們的價值取向，偏於功用主義、實用主義和感覺主義。教育改革的成功，必須自覺此種時代偏向之發展，在教育設計與政策上應配合時代文化轉向的要求，才能改善教育的一些根本問題。[1]

筆者在另一文中，亦曾就主觀心靈的運用之不同，分心靈的不同表現爲「道德心」、「觀照心」、「認知心」和「情識心」，並指出我們今日的文化教育之弊病，是在於太偏重於「認知心」的培養與運用，對「情識心」放任，不承認或不重視「道德心」之道德體驗與「觀照心」的美感經驗的客觀真實性，也即不真能重視「道德心」「觀照心」之培養，所以這個時代的問題是「情識心」牽引「認知心」以主宰世情的時代，使道德教育價值教育普遍困難與低落。[2]

以上兩文筆者皆作較宏觀的和系統的哲學反省，相較而言，筆者現在報告之本文，是較零散的就當前香港教育改革所提出的一些概念作出哲學的反思。

*本文於 5-6/5/2001 香港浸會大學教育系與珠海書院合辦之「教育改革研討會」上宣讀。

關於培養學生「樂於學習、善於溝通、勇於承擔、敢於創新」的反省

教統會於 1999 年 1 月底發出教育目標諮詢文件，事後教統會從四千多份意見書中，歸納到公眾普遍認同香港在二十一世紀的整體教育目標應是：

讓每個人在德、智、體、群、美各方面都有全面而具個性的發展，使其一生能不斷自學、思考、探索、創新和應變，具充分的自信和合群的精神，願意爲社會的繁榮、進步、自由和民主不斷努力，爲國家和前途作出貢獻。

並歸納到首要達致的目標應是培養學生「樂於學習、善於溝通、勇於承擔、敢於創新」，自此以後，「樂善勇敢」便在教改文件中時常出現。

固然，「樂於學習、善於溝通、勇於承擔、敢於創新」，就其意義孤立地了解（包括每一項孤立地了解，或

[1] 見拙文〈論價值教育與香港教育改革——一個建基於哲學與文化的反省〉，香港中文大學香港教育研究所，教育政策研討系列 No.28，1999 年 10 月。
[2] 見拙文〈從中國傳統心性之學看道德教育價值教育成效之內在基礎〉，報告於「新世紀的價值教育與公民教育」國際研討會，香港中文大學教育學院，2000 年 6 月。

四項作爲一整體而孤立地了解，而不關連於任何脈絡來了解），原則上是對的，似乎沒有什麼可以反對的。但如果這四項首要目標純粹只是建基於歸納普遍市民的意見而來，只據像投票方式之量化原則而來，其背後沒有假設一些更基本的原則，則這些目標在某些脈絡下便變得不一定可取。

「樂於學習」

比如培養學生「樂於學習」之目標，對學習感到快樂自然很好，快樂是主觀的心理狀態，快樂亦可以有程度之差別，快樂可以是純粹感性的，也可以包含有理性的成分。若純粹感性的，沒有自覺與理性的成份，便可變成一種沉迷與陷溺。比如年青人對槍械的結構、槍械的知識的追求了解，學習製造感到快樂，以至日漸沉迷，以至廢寢忘餐，或至運用槍械造成傷害。可知培養學生「樂於學習」目標也不是絕對的。而且如有論者所批評的，學習不是每一分鐘都是喜樂的，無論學習知識或技能，有時是需要用多一點功，吃一點苦的，當然吃苦用功是不應不當地加重與擴大。但「樂於學習」不能是一個絕對化的原則。

「善於溝通」

培養學生「善於溝通」看來是一個相當適切的教育目標，由此也必須培養學生具備兩文三語的能力。但單有很好的兩文三語能力，或者「齊給便足」，是否就等於能「善於溝通」呢？真能「善於溝通」，除了語文能力與技巧外，還須包括對語文背後的文化思想有更多的了解，與對人心理之了解及人情練達的培養；更重要的還需要一種對他人同情體諒與誠意開放自己的一顆心。故「善於溝通」並不等於善於辯論，善於言說。有時甚至不言不語，默然無語中，才更好傳情達意。因此培養「善於溝通」也並等於單單培養溝通語言的工作，也是關連培養人之性情與品德。

「勇於承擔」

承擔是對義務而言，當是一種義務時，也包涵是一種「應該」（ought）的意思，也就是一種道德的責任。就算一般言語上說我們承擔一份工作，本來工作也不一定要我們做、不一定要我們承擔的，但既選擇了承擔，這工作便成了我們義務，我們應該把它做好，把它完成，因此可知即使選擇承擔一份工作，也有了道德義務。
作爲一個人，我們即有很多自然而來的責任，須要承擔的。對自己，每個人對自己生命、健康、自尊等有責任；對家庭，每個人對父母、兄弟、妻（夫）兒有責任；對國家，每個人對國家的安全、完整及文化有責任；對於人類，每個人於人道、人類文化、人類公義有責任；對於宇宙萬物，每個人對環境保護，對其他生命、對愛物惜物，有責任。若能夠對各種義務責任，不逃避，勇於承擔，當然是教育上一個理想的目標。但「勇於承擔」是一種情懷，是一種氣概，然而如何在承擔各種義務而又能充份完成這些責任，則同時需要一種智。或當不同義務責任產生衝突時，如忠孝不能兩全，如何衡量，如何抉擇，這也需要一種智。智是虛，情是實，虛實相涵，所以「勇於承擔」的培養，不能是寡頭的，必須亦包涵道德智思的培養，只有情智並舉，「勇於承擔」之意義才能真正完成。

「敢於創新」

作爲一個教育目標，培養學生「敢於創新」，沒有人會反對。但同樣的也不能無條件地把此一目標或原則絕對化。如果只強調「敢」，只強調「新」，亦可以適得其反，產生反教育的效果。「敢於創新」是涵有對舊的有所批判，有所超越的意義。批判舊的超越舊的，並無不可，而且也很多時候是應該和需要，但若對舊的沒有充份了解，知其優劣，或舊的縱使沒有優點，也應該了解其所有劣點與不足之所以然，然後才批判超越與創新，這樣的「敢於創新」才有基礎。若只空泛強調「敢」，強調「新」，尤其是學者在任何事情仍在初學階段，應先培養同情的了解，深入的認識，欣賞的心胸，然後來的「敢於創新」才有基礎。此所以梁啓超嘗言：

舊也而不得不謂之新，惟其日新，正所以全其舊者也。[3]

梁啓超要新民，卻先求有舊可守，這是智慧的話，是真正的「敢於創新」者，真正的能培養新民者。

目標的存在結構

筆者用的這個小標題看來有點唬嚇人的，好像很哲學的，但道理卻是相當真實的，沒有半點玄虛。從以上分析，「樂於學習」，「善於溝通」，「勇於承擔」和「敢於創新」的四目標，每一目標的真實意義的實現與完成，都隱含了另一面的義理之同時需要實現，真實的「樂於學習」，不止是感性的，也是理性的，感性是情，理性是智。此處情是實，智是虛；情是陽，智是陰，陰陽相濟，虛實相涵，才能有真正的樂於學習。

在「善於溝通」中，語文之表達及善於運用是一種表現，或呈顯，故是陽是實，若真要達到「善於溝通」，便須人之誠意胸襟與背景之文化知識人情練達，這些都成了表達出來的語文背景，而像不凸顯於前位，因此這些都成了陰，像虛涵能包裹著表達的語文，所以也是虛實相涵，陰陽相濟，才能達到真實的「善於溝通」。

在「勇於承擔」中，亦是如此，如前所述，勇於承擔是情，足以完成所承擔責任是智，情是陽，智是虛（此處爲虛更因像是沒有了承擔之情之勇），故也是虛實相涵，陰陽相濟才能真實完成「勇於承擔」。

在「敢於創新」中，真正的創新，在於先了解舊的，在於保存舊的優點，了解舊保有舊便作爲基礎作爲背景，在有基礎及有背景上創新，才是真正的創新，創新是表現是顯現，是陽是實，了解保有舊作爲基礎是陰，是虛，有了基礎才可以虛以待新創造之出現。所以也是陰陽相濟，虛實相涵，才能有真實的「敢於創新」。

總括而言，教者欲培養學生達至此四目標，必須了解此四目標的存在結構，了解此四目標中的陰陽虛實之理。

筆者以上所說的話，看似玄虛，但其實都是實話，因爲說明了四目標有層層義理，但若四目標變成了口號，喊的人，推行的人，不意識到背後虛實相涵的層層義理，這些口號變成平面的話，平面便淺薄，淺薄便成虛言，所以世界上一切僵化平面化了的口號都是虛言。

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[3] 梁啓超《新民說》，《梁啓超選集》，吳嘉勛，李華與編，上海人民出版社，1984，頁 211。

改革方向原則與人文教育的反省

改革方向原則之肯定

教育統籌委員會於二零零零年九月發表《終身學習，全人發展--香港教育制度改革建議》，筆者個人認爲，就建議書內容所陳述之教育意念與義理而言，是不錯的。關鍵在日後如何落實及如何解決技術性的問題。

教統會在香港教育改革的第二階段教育制度的探討中，由諮詢到改革建議，所列舉的改革方向原則：

學生爲本

永不放棄

講求質素

全方位學習

全社會動員[4]

應該是沒有人可以異議的。當然，是否能實現這些原則，便要看實際教育制度之改革，課程之改革，以及還要看在推行這些新制度新課程的各層教育人員教師的質素，以及日後教育資源之是否充足而定。

人文教育的虛弱

至於人文教育的課程，現時教育改革中，有關基礎教育的課程，建議分成八個學習範圍：中國語文教育、英國語文教育、數學教育、科學教育、科技教育、個人社會及人文教育、藝術教育、體育教育。

明顯的，這「個人、社會及人文教育範圍」，除了包括中史西史或世史各科內容外，也包括如現時公民教育，道德教育、環境教育、價值觀教育的內容，以至我們可以說人文教育也可以包括經濟教育、宗教教育，與文化教育。可以想見，這一「個人、社會及人文教育」範圍的內容是相當廣闊的，若這範圍的課程份量或教學時數只佔八份之一 (即八範圍之一)，則可以想見，這範圍內的各種上述學科原素便相對變得沒有以前重要了，比如中史科，雖然學校可以選擇保留，但此科的教學份量便顯得沒有以前重要了。

如果爲了把這一廣闊範圍的內容濃縮以至成一綜合人文科，理論上說，也未嘗不可，而且也可使不同學科建立關連及整體之效果。然而，要綜合得好，編定這一綜合人文科課程者，必須是學問深廣而又能融會貫通，能把握樞要又能顯理於具體，否則學科內容便往往大而無當，更多泛泛之空言。比如像：「未來人文世界將是中西文化結合的世界，我們應該把中西文化中好的東西結合起來，不好的去掉」、「我們要發揚中國文化的優秀部份，揚棄其不好與過時的部份」、「世界各大宗教都是教人爲善的，所以基本都是共通的」、「不同種族的歷史有其共同性與特殊性」等等文字便可能會比比皆是，這些看似說了很重大的話，卻是空泛得什麼也沒有說。若綜合人文科出現的是這些「大話」綜合，則是可悲的。比如說把中史與西史或世史關連起來綜合起來教學，理論上是好的，但不要說教師必須有中西史充份了解與融會貫通的學力，學生如果中史及西史 (或世史) 之基礎知識不足，沒有中史西史的整體性發展的了解，將來得的縱使是綜合性的比較性的歷史比較知識，也將是一種僵化的、死記的、零碎的知識，是否真能使人達到通古今中西之變，便難說了。

在我個人看來，中國歷史科的教學，對於作爲中國人來說，是重要的，在中學階段，至少在基礎教育中一

[4] 《終身學習，全人發展》，教育統籌委員會，二零零零年九月，頁 5。

至中三的階段中，是應保留作爲獨立而必修的學科。我會同樣主張一個英國人在他的基礎教育中，必須有幾年的獨立而必修的英國史學科的課程，或俄國人在他的基礎課程中，必須有獨立而必修俄國史學科的課程。

以下我嘗試從哲學的角度扼要的說明我認爲在基礎教育中應保留獨立而必修中史科的義理所在。

人存在的基本性相是歷史性

在西哲海德格 (Heidegger) 看來，人的存有的基本性相真實性相是時間性相 (Zeitlichkeit)，也就是人的歷史性 (Geschichtlichkeit)，也就是歷史性使過去、現在、未來時間 (time)，外在於人的存有，而成爲過去、現在、未來內在於人的存有而爲一整體，成爲了人的時間性。因此在人，如果人有真實的存在，時間必須變成「時間性」，也就是說時間由外在變成內在。如果只是外在地看人在時間中，過去的我已過去，過去了的不再存在；未來的我還未存在；好像我只存在於當下的現在，然而當我要抓著當下「現在」時，「現在」瞬間已成過去，人無法找到自我真實的存在。因此在海德格看來，人能有真實的存在，是因時間內在於人成爲人的時間性與歷史性。我們也可以說，對於一個民族或國家或社團，其真實性即在其時間性與歷史性。以至我們更可進一步說，任何創造之有真實性，也必有其歷史及其完成，即必有其歷史性。太古時代，固然沒有中華民族，更沒中國，因此似乎沒有必要一定要重視中華民族歷史，中國歷史，甚至因爲怕種族主義國家主義的遺害而反對強調中國歷史的教學。這都是過猶不及。當知中華民族，中國人真要存在於世界，則必須在其歷史發展中展現與完成，沒有歷史，民族與國家也不存在。歷史意識也是一種追源溯本的意識，中華民族特別重視歷史，也是中國人向來重視追源溯本之精神而來。

再從儒家哲學的角度看，儒家以人存在的本源在人之本心本性，你可以說本心本性就是人存在的形而上的根本，從某些宗教的信仰或哲學來說，上帝就是人存在的形而上的根本，人由上帝所創造而來。在儒家，人由本心本性而來，這本心本性就是天，就是道，也可說是由「天」或「道」而來。所以心、性、天、道是一，一些宋明儒者都這樣說過了。從「本心」「本性」角度看，一切人是同一的，也是絕對平等；因每一個人既都有本心本性基礎，都可以原則上成爲聖人，所以孟子說「人人皆可以爲堯舜」，堯舜就是儒家所稱道的聖人。那麼爲什麼有不同的人，不同的個體呢？有不同的人，有不同的個體，就是因爲人的現實存在是在具體的歷史中，每個個體的人真實的存在就在其歷史中，理論上說，每個人在他的現實遭遇中盡心盡性回應，便是聖人，但現實個別的聖賢還是有個別性與獨特性，其個別性與獨特性仍然在於他生命之歷史性。當然，現實上可以說是沒有聖人的。孔子，是我們所公認的聖人，在生命中還是有他的歷史性，發展性，由十五志於學到七十從心所欲不逾距，仍然是有發展有歷史的存在，孔子歷史生命的存在，使孔子成爲孔子。

每一個人的具體存在，都在一個具體的歷史與具體環境中，個人如何恰當回應其遭遇（即如何應事以義），必包涵其對其所屬家庭，團體，種族盡量求充足知識。若我生而爲中國人，爲中華民族之一份子，我之此一命運，亦同時要求我對中華民族之歷史文化有最基本的認識，進而確立個人自我真實存在的歷史性的一些內涵。同樣的，儒家亦要求一個英國人有責任了解認識英國及英國人的歷史文化，以完成其具體存在所命於他的責任。作爲中國人去了解認識中華民族中國的基本歷史文化，也就是孟子所謂的「義命」。

所以，總結的說，筆者主張初中須有獨立必修的中史科。

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環境教育與綠色學校–「可持續發展」課程的實踐

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環保運動的口號是「著眼全球、本地入手；共同承擔、由我做起」，要訣就是去鼓勵群眾建立起正確的生活和價值觀念，凡事本著「愛物惜物、尊重自然」這大原則來實行。只要大家齊心協力，環保這理想必可早日實現。

眾所周知，環境教育是推動環保工作的原動力，它不單著重認知和瞭解，更在乎學生的熱誠投入和共同實踐。因此，增強校內的環保教學資源和設施固然重要，但若在條件不許可下，教育工作者仍可透過所教科目的可用資料，針對生活處境和多姿多采的自然現象，讓學生親身感受到自己和生態系統間的緊密連繫，凡事多作思考和關懷，從而培養出一顆愛護和尊敬自然的赤熱心腸，在日常生活裏承擔起「世界公民」的責任。環境教育，必須從綠化心靈開始！

跨學科的綠色教育

環保與物理、化學、文史、地理、經濟等科目不同，它不是一門專業，而是一種跨學科的整全知識和生活哲學。

現代人已逐漸明白：環保不單靠科技去解決生態問題，它更需要大家有一種跨越學科的胸襟和見地，並且要懂得綜合和同步疏濬難題的技巧。舉例而言，全球氣象變化既涉及物理、生物、化學、地理、政經等多元範疇，我們就必須滙合科技、社會、經濟、商業、道德，甚至乎政治上的專業智慧去尋求出路。從歷史裡得到明證：自從工業革命以來，人類百分之九十五資源用於開發和改造地球，只有百分之五用於回收和保護環境，污染和生態破壞庶難避免。此外，人類的價值思維偏向於「多消費、少節約」，「先污染、後治理」，乃在發展上形成了破壞環境的勢頭。在國際的層面，富裕國家爲了本身利益，不惜把污染性高的工業向落後地區輸出，但由於傳媒往往受大國操縱，他們反倒過來指謫貧國們破壞全球生態。弱國爲了短暫的經濟利益，不惜容忍污染性高的行業在境內立足，他們仿如飲鴆止渴。在矛盾日益激化底下，保護地球氣候的國際公約乃遲遲未能落實。從公義與平等的角度出發，貧民、不能掌握家庭實權的婦女、弱勢社群等，他們的教育和謀生水平較低，往往便成爲污染的最大犧牲者，社會上的抗爭更是無日無之。

從上述例子可見，環境學確是一門立體化的學問，它既滲透於每一門學科，又要求每個人有獨立的學術見地，在在考驗現代人是否具備綜合、消化和活學活用的能力。深入認識環保問題能夠幫助學生擴闊視野、增強理解力和認清周遭的處境，教育價值不容忽略。若要成功推動環境教育，老師的首要任務就是幫助學生關心時事、培育公民的責任感，以周密的邏輯思考去建構全方位的知識網絡。

活潑有趣的綠色教育

很多教育工作者向我反映：在繁重的課程裡，怎可能再加插環保這個在公開試不用考試的科目呢？對於老師們沉重的課程負擔，我本身十分同情。但如我所一再強調，我們可先不要把環保看作一個普通學科，倒要把它看作一種公民參與和生活藝術，躬身力行，才可從中逐漸體會出環境教育的樂趣。環境教育的真義就是關懷、愛惜、求真、負責任和持久性的生活實踐。環保必須從校長和老師做起，以身作則，上有好榜樣，學生才有決心追隨，全校才會建立起一套環保的文化。從積極的角度看，環保令我們更關心生活的細節，更了解鄰舍的處境，更仔細分析學科間的微妙連繫，也爲我們提供一個絕佳的良機與學生一起成長。舉例而言，節省紙章和電力，又或自攜餐盒不用發泡膠，我深信由上而下的一連串活動或展覽，功效遠不如各老師平日所建立起的好榜樣來得有效和具感染力。我們不要強逼自己搞一大串活動，爲的只是博取公開賽的幾個環保獎項；輕輕鬆鬆地在生活中環保，學生自然會受薰陶而激發起興趣和責任心！

環保應是活潑而多姿多采的。我有幸獲辦學團體推舉爲浸信會永隆中學和浸信會天虹小學的校監，這兩所學校蒙校董會和全校師生的鼎力支持，把環保設定爲辦學宗旨，獲選爲 2000 年度「綠色學校」中、小學組總冠軍。它們的實踐經驗，應可作爲其他學校的借鏡。綠色學校的第一個特色是「全民參與」，它們首創在校內推行「環境管理系統」(Environmental Management System)，由校長或主任擔任「環保經理」(Green Manager)，下至課室、實驗室、校務處和小賣部也設立分組(圖 1)，讓老師、學生和校工互相督促，全情投入綠色的生活。其次，「綠色學校」極注重課程統整和環保剪裁，亦即把環保思想儘量滲透、相互緊扣在既定的課程單元裏面。舉例而言，生物或自然科老師與同學們一同查核校園裡的花卉和樹木學名，又或在校園內放置觀鳥的望遠鏡等，花費金錢和人力不多，却加深了學生對學科的理解能力，還培育了他們愛護自然界的決心，成本少但效益大。在分析化學和地理樣本時，老師可帶領學生到屯門河或龍鼓灘海濱去實地考察和採樣，那環保、活動和學科上的需要就能夠兼顧。可有想到把學生領到校園的溫室、水池或盆栽旁邊，寓環保於文學創作與欣賞之中？這種實物教學方法頗有創意，必能令學生加深興趣，誰說文科的老師們不能教環保？問題是大家有沒有動腦筋和建立起環保的文化而已。說來，家政老師亦可兼教食物污染和珍惜食水源頭，美術和手工老師也可教導學生海洋生態或廢物循環再用。環保就是這麼富有彈性和趣味，它其實可化作整個教育網絡的核心，據此而建構出一個互動和多元化的教育體系(圖 2)。

可持續的環保教育

綠色學校的第三個(亦是最重要的一個)特色，就是推動「可持續的發展」(sustainable development) 的理念。「可持續的發展」是 21 世紀的思想主流，它的含意是「發展既要滿足現代人的需要，亦要以不損害子孫後代的發展潛力爲代價」。這套大原則在 1992 年的地球高峯會中得到世界各國元首的支持，自此聯合國也以它作爲政治、經濟、環保、社會發展和教育的主調，而香港特首董建華先生也先後在他的施政報告中表示會全力推動「可持續的發展」。縱觀「可持續的發展」思想之形成，正是人類汲取過往在科技、經濟和社會上不平衡發展的慘痛教訓，希望日後在規劃上多照顧環保、在社會開發上多注重公平和公義、令科技更配合資源運用，教育更著重綜合思維和跨越學科的高明眼界。因此，香港若要成爲國際級的都會，教育體系亦須具備承先啓後的觸覺，以環境教育爲中心，推動綜合(Integrated)、整全(Holistic) 、互動(Interactive)的學習方式，裝備學生去迎接「地球村」的降臨。

綠色學校必須視推動「可持續發展」爲己任，讓這種世界思潮在香港普及，並且發揚光大。支援以環境和社會可持續發展爲學習中心可謂任重道遠，從實踐中得出經驗，學校必須有系統、目標明確和資源齊備。有見及此，上述兩所「綠色學校」都撥出地方設立了「環境教育資源中心」，內設有小型的圖書角、展覽櫃、多媒體資料庫和直通主要環保網站的電腦終端機，並且與本地著名的環保團體維持著密切的夥伴關係，令老師和同學們可以隨心所欲得到支援。當然，「環境教育資源中心」標誌著學校對「可持續的發展」思想的領先觸角和全力認同，它也是全校師生實踐環保的心臟地帶。在浸信會天虹小學上午校推動的可持續發展教育活動，概如圖 3，主責的老師們均十分樂意與教育界同僚們分享經驗。

總結

一所注重環保和可持續發展的學校，不單表明這所學校別具教育特色，更顯示這所學校的校風是注重社會使命和地球的管家職責(Stewardship)。綠色象徵心境明靜祥和、思考多元並發、胸襟有容乃大、目光宏遠亦時常關懷周邊的事物和人際變化。香港需要更多的環保學校，我們的下一代需要更深化的綠色教育，歡迎各位前線教育人員加入行列！

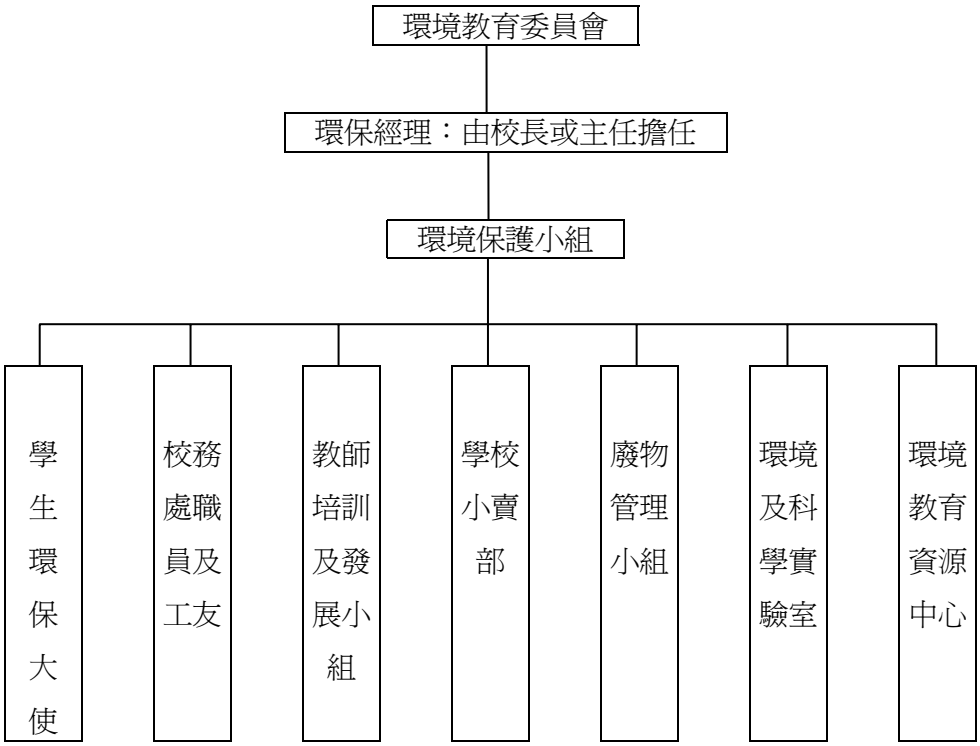


圖 1 綠色學校的環境管理架構

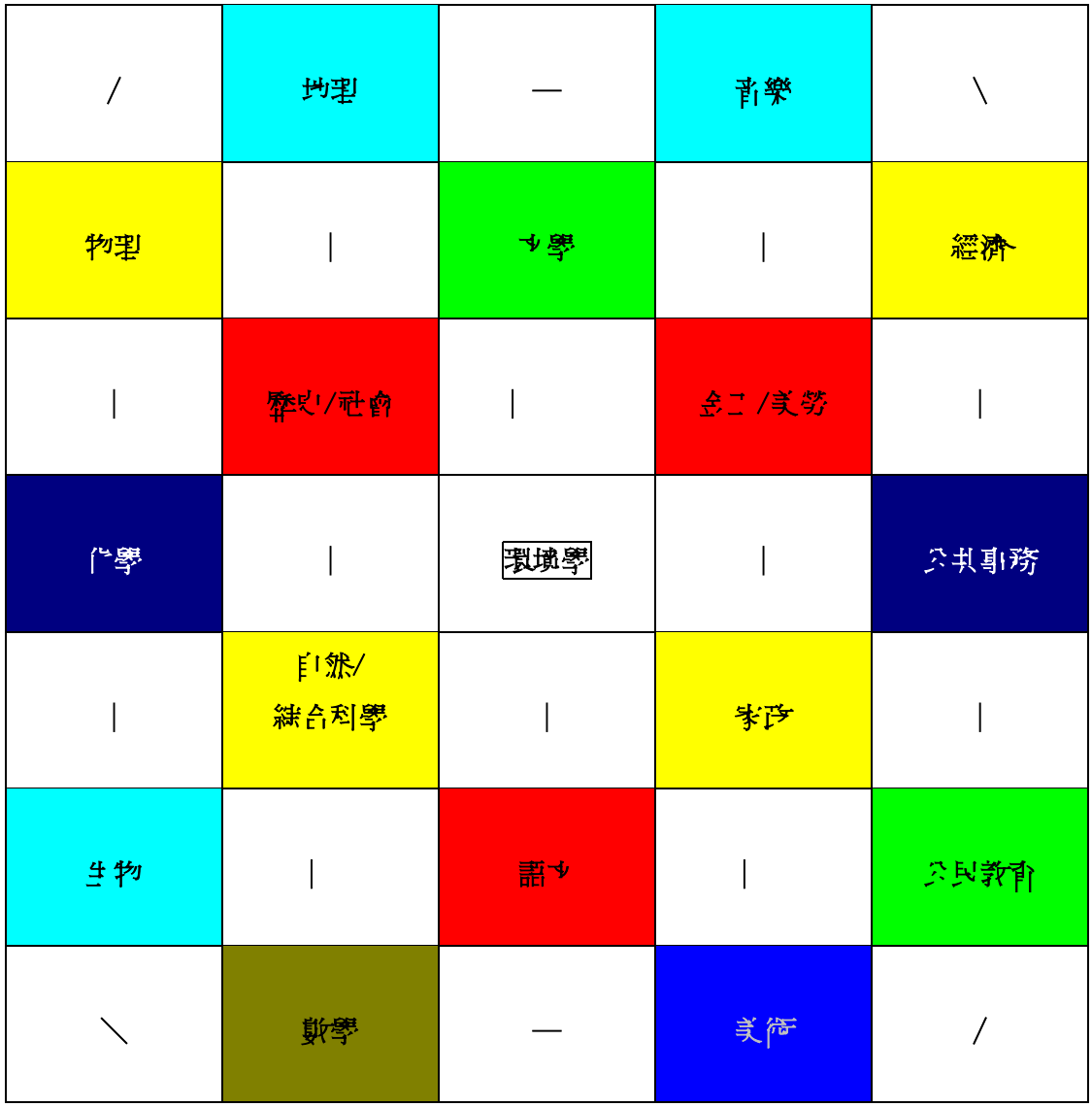
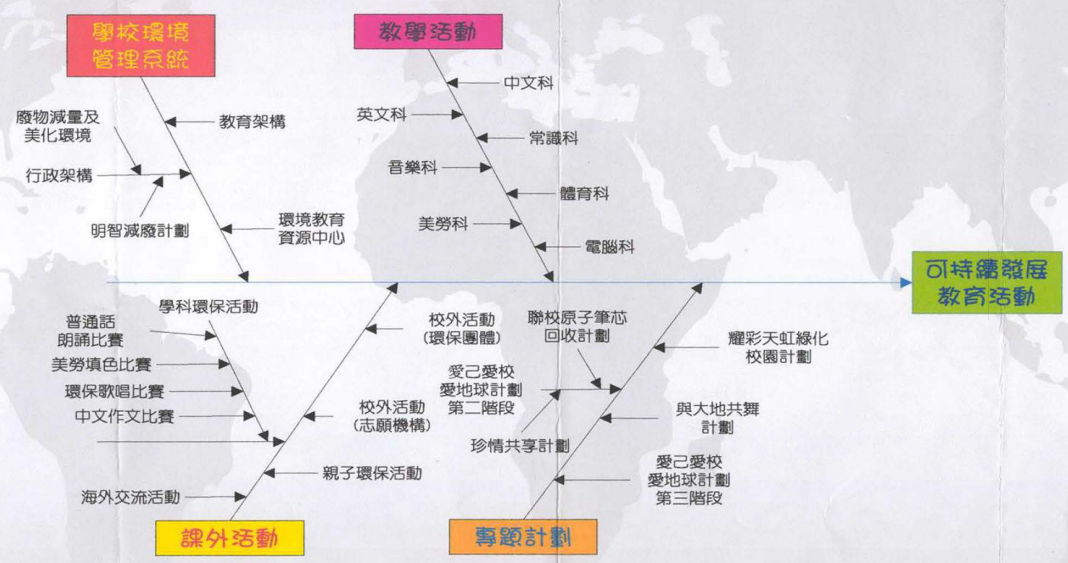


圖 2 環境教育可作爲各學科的核心，連成學習網絡

浸信會天虹小學上午校可持續發展教育活動圖



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創意寫作教學

黃潔貞
香港教育學院

創意寫作的序曲

一九九八—九九學年，一項名爲「小學中國語文高效能教與學」的研究計畫獲語文基金撥款贊助，開始於全港十多間小學推行，該計畫共分三部份—「綜合高效識字法」、「全語文寫作」及「創意及情意寫作」。

其中「創意及情意寫作」側重培育學生的創意，引導學生認識自己的情緒及表達自己的感受。這部份的研究計畫先後在五間小學推行。計畫推行前，先由負責人謝錫金博士及本人主持教師培訓講座，學期中，研究人員根據學校的需要提供了各級的參考教案供教師使用，及繼續安排教師培訓。 經過一學年的研究試驗，發現學生寫作的內容豐富了，創意及情意的表達，亦比過去沿用的寫作教學方法有顯著的改善，「創意及情意寫作」的教學模式亦因是在學校內撒下了種子。 前一學年，研究計畫結束了，本人重訪曾參與研究計畫的聖公會田灣始南小學，發現其中一班學生的作品，不但能繼續達成原定的研究目標，而且，學生的實際表現，比預期的還要理想----學生的詞彙運用豐富、句子表達多變化、寫作意念新穎、篇章佈局的層次和結構具法度，整體的寫作表現，著實令人驚喜不已！後來本人到該班的授課教師---王娟老師的課上觀課，發現學生在課上的表現令人難忘！

上王娟老師的課，發現學生在閱讀課上的表現，不但反應敏捷、想像豐富、思維活躍、樂於舉手、勇於表達、朗讀投入、聲情並茂；在寫作課上，學生不但興緻勃勃的參與討論，而且樂於動筆。 雖然只是小二，可是學生寫作的內容，不單饒有新意，而且遠遠超越一般小二學生的水平，綜觀學生的整體語文能力，在聽說讀寫各範疇看來，都有非常優異的表現。本人深深感受到，這些教學成效，絕對不是孤立地、憑藉著一些寫作教學方法及寫作教案的指導便能輕易達到，而是教師對創意及情意寫作教學的教學理念，有深刻的消化和理解，並能將這些理念延展到閱讀、聆聽、說話等教學範疇全面應用的結果。王娟老師的教學心得，很值得其他有心推廣「學生爲本」、「創意及情意寫作教學」的同工深思，下面附上學生作品數篇，及王娟老師的教學心得，供各位小學中國語文教育同工參考。

王娟老師的教學心得，讓我們看到寫作課不能孤立處理。 寫作教學本是語文教學的總輸出。 一位具創意的教師，不單要在寫作課上思考如何引導學生創意思維與動筆，她還要在其他的語文課上貫徹始終的用創意的方法教閱讀、教師生之間及同學之間的彼此尊重與聆聽、用創意的方法誘導同學多思考、多口頭表達，這種種努力訓練，才會令寫作課收到豐碩的成果。

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創意教學的教室

王娟
聖公會日灣始南小學

當今的社會，每個兒童都有接受教育的機會，所以普及教育發展到今天，不再止於服務對象----「量」的增加，而是追求教育的效果—「質」的提升，照顧學童的個別差異與協助學童全面發展才是教育的精要所在。教學的模式也應由過去重視輸入大量知識，轉而重視指導學生學會學習，建構知識。所以，教導學生掌握學習的方法、在群體中學會聆聽與分享，進而重整、發展及建構自己的知識、並盡展所長，是今天教育改革的核心所繫。爲了讓學生發揮潛能，創意教學應滲透於各科的教學中。

下文以小學中國語文科爲例，談談怎樣在構思創意寫作教案以外，建立一個適宜推行創意教學的教室，以利啓迪學生，有效的推展創意寫作。

和諧的師生關係是教學成敗的關鍵

我很同意陳龍安先生所說：教師在教學時，若繃著臉孔，不苟言笑，教室的氣氛必會非常緊張、嚴肅，出現壓迫感，學生不敢表達意見，甚至連思考也會停下來。所以教師若能常帶微笑，語帶幽默、多欣賞及關懷學生，給予學生支持，令學生感到獲得信任和安全，不用擔心怎樣配合教師的喜怒哀樂，而有強烈的內在動機追求學習，這樣，學生才會放膽思考、湧現創意。

教師應持開放的心靈

教師需明白自己有很多的想法、教法或傳統的觀念是有局限性的，只有不斷的充實自己，聆聽學生，才可以提升教學的素質。抱持這種態度，教師才比較容易和學生有對話，了解學生的想法，從而懂得從學生的立場、觀點看問題，引發互動雙向的教學。只有真心誠意的聆聽學生，才會有助激發學生的創意。

重視每個學習者

我們要有堅定的信念：每個學生都能在他們各自的起點上有進步。在教室內，教師須儘量給予學生發言機會，對於他們的提問和回答，教師可加分析或說明、但不要太快下判斷，宜預留時間讓其它同學齊來給意見或加以補充。教師要以身作則，接納、重視學生的不同意見；同時，須培養學生具有開放的心靈、尊重別人的意見，學習彼此欣賞。 此外，*不要排斥學生錯誤的想法*，反應予學生發言的機會，讓教師了解學生爲甚麼會有這些想法，然後加以正面的誘導，使學生明白自己的不是，力求改進。只有這樣，學生才會更有勇氣面對錯誤，重拾信心，接受新的挑戰。

善於發問

利用創造性的發問技巧提問，如提出一些沒有標準答案的開放性問題，讓學生應用擴散性的思考方法以找出多種多樣新奇和獨持的答案。提問時，須注意提問的範疇應以學生的知識經驗爲基礎，並應多給時間讓學生思考。

創造性的提問包括探究原因、預測後果、比較異同、推測可能、假設想像等，教師在使用發問技巧時，可同時應用腦力激盪的原則-----討論應是公開的，任何意見均可提出，大家要有開闊的心胸，容納不同的意見，最後，結論也不應要求單一的答案。

在語文教學上，各教學範疇應有呼應，目的在營造一個讓學生熱愛語文的教室

讓學生積極參與讀文教學的學習

儘可能以課文爲語文學習的出發點，而不應以課文作爲學習的終點。教授課文時，應設計把課文與學生的生活經驗聯繫起來學習，以喚起學生的長期記憶，印證學生的生活經驗與感受，增加學生對課文閱讀的親切感、樂趣，並在教學過程中，豐富學生常用的生活詞彙。此外，在教學記敘文或描寫文時，可用引導幻想的方法，引導學生把教學內容想像成一幅一幅的動畫，以增加學生的形象思考能力，有助學習。

重視佳作分析

指導學生欣賞課文或其他補充選文的寫作技巧 ，如修辭特色，用字技巧等。多向學生提問：爲何要如此用？用了這些修辭方法後可達到甚麼效果？有沒有其它更理想的、或更恰當的表達方法可代替呢？這些方法可讓學生在觀察、分析、比較中學會寫作。

多朗讀

朗讀不是指一般的唱讀，而是運用合適的語調、緩急有致、抑揚有度地朗讀。千萬別少看這步驟！教師講解了課文，學生不一定就懂。其實，學生若沒經過朗讀，對課文的理解仍會含糊不清，似明非明。 我們應要設定目標 — 透過朗讀讓學生徹底了解課文，只有句讀清晰的朗讀，才能顯示學生對語文教材有較深刻的理解，這些理解就是學生用得上的語文養料，日積月累，便可轉化爲學生的語文能力，提高讀寫的水平。

鼓勵朗誦 — 提高學生學習效果的最佳方法

學生把課文的內容理清了，進一步掌握課文的寫作情境，再經過一字一句準確無誤、繼而聲情並茂地讀過後，才容易體會文章的寄意。這些訓練令學生融入課文中，達至忘我的境界。受過朗誦訓練的學生，學習動機一般都會比較高，由於他們愛讀書，語感日益增強，結果是寫作的表現也日見進步。

加強說話訓練

在課上撥出時間讓學生說話：說故事，讀報、分享生活的喜與樂、談談感受、說說不同的意見等。亦可安排在學期的某時段，請學生就他們喜愛分享的課題，輪流在課上演說兩至三分鐘。說話流暢，內容豐富，也能有助寫作。

增加練筆機會

1. 寫片段：遇有突發性事件、學校的活動日、重要的節日等、可著學生試試寫下該事件的經過、談談自己的感受。遇天氣有大變化，也可著學生即時觀察，再寫下來。遇有同學精彩的表演、領獎或被罰，也可輕輕鬆鬆的寫寫感受。
2. 寫週記：讓學生寫生活經驗是最易入手的一種寫作訓練方法。小二學生已可開始嘗試，初時，學生可能沒

信心。教師可以最淺白的方式給他們解釋：寫週記只是和老師談話，說說在一個星期中有趣的事，若不懂寫的字，可以圖畫表示，或請教父母或老師，漸漸地，學生會在周記內無所不談，甚至連秘密也寫下來。有一點需注意的是：老師要對學生所寫的有回應，那才容易激發學生寫作的興趣。

善用讀寫結合

遇著合適的課文，可進行讀寫結合 —— 選取某些值得仿寫的句群、段落或篇章，由老師引導，試行仿寫 / 改寫。只要學生感到寫作有趣，便會很快按提示做到，而且很有成功感的完成。

多角度評改學生作品

教師宜用正面的態度，多和同學討論一些常見的寫作通病，以指導學生改進。此外，鼓勵同學交流分享，欣賞別人寫作優秀之處，也能提高他們的寫作興趣。這些都是有助學生寫作進步的方法。

總的來說，應用創意教學教授中國語文，教和學的都會感到更輕鬆、更滿足、更有成功感。

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價值教育與教育改革

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去年九月，教育統籌委員會頒布以「終身學習、全人發展」爲口號的《二十一世紀教育藍圖》，提出多項近乎翻天覆地的建議，並描述了數個「教育改革的遠景」，包括「確認德育在教育體系中的重要使命」和「建設一個具國際性、具民族及兼容多元化的教育體系」。這些都是應予肯定的。

重視「德育」和強調「民族傳統」，正正是香港教育未來兩個重要的發展方向，足以補救百多年來香港教育政策的失誤。

回歸前的香港，由於仍屬英國殖民地，鼓吹「英語教學」自有其政治需要與目的。回歸以後，特區政府當可以放開懷抱，積極提倡母語教學；可惜，三年以來，表面上大部分中小學已改用母語，卻特准部分學校保留英語教學，反而令學校之間，形成更大的分化——採用英語的一晃而成爲「名校」，家長爭相把子女送入就讀；而推行母語教學的學校，卻淪爲次等。也許這並非教育當局的原意，但事實擺在眼前，三年的母語教學是成是敗，大家心中有數。今年本來應是檢討有關決策的大好時機，當局卻一再推延，連高中語文政策也放手不管，任由學校自行決定，母語教學的前途無疑更令人憂慮！

說到這裡，大家不要誤會我反對「英語」。事實上，香港作爲一個世界城市、國際大都會，英語在各行各業中的應用是極爲普遍的；我們的下一代也極需要好好學習和掌握，使香港能在國際舞台上有足夠的競爭力。但「學者英語」和「英語教學」完全是兩回事——前者注重溝通技巧，以實用爲主，講求語文能力看訓練和應用；後者卻是以灌輸西方文化爲主，好讓人們浸淫於西方思維方式之中，認同其理念(殖民地政府期望的，正是這樣)。當然，作爲一個現代人，生活於一個日漸全球化的社會中，我們無可避免要接觸外來文化，更應對外來文化有所認識，但，這並不是說，我們要盲目西化，甚至像五四時期某些文化人，把我國固有文化全盤否定！

試問世界上，有哪些國家不是以「母語教學」的？有哪個民族不是以本土的傳統文化爲主，外文爲副？這正是國體、國策、國情，民族尊嚴的表現。我們的中國大陸、台灣省，以至亞州的日本、韓國、歐洲的法國、德國、意大利、瑞典、瑞士、西班牙等，都是國富民強科技發達的國家和地區，在國際商業競爭中亦是勝利者之一，卻同是以「母語」爲主要的教學媒介。相對來說，一些國家，如巴基斯坦、孟加拉、菲律賓、斯里蘭卡、印度等，被殖民地政府統治過後，自己傳統文化失落，採用了外語爲主導，卻不見得他們在國際競爭上起了甚麼作用。

本人不是歧視外語，但外語絕不能作爲主題。過去，香港的教育制度太重視英文，忽視中文，此一情況勢將改變，譬如政府招募公務員時，亦較前重視申請者的中文水平。其實，學生到學校讀書，最重要的是培養學生獨立思考和創造力，以及擁有各科知識和基本語文能力。而採用中文課本、母語教學，就能促進學生的思維發展及分析能力，令學習更有效率；學生更具自信，就會有足夠的能力去應付英語學習。

在此，又讓我告訴大家一個事實，香港每年的會考狀元雖然多數來自英文中學，令人以爲名校出英才，但是，根據兩年前一項研究，比較英文中學與中文中學考生會考成績的差異，竟得出一個令人驚異的結果——「及格率」和取得高分數的「平均率」，中文中學考生的成績原來都較英文中學的好。即是說，個別英文中學會考生的成績雖名列前茅，但祇屬少數精英，反而中文中學考生的成績卻是平均而穩定的。遺憾的是，肩負宣傳教育重任的傳媒，未能把這項信息宣揚開去，去改變家長對母語教學的排斥觀念，實在令人痛惜。

採用「母語教學」除了可以令學生的學習更有成效外，更重要的，是加強他們對本身文化的認識和認同。其實，近年不少西方學者，對中國文化，尤其以孔子爲代表的儒家思想，推崇備至。1988 年，七十五位身處西方學術桂冠地位的諾貝爾獎得主在巴黎開會結束時宣言：「如果人類要在廿一世紀生存下去，必須回顧二千五百年，去吸取孔子的智慧。」由此可見，孔子思想正好補救了西方現代文明的不足之處。我真的不明白，爲什麼已回歸於祖國懷抱中的香港，卻走回頭路，未能令炎黃子孫親炙我國文化的精深博大，更未能引導莘莘學子回歸到以民族傳統爲主導的國民教育的大方向？

英國的湯恩比（A. J. Toynbee）曾表示，西方主導世界文化已有五百年，卻仍舊烽煙四起，未能令世界達致真正的和平，因而感慨地說：「儒家文化如果不能取代西方成爲人類的主導，那麼整個人類的前途就是可悲的。」李約瑟博士也說過：「今天保留下來的各國時代的中國文化，中國傳統，中國社會的精神氣質和中國人的人事事務，在許多方面，將對以後指引人類世界作出十分重要的貢獻。」而聯合國文教組織泰勒博士更說過：「當今一個昌盛、成功的社會，在很大程度上，仍立足於孔子所確立和闡述過的很多價值觀念。這些價值觀念是超越國界、超越時代的；屬於中國，也屬於世界；屬於過去，也會鑑照今天和未來。」可見孔子是「聖之時者」，他的思想歷萬古而常新，其理論體系和思想內涵的精粹之處，確能超越地域和時代，爲世界文明的發展提供所需要的價值和成份。因此，如果要達成教統會所描述的「遠景」：「建設一個具國際性、具民族傳統及兼容多元化的教育體系」，當務之急，便是讓莘莘學子有機會接觸儒家文化，從嶄新的角度去重認孔子思想。

本人非常讚賞教育統籌局羅范椒芬局長，用《禮記・中庸》的「博學之、審問化、慎思之、明辨之、篤行之」這句儒家名言爲《星島日報・家長版》作題詞；而羅局長早前在電台做節目時，因有感於香港回歸後，社會及政治的分化、貧富差距愈來愈大等問題而落淚，本人也深表同情。這兩件事証明了羅局長是懷著「仁者愛人」之心，來履行她作爲教育統籌局局長的職責。本人更極力支持羅局長要改革本港「精英名校」的決心，好讓我們年輕的一輩擺脫「填鴨」式的教育，而能從更廣博深遠的「文化」層次去學習和成長。

說到「德育」方面，正如教育統籌局助理局長潘漢雄先生最近在本院的畢業典禮上所說：「德育是儒家教育理念的核心：孔子以『仁義』爲師、『忠恕』爲本，並講求『格、致、誠、正』，以及『修、齊、治、平』之道；無論德性修爲，以至倫常關係、公民教育、爲政之方，都有兼及。今天的教育家有關『德育』的各種學說和理論，根本無出其右。」事實上，孔子所倡導的「德育」，就是要人建立正確的「價值觀」；換言之，他的教育就是「價值教育」。

近年，西方不少發達國家，本身也出現無數社會問題。布熱津基在他的《大失控與大混亂》一書中便列出了目前困擾美國社會的二十個大難題，其中包括暴力犯罪、道德敗壞、精神空虛等；而根據美國一項調查反映，更有約三分一的中學生曾犯店舖盜竊罪，約三分之二的人曾在考試中作弊；尤其令人震驚的，是有學生因畢業問題而槍殺老師，一名年僅十歲的學童竟攜帶武器回校射殺同學，也有學生從互聯網上學得製造炸彈的方法。最近更有一名美國大學生籌備校園大屠殺，他的睡房藏有 30 枚炸彈及多枚燃燒彈。在在顯示只側重「知識」、「科

技」而忽略、德育——價值觀」的遺害！

至於目前香港的情況，也令人擔憂 ： 青少年精神貧乏，民族虛無，而「店舖盜竊」、「考試作弊」等問題同樣亦日趨嚴重，加以近日的炸廁所及電話亭等事件，以及犯罪率大幅上升 13.5%，無疑已響起了警號。雖然還不曾出現「槍殺老師」、「射殺同學」等暴行，卻已發生涉嫌糾黨刀傷小學訓導老師的案件。冰山一角，如果我們還不從「德育——價值觀」這基本問題上著手，後果確實不敢想像。我們的教育不只是「知識」、「科技」的灌輸，也應是「德育」、「價值觀」的建立。孔子強調先「明德」而後「格物」，著實是千古顛撲不破的真理，因爲還未能明白做人的道德，而先去「格物」，猶如「童子操刀，其傷實多」，是萬分危險的。

當然，「教育改革」的成功，除了所有從事教育工作的人〔包括教育當局、大專院校、辦學團體、教師等〕共同努力以外，社會人士的支持和合作也不可或缺，其中尤以部份「家長」和一些「傳媒」兩方面爲最。「母語教學」的失敗，不少「家長」仍保留「殖民地」時期「重英輕中」效應；最近，更有報刊鼓吹幼兒院、小學生「大逃亡」往外地升學「浸鹹水」，卻未見它們大力宣傳去年得諾貝爾獎的崔琦博士，是在香港中文中學出身的。此外，不少報刊誇張報導「暴力」、「淫褻」及其他「盜竊亂賊」的新聞，也往往令青少年人混淆是非對錯的準則，迷失方向。

文化乃一國國脈之所繫，是一個國家與民族全部智慧和文明的集中體現，亦是維繫一個國家和民族的精神紐帶。以孔子儒學爲基礎和主流的中華文化是中華民族凝聚力的根基和發展的動力。中華民族在新的時代要保持自己的存在和發展，就必須固守和發揚自己的文化傳統。民族凝聚力是綜合國力的重要內容和體現，把中國人和海外華人凝聚成一個具有強大向心力，可以創造任何人間奇跡的民族整體。中華民族凝聚力的培養必須從弘揚儒教，加強孔子文化思想的教育抓起，使之普及大眾，深入人心。因此，在新的時代，我們一定要樹立對中華文化的民族自信心，有計劃地加強儒家優秀傳統文化的教育，把它編入大、中、小學、幼兒園教材，切實有效地開展教育；並從幼兒做起，從小進行有系統的儒學、國學和歷史教育，灌輸愛國的傳統美德，把我國青少年和學生培養成具有優秀中華民族素質的下一代，作爲國家精神文明建設的支柱，與國家的經濟、科技等物質文明同步發展，這樣做是非常重要的。中華優秀儒學文化能否普及大眾，深入人心，關係到民族文化的興衰、社會的團結凝聚、防分裂，乃至整個國家的命運。我們要把孔子學說發揚光大，振奮民族精神，爲復興偉大的中華文明而努力。

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從「香港中學教師思維技巧工作坊」淺談「思維」教學

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「香港中學教師思維技巧工作坊」(以下簡稱「中思」) 是香港浸會大學教學發展中心思維工程主辦項目，已在2000暑期完成，其後仍不斷收到教師查詢或學員邀請在教師專業發展日介紹思維技巧教育。這一方面肯定了我們的工作和努力，也表示現時教育界對思維技巧教育的需求。

說起來，「中思」的出現，除了是順應知識社會及教育改革的需要外，也可追溯至一九九三年，筆者之一胡飄與校內同工陳湛杰，在香港浸會大學教師文憑課程中開設「創意與批判思維」的科目有關，當中累積的經驗和培訓出來的學員，間接推動了「中思」的面世。結果多年教師文憑班的思維科目教學經驗成了「中思」基礎，部份學員成「中思」的骨幹導師。「中思」是一個爲期十五個月的計劃，對象是中學教師，目的是藉教導一些思維技巧予學員，讓他們再應用到課堂裏，最終優化學生的思維技巧。「中思」的設計主要分爲四個階段，第一階段是一些行政、宣傳、培訓導師等的工作，其餘階段屬於不同系列的工作坊。第二階段「初階」及第三階段「進階」各挑選了十個思維技巧教授予學員，前者的主題是「基本思維技巧」；後者的主題是「教與學的思維技巧」。第四階段是「暑期學院」，邀請新加坡具思維教學經驗導師教授如何將思維技巧滲透入各學科之中(表一)。順帶一提，新加坡在一九九七年舉辦「國際思維研討會」時，提出「重思維學校、好學習國民」(Thinking Schools, Learning Nation) 的口號，在國內推行教育改革，將思維教學帶入中小學，甚至大學；也在初中增設思維學科，和大幅刪減原本課程的三成。她的先行經驗是值得香港負責教育及課程改革人士繼續留意和參考的。

教導思維技巧建基於思維是可以教導的信念。這信念及相關的技巧並非近幾年才出現，以往有古希臘蘇格拉底對話方式。說起思維，大家立即會想起哲學，想起它的語意辨証，三段論法等等，但現時我們討論的思維教學是從心理和教育學的範疇出發，從如何學習的角度探討。學生掌握思維技巧後，可以幫助他們更好地學習，轉移再應用在他們的生活和將來計劃上面。

我們重新提倡教導思維技巧，並不表示現時教師沒有教導學生思維，而是我們鼓勵教師刻意及明顯地教導學生思維技巧，讓學生知道自已正在學習思維技巧。當學生意識到這些思維技巧的存在，他們才會著意及刻意去使用。篇幅所限，如何令到學生有意識使用思維技巧至變成思維的習慣，在別處再討論。總括而言，我們想藉著工作坊向參加的教師介紹一系列有系統的思維技巧和它們的教授方法。

總結教育界現時採用的思維教學的類型可有三種：直接教導(將思維技巧獨立教授予學生，不涉及任何學

科內容)、活動主導(藉著教學活動在學科內教導思維技巧)和滲透法(刻意將思維技巧滲透入學科的教案內)，第三者的目的是向學生同時教導思維技巧和學科知識 (Swartz & Parks, 1994；胡飄，黃熾明，關綺雲，2001)。「初階」和「進階」的設計都是屬於直接教導的派別，而「暑期學院」就屬於滲透法的派別。在三個系列的工作坊中，都採用了一些鼓勵思維的教學活動，即活動主導派別所提倡的，由於這些思維教學活動在我們工作坊中並非工作坊的目的，而只是手段，故也沒有將這個派別的角色在我們的工作坊強調出來。

超過 140 間學校近 400 位教師直接參予「中思」的工作坊。一般人預計只有前線教師和初入職的教師才對思維及思維技巧有興趣。事實上，接近一半的參與者是屬於決策階層和富有教學經驗的教師，這似乎顯示出他們也認同思維教育的重要。從工作坊後的自我評估顯示，超過九成學員表示工作坊能成功達到他們預期的目標，八成學員覺得自已對將批判與創意思維技巧滲透入教學內容的態度變得較正面，近七成學員表示有信心將自己在工作坊所學的東西應用出來。

上述的學員評估結果，可以說「中思」算是成功了。「中思」的經驗及教育界人仕的鼓勵，促使我們將信念推展至小學層面，造就「香港小學思維作坊及思維教案計劃」的出現。事實上，要有效地培養學生思維能力，教師除了掌握教授思維的技巧，還需要其他方面的配套，例如學校文化、教師態度、家長配合，甚至課堂時間表及教學評估方式等等，這些均屬於整體性的改變和需要長期的落實和執行，本文論及的工作坊只屬優化學生思維工作的基建項目而已。

表一： 工作坊初階、進階及暑期學院一覽表

1. 作坊初階		2. 作坊進階		3. 暑期學院
A1	處理意念	D1	控制意識與認知	透過中國語文科建立思維技巧
A2	計劃行動	D2	建立記憶架構	透過中國文學科建立思維技巧
A3	優先次序	D3	培養思考習慣	透過英國語文科建立思維技巧
A4	思考抉擇	D4	概念的教與學	透過數學科建立思維技巧
B1	分析形勢	D5	組織、分析與理解技巧	透過科學科建立思維技巧
B2	認識比較	E1	衍生與綜合技巧	透過文化科目(音樂科)建立思維技巧
B3	組織思考	E2	理性思維技巧	透過資訊科技建立思維技巧
B4	暫時總結	E3	解決問題	透過家庭、學校合作建立思維技巧
C1	考慮証據	E4	創意與發明	透過實事評估培養批判思維技巧
C2	對錯之間	E5	學校思維課程的挑戰	

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從專題研習實例中探討推行全人教育的可行性

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從教育制度檢討改革方案諮詢文件中，看到「專題研習」這個學習模式，使我有進一步探討一下它與教與學的新文化有何關係的動機。根據文件中所提及的條件是利用專題研習的過程鼓勵老師引導學生以不同角度，運用橫跨不同學科的知識去思考和解決問題。本文嘗試從實踐的層面探討一下推行「專題研習」的成效。

理念方面

心理學家桑戴克曾指出:「人類改變自我的力量，就是學習，學習可能是自身最深刻動人的一件事。」也就是說，學習就是生活，一項慣性活動，一生也不可終止。因此專題研習的學習模式是很適合於發展及培養學生這方面的能力及態度。

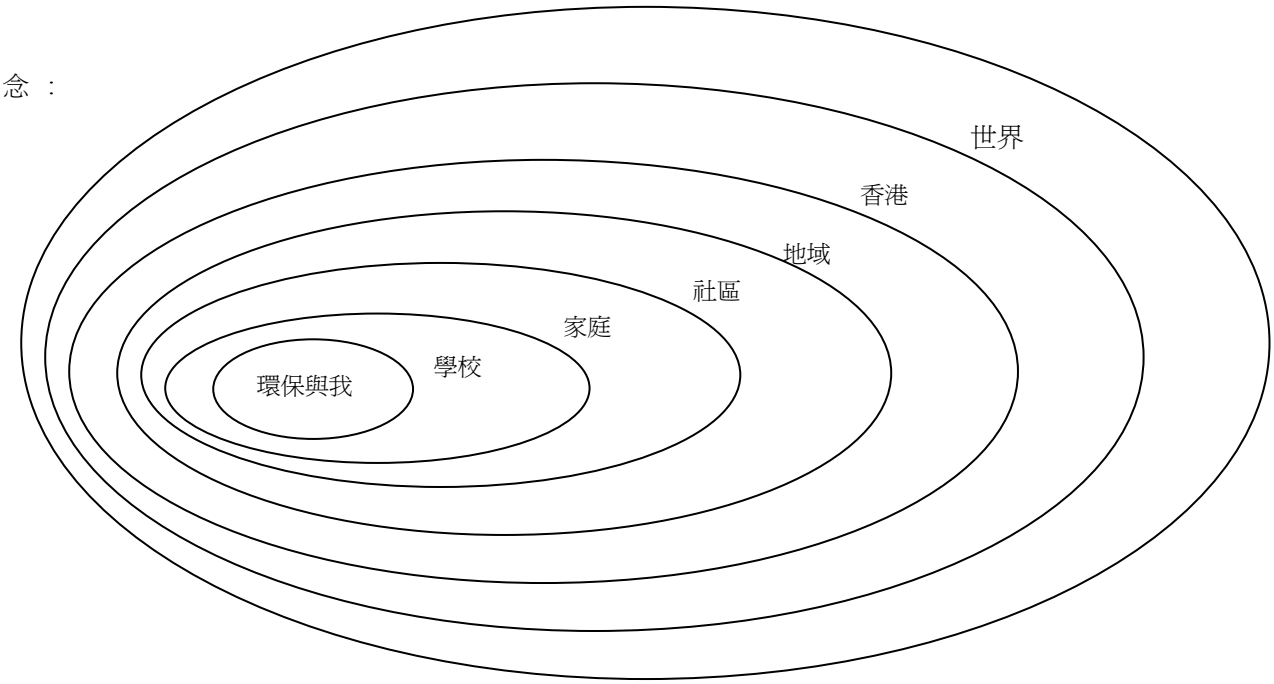
專題研習是針對一個主題作更深入的探討，老師誘發學生圍繞著一個問題， 通過有效的資料搜集、整理、分析、綜合反思等過程讓學生對問題進行探究，並作出結論，歸納出一些新論調或建構出一些新知識。同時在整個過程中，學生從資料搜集及整理當中，學習到如何分析、表達、評鑑、反思等能力，從而培養他們主動參與、探究解難、勇於嘗試及與人相處的態度。在整個過程中，創意思維能力絕對可以發揮得淋漓盡致，正正可以達到以下的要求:「每個兒童的潛質得以發展，日後成爲有獨立思考能力和關注社會事務的成年人，並具備知識技能，處事成熟， 生活充實及對本港社會作出積極的貢獻。」(教育統籌科，1993，頁 6)

個案研究

專題研習範疇：環保

問題 1. 爲什麼我要保護環境？
2. 我在日常生活中可以怎樣保護環境？
3. 我可以怎樣參與保護本區的環境？

概念：



設計內容

先決定以跨學科形式或主題式教學取向，如用跨學科式，老師必須計劃各科適合的內容及重點。決定如何引導學生學習，全體老師需作一次腦震盪活動，這樣一定可以使教學更生動、更富創意。千萬要留意初步計劃不能作準，在實行過程中，需根據老師及同學的反應作不斷修改。

學習模式

讓學生接觸主題內容，令他們先了解問題所在，包括從抽象到具體的例子，讓他們學習如何分析所見所聞，建構自己的思維，找出疑問，決定研習範疇，與同學和老師討論，並修正自己的假設，再一次實地調查或研究，作一次最後的歸納，肯定自己的假設，然後使用自己最擅長的表達模式發展自己的論據及見解。

活動模式

採用多元化教材，配合多元化活動以引發學生學習。座談會、論壇、訪問、調查、實驗及戶外參觀等活動，使學生在學習過程中，獲得多元化的學習經歷；同時爲了要達到教學跑出課室的目的，特別設計多次戶外活動，如參觀環保署、綠田園、嘉道理農場、傷健樂園、本區環境等，目的在擴展學生視野，使學習活動與現實生活緊扣。

科目配合

爲達成專題研習的學習重點，各科活動需作相應的配合，如中文科撰寫投訴信，環保建議書及標語創作，英文科訪問外籍人士，數學科統計家居垃圾，常識科設計環保城市，美勞科廢物利用小手工及再造紙，音樂科環保歌曲創作，體育科進行環保遊戲創作等。

評估模式

採用多元智慧的評量方式，放棄現行紙筆評核機制，評估包括進展性及總結性評估兩方面。在進展性方面，學生是分階段地將意念與老師溝通，老師亦分階段地評估學生，給予具體意見，所有資料必須保存於個人工作履歷檔(Portfolio)中。 每一科目分別有自己的學習重點及評估準則，而總結性評估則著重於評估整個學習過程的學習技能、態度、創意及反思能力。

資源運用

新的學習必須有新的理解，傳統的時間表編配方式也應該重新調整。舊有的時間表框架，須作彈性的編排，如音樂創作活動需時較長，就讓兒童一氣呵成地創作，千萬不要打斷，多次戶外活動也應有特別安排，切記不可爲參觀而參觀，流於表面。同時社區及志願團體的支援是無限的。只要能互相協作，將資源運用於支援學生的學習中，一定會產生意想不到的效果。

學習成果

在這次專題研習的推行中，眼見同學在最後一天的展覽準備過程中的投入及專注，實令人鼓舞；再從他們的表演認真而內容創新，見解獨立的態度上，可知這課程的影響及成效。不單從學生方面得到成效，老師看到同學的積極，感受他們的喜悅，也會替他們帶來一份無言的欣慰，使教師感到辛勞也是值得的。

結論

通過活生生的例子，深深感受到教育是人類有目的地、有組織地傳授經驗、技能及價值觀的社會活動。設計活動的理念是根據日本學者加藤幸次(1995)所提出的三種學習環境設計教學，其中包括人的學習環境，以老師爲主；物理性的學習環境，以物理性的空間認識，產生學習活動；潛在的學習環境，以文化氣氛爲主，產生潛在課程。從以上學習環境中促進學生探究課題的興趣和關心，引起同學學習的慾望，令他們不斷嘗試，在選擇與探求的過程中，反復深思，將舊經驗與新經驗交疊并比，在挑戰與對抗歷程中建立自己的思維，達到全人教育的目標。

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談製作教學網頁的苦與樂

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隨著資訊教育年代的來臨，學生也經常瀏覽網頁，除了用作消閒遊玩外，更用來找尋學習材料、交流學習心得等。兩年前，我開始撰寫教學網頁，名爲ＡＬ中史教室(http://lky.hkcampus.net/~lky-ccw/index.html)。製作網頁過程中，我除了要面對不少技術困難外，更遇到不少非技術性的問題。

我編寫的小網主要爲高考中史科而設，內設有課程綱要篇、治亂篇、史學名著原文篇、史學名著技巧篇、交通篇、宗教編、思想篇、答題篇、取分篇、功課篇、參考篇、治亂史技巧篇、歷史資料題分析篇和考試篇等。大部分內容也依照現時高考課程而設。現簡介部分內容供大家參考賜正。治亂篇主要介紹歷朝的治亂要事。以宋代國策分頁爲例，內便有強幹弱枝、重文輕武政策簡介。除了史事內容外，更附歷史學家的評語。學生瀏覽後，可用作備課或做功課的參考資料。

功課篇內有學生的功課論文，供同學們參考。知己知彼，百戰百勝。不少學生是井底之蛙，多閱其他同學的功課，實獲益不少。我設計這個子頁的宗旨是鼓勵同學多交流學習心得。因此，同學們可將功課論文電郵(以 doc 或 txt 檔案)給我。我會批改並給予評語，然後會上載於網頁中。自這個消息發佈後，不少學生也將功課電郵給我批改。結果，我未能立刻批改全部習作，只能按前後次序分期將學生的功課上載至網頁。

參考篇內分爲史料參考類、本地參考類、中台參考類。史料參考類提供不少有用的網址，如二十四史綱、歷史年表等。本地參考類則羅列了不少本地出色的歷史教學網頁，如中國歷史研習室、中國歷史新天地、中史園地等。史學名著原文篇則包括有不少古代典籍的資料，如史記、漢書、三國志。除學生外，不少朋友也喜愛這部分。遠至外地朋友，也曾致電郵給我，稱這部分實用，具參考價值。答題篇則簡介高考答題技巧，供學生參考。考試篇則有分爲七部分，分別爲治亂史、制度史、思想史、交通史、經濟史、史學史和宗教史等。各部也有歷年試題分析表，供學生在應試前瀏覽，作爲參考。

這個網頁設計需時。我也記不得用了多少時間來製作它。現時，不少老師也指出教學工作繁重，我也不例外。因此，我只可在課餘時間編寫，有時更朝夜相連。在製作過程中，我曾遇到不少技術性問題和非技術性問題，現在此與大家分享交流。

技術性問題方面，我首遇到編寫網頁技術的問題。雖然我曾修讀教署舉辦的網頁編寫課程，但實際編寫網頁時仍有不懂的地方。例如如何加入留言版、討論區、時間等。結果，我要再報讀一些電腦課程，如ＪＡＶＡＳＣＲＩＰＴ、ＦＬＡＳＨ等，提高電腦技術，應付所需。除此之外，我更要經常找電腦科老師及其他電腦高手查問。從錯誤中學習，才可不斷成長。其次是資料電腦化難題。我任教高考中史多年，雖已有不少寶貴資料，但大多資料仍未有電腦化。雖然現時已有中文文字辨識系統，但中文手寫文字卻極難給電腦系統辨識。結果，我要用大量時間將資料輸入電腦中。至今，我仍未完工。

儲存空間也是一大難題。雖然學校及教署等也會提供一些空間，給予老師們上載網頁。但網址名稱較難記。因此，我希望申請一個易記的網址。最初，我希望申請www.chinesechistory.com。可惜，這個既易記又有意義的網址已被人登錄。最後，我選了www.chinhistory.com。但登記一個網頁要辦理不少手續及要付註冊費。一年後，我卻忘記跟進續約。現在，這個易記的網址已不可用，真令人感到可惜！若教署提供協助，老師們便不用爲此煩惱憂心！

非技術問題方面，製作及更新一個教學網頁著實需要不少時間。老師日間教學已十分繁重，要不斷更新資料，實有不少困難。可惜，一些學生卻不瞭解，不斷要求更新資料。結果，老師實難應付。過去，老師只在課室教學，現已延伸至課室外。過去，老師只在日間教學，現已延伸至夜間。面對教育改革，老師們已吃不消，如何面對這種延伸教學。經過年多的親身感受，我覺得以一人之力去推持及更新整個網頁資料，實十分吃力！同學們電郵來的問題，我要定時回答。同學們電郵來的功課，我要定時批改。結果，我會疲於奔命！

因此，網絡世界中的虛擬教師可能會發展成爲一個專職。教署會否增設這些職位，供一些老師擔任幕後角色，去支援前線的教學。這個構想是未來的教學的新趨勢！老師沒有可能日間在課室教學，夜間在網絡世界中教學。老師也要休息！

總括來說，網絡世界教學仍在起步階段。我製作網頁時遇到難題，相信不少老師也有相同的經歷。可惜，教署除提供資訊課程外，卻沒有任何具體實質支援！老師們只可自救！若教署在各區增設一些資訊主任，替老師更新教學網頁或輸入資料，老師便有福！老師們便可走回前線。現在，老師們既要做先鋒，又要做守門員。結果可能是兩面也不好！教署大力提倡資訊教育，爲何不提供多點具體支援給老師。硬件重要，軟件也不可缺！

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「理想教育」 — 從古今三位中國教育思想家看香港的教育目標

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近幾年來，香港的教育面對著重大的改革。一九九七年，香港特別行政區行政長官董建華先生在首份施政報告中，向教統會提出要全面檢討香港的教育制度。一九九九年一月，教育統籌委員會(教統會)發表了《教育目標諮詢文件— 廿一世紀教育藍圖》(下簡稱《教育目標諮詢文件》)，檢討了一九九三年九月政府發表的《香港學校教育目標》，並為學前教育、中小學教育及高等教育定下詳細的教學目標。《教育目標諮詢文件》推出以作廣泛諮詢後，引起社會各界人士熱切的討論。筆者現從教育哲學思想的角度，以古代教育思想家孔子、近代教育思想家蔡元培和陶行知的教育思想內容，從「教育功能」、「教育主張和內容」、「對教師教學的看法」、「對學生學習的看法」四方面，跟香港九三及九九兩套教育目標進行比較，闡述其異同，從而探討香港兩套教育目標背後的教育理念。此外，筆者亦會分析香港教育的現況，並會就香港教育目標的發展方向作出建議。

比較分析的資料簡介

《香港學校教育目標》與《教育目標諮詢文件》

一九九二年十月，教統會發表了《香港學校教育的目標》的諮詢擬稿，在諮詢期間，收集了社會人士的不同意見，加以修訂，並於一九九三年九月推出了《香港學校教育目標》。《香港學校教育目標》「訂立了五項與提供教育機會有關，和十項與教育的過程及成果有關的目標(下簡稱十五個目標)」(第一頁)，爲全港中小學定下較長遠的教育目標。一九九九年一月，教統會發表了《教育目標諮詢文件》，檢討了一九九三年九月的《香港學校教育目標，認爲《香港學校教育目標》「只涉及學校教育，未有涵蓋各個學習階段」(頁 3)，未能夠配合社會急速的發展，因而制訂了幼兒教育、學校教育和高等教育的目的、目標和實踐方針，務使香港的教育目標更臻完善。

筆者現只就《香港學校教育目標》內的「基本目標」、十五個目標以及《教育目標諮詢文件》內的「整體目標」、學校教育目標和學校教育實踐方針進行討論和分析。

古今中國三位教育思想家

筆者從中國古今多個教育思想家中，選取了中國古代教育思想家孔子、近代教育思想家蔡元培和陶行知的教育思想內容，從「教育功能」、「教育主張和內容」、「對教師教學的看法」、「對學生學習的看法」四方面，跟香港九三及九九兩套教育目標進行分析比較。這三位中國古今的教育思想家都學有專長，聲名卓著，對後世教育的影響極大。孔子被後世尊稱爲「至聖先師」、「萬世師表」，其教育的思想與學說一直被沿用至今，譬如：「有教無類」和「因材施教」。後世不少教育家大都繼承並發揚了他的教育思想，例如：康有爲便提出了「大同世界」。

蔡元培是中國首位提出「五育並重」主張的教育家，而「五育並重」的建議與推行，使學校教育能夠注意到兒童各方面的均衡發展，改變了舊教育過分強調「勤有功，戲無益」的觀念說法。此外，他提出的「學術自由」和「兼容並包」的教育思想，使到中國的教育學術研究百花齊放，影響深遠。陶行知師承杜威，提出「生活教育論」，反對中國傳統的教學內容脫離現實，強調要把教育與生活結合起來。此外，他極重視教師的教學方法和學生的學習模式。他建議教師要「教學做合一」，又認爲學生一定要「從做中學」，盡量實踐所學的東西，活學活用。他的教育思想及其內容主張，使後世的教育工作者進一步明白「學以致用」的重要。

討論

三位教育思想家和兩套教育目標的思想內容比較

中國古代教育思想家孔子、近代教育思想家蔡元培和陶行知的教育思想內容，在中國教育思想史上具有重大的影響，即使現今香港的教育，仍然有很多適用之處。筆者從「教育功能」、「教育主張和內容」、「對教師教學的看法」、「對學生學習的看法」四方面(見附件二)，把孔子等三位教育思想家跟香港兩套教育目標的思想內容進行比較。

1. 教育功能

孔子等三位中國教育思想家和香港兩套教育目標都指出教育的功能是培養適當人才，爲國家的未來作出貢獻。孔子說「舉賢士」，「仕而優則學，學而優則仕」(《論語.子張》)，人才分爲聖人和君子，分別可以協助國家達成「大同世界」與「小康之家」。蔡元培和陶行知均提出“救育救國論”，他倆認爲當時的中國那麼疲弱，是因爲國家不能夠開發民智，不能夠培養足夠的人才。《香港學校教育目標》在「基本目標」中說明要透過學校教育發展兒童的潛能，使他們有足夠的生活技能，成熟的處事態度，「過充實的生活，並對本港社會作出積極的貢獻。」(頁 6)《教育目標諮詢文件》的整體目標是要使兒童五育均衡地發展，掌握各種能力，「願意爲社會的繁榮、進步、自由和民主不斷努力，爲國家和世界的前途作出貢獻。」(頁 15)

2. 教育主張和內容

在教育主張及內容方面，三位教育思想家和香港兩套教育目標有很多相同的地方。筆者並綜合了有關的內容，從下列三方面加以闡述：

普及教育

「普及教育」使所有人民都有平等的讀書機會，是一個很理想的教育理念。孔子提出「有教無類」，認爲任何人都有權利接受教育，教師不應該理會學生的貧富或賢愚，任何學生都要教導。孔子本人便設立私塾，教導來自不同背景的學生。「有教無類」的提議打破了當時只有貴族子弟讀書的局面，普及教育。蔡元培和陶行知都認爲普及教育十分重要。蔡元培更指出，社會的不平等源於教育的不平等，因此，國家一定要推行平民教育，令平民有機會進入小學、中學甚至是大學。(毛禮銳，1984) 陶行知說「中國教育最大的毛病，就是不能普及。」(華中師範學院教育科學研究所，1984)《香港學校教育目標》目標一「接受基本教育的機會」列明「每名兒童必須接受最少九年日校教育」(頁 6)；《教育目標諮詢文件》認同《香港學校教育目標》目標一的理念，更進一步強調學校教育是爲了要「奠定學生終生學習的基礎」(頁 16)，普及教

育使香港所有適齡的兒童有平等機會入讀小學，爲終生學習而作準備。

因材施教

孔子提出「因材施教」的教育理念，主張教師要注意學生的不同才能和個性，要以不同的方法教導不同的學生。蔡元培受到西方自由主義的教育哲學思想影響，建議教師要按照學生的興趣及個性特點，以不同的方法去教導他們，使他們自由發展(毛禮銳，1984)。他的提議正好與孔子的「因材施教」理念相配合。陶行知贊成教師要「因材施教」。此外，他更主張「人才教育」，認爲「人才教育屬於國民教育範疇之外的一種『因材施教』」(何國華，1999)。他認爲每個兒童都應該接受教育，教師要以不同方法教導不同的學生。如果教師碰到有特殊才能的兒童，就要悉心培養，「應加以特殊的教育，使其才能能充分發揮」(何國華，1999)，否則便會浪費人才，對他們也不公平。《香港學校教育目標》目標四「不同的教育方式」說明「政府鼓勵採用不同的教育方式來達致教育目標」(頁 8)；《教育目標諮詢文件》指出學校要幫助每一個學生發展，並要照顧個別差異」(頁 16)，教師不能夠以一套教育方法去教導不同的學生。

五育並重

「五育」就是德、智、體、群、美,它能夠協助兒童全面地成長。孔子十分著重道德教育，他「認爲一般文化知識服從於道德教育的需要。」(毛禮銳，1984)孔子以「文、行、忠、信」(《論語・述而》)四教教導學生，陳景磐(1981)指出，「孔子智育的對象主要的就是傳統文章」。「文」就是智育的對象，指的是西周的傳統典章，如：詩、書、禮、樂等典藉。此外，孔子重視「游於藝」(《論語・述而》)，對音樂有濃厚的興趣，認爲音樂可以陶冶性情，能幫助一個人建立正確的道德觀。蔡元培是中國首位提出「五育並重」的中國教育思想家。他認爲五育可以協助國民發展全面而健全的人格。他提出的五育分別是：軍國民教育(體)、實利主義教育(智)、公民道德教育(德)、世界觀教育(群)及美育(美)。蔡元培的「五育並重」教育哲學思想在中國教育史上有很重要的影響，使後世的教育工作者注重學生的五育均衡發展。陶行知也重視五育的均衡發展，尤其是美育。他創設的育才學校，便大力提倡美育，「形成了一套獨特具風格的、具有濃厚生活氣息和創造精神的美育理論。」(何國華，1999)他認爲美育能夠陶冶兒童的性情和豐富他們的精神生活。他認爲美育不只限於音樂繪畫，把很多項目加進美育的內容，例如：學校的環境美、優美的校風和校容等。《香港學校教育目標》著重兒童的五育發展，目標八至十的「學習技能」項目(頁 11-12)是有關「智育」的；目標十三「個人品格和德行」便指出學校和家長要合力培養兒童正確的道德觀念(頁 14)；目標十五「藝術及文化的培養」(頁 15)就是培養兒童的美育。《教育目標諮詢文件》在整體目標中開宗明義，說明香港的學校要「讓每個人在德、智、體、群、美各方面有全面而具個性的發展」(頁 15)，而在有關學校教育的建議目標中，更詳細地、清晰地列明五育的內容，譬如：建議目標(9)「群體生活」說明兒童要有「具備與人溝通的能力」、「以寬容的態度與人相處，以民主的程序處理事情」等(頁 34)。

3. 對教師教學的看法

教育的作用很大，而在整個教育過程中，教師扮演著舉足輕重的角色。孔子等三位教育思想家均談及對老師的教學的看法。《香港學校教育目標》較少提及老師的角色，而《教育目標諮詢文件》則作出補充，論及老師的角色。筆者試從「教師的責任」、「教師應該具備的條件」、「教師的教學原則和方法」三方面加以分析：

教師的責任

孔子等三位教育思想家都認爲教師的責任不只在教書，還在培養學生的道德，使他們有健全的人格。孔子提出的“四教”，蔡元培提出的「五育並重」教育方針，陶行知強烈反對教師「教死書，死教書，教書死」的意見，都說明了教師不能夠只以傳授知識爲主要目的。教師還要教學生待人處世之道，要讓他們有道德觀念，做個有高尚品德的人。《香港學校教育目標》雖然沒有明確列出教師的責任，但如前所述，《香港學校教育目標》的一些目標列明要發展兒童的五育，這表示教師要做到「教書育人」。《教育目標諮詢文件》補充了《香港學校教育目標》的不足之處，在「學校教育目標的實踐方針」(下簡稱「實踐方針」)的第七項中，指出「學校不應只是讀書和求學的地方，也是讓學生學會做人與做事的園地」(頁 36)，教師只灌輸學生知識是不足夠的，還要做到「育人」。

教師應該具備的條件

其次，三位教育思想家及《教育目標諮詢文件》均指出了教師應該具備兩個主要條件。第一，教師要以身作則。孔子認爲「其身正，不令而行，其身不正，雖令不從」(《論語・子路》)，教師身教重於言教。陶行知認爲教師一定要嚴求律已，教師要做到「一舉一動，一言一行，都要修養到不愧爲人師的地步。」 (華中師範學院教育科學研究所 1984)。《教育目標諮詢文件》在「實踐方針」的第六項中，指出「學生在德、智和群的培養，或態度/價值觀的建立，取決於教師的身教和言教」(頁 36)，教師要做好自己的本分，成爲學生學習和模仿的對象。第二，教師要做教學相長。孔子說：「學而不厭，誨人不倦，三人行，必有我師焉」(《論語・述而》)，陶行知強調「教學做合一」的重要，認爲教師「應該一面教一面學，並不是販賣某些知識來，就可以終身賣不盡的。」(華中師範學院教育科學研究所，1984)。《教育目標諮詢文件》在「實踐方針」第二項中提出學校要「提升施教與學習的素質與效能」(頁 36)，學校要提供優質學校教育，教師就是推行優質教育的重要人物。教統會(1999)在《第七號報告書》中，鼓勵教師要透過進修，提高個人的專業地位。教師要不斷提升自己的內涵修養，改善自己的教學方法，使學生有所得益。教師除了教，還要不停地學。

教師的教學原則和方法

再者，三位教育思想家及香港兩套教育目標都極著重教師的教學原則和方法。如前文所述，教師一定要做到「有教無類」及「因材施教」。此外，教師還要做到啓發誘導。孔子說：「不憤不啓，不悱不發，舉一隅不以三隅反，則不復也」(《論語・述而》)。蔡元培說：「(教師)不可一句一句，或一字一字的，都講給學生聽。」(毛禮銳，1984)教師要引起學生的興趣，教學生治學方法，待學生有困難時才協助他們。陶行知也主張教師要擅於運用啓發方式來教導學生。他認爲教師絕不可以把學生培養成書呆子，而要培養學生有獨立的思考能力和處理實際問題的能力。《教育目標諮詢文件》在「實踐方針」第三項中指出在教學的過程中，「學生是主體動，由教師作引導。」「教師要提供方法和條件，幫助學生自發和有效地學習」(頁 36)，也就是說，教師要以兒童爲中心，要引導、啓發學生去掌握學習方法。

對學生學習的看法

教育的服務對象是學生，學生的學習態度，往往影響了個人的學業進度。孔子等三位教育思想家及香港兩套教育目標都建議學生要有有獨立的思考能力，要有自動、自覺、自學的學習精神。孔子強調學生要「舉一反隅」，學生學習一定要積極、主動。蔡元培提出了自由主義教育理論，認爲學生要「隨時注意自己發見求學的門徑和學問的興趣」(高叔平，1980)，並要主動學習。陶行知認爲學生不可以死讀書，而要做到活學活用。他強烈抨擊傳統教育令學生缺乏創造性和積極性，要求學生要有獨立的思考能力。《香港學校教育目標》在「基本目標」便指出學校教育是要發揮每個兒童的潛能，使他們「日後成爲有獨立思考能力和關注社會事務的成年人」(頁 6)，而在目標九「學習技能：思考和推理」也再次強調學校要協助學生培養「符合邏輯、獨立和有創意的思考」(頁 11)，學生不能夠只依賴教師，要獨立、具創意。《教育目標諮詢文件》在建議目標(2)「思考能力」和(3)自學能力強調學生必須具備主動、自學的學習精神，「一生不斷追求知識」(頁 34)，認爲學生一定要有終生學習的積極態度。

香港教育的困境

筆者綜合上述的分析和比較，發現香港的兩套教育目標的內容有在「教育功能 」、「教育主張和內容」、「對教師教學的看法」、「對學生學習的看法」四方面，跟孔子、蔡元培及陶行知三位中國古今教育思想家的教育思想及主張有很多相同之處，可見，香港的兩套教育目標都在積極推行一套「理想教育」。不過，香港推行「理想教育」的成效並不顯著，筆者現試從「學校學制」、「教育政策」、「教學環境」、「師資培訓」及「社會觀念」五方面，概述香港教育的困境以及教育工作者在實行《香港學校教育目標》時所遇到的困難，並探討在香港目前的教育環境下，《教育目標諮詢文件》所擬定的教育目標和方針是否可行。

1. 學校學制

《香港學校教育目標》目標一「接受基本教育機會」說明每名適齡的兒童都必須九年強迫普及教育(頁 6)，使人人有書讀；《教育目標諮詢文件》在「學校教育的目標」也指出學校要開發學生的潛能，鼓勵他們追求卓越(頁 17)。這些全是很好的教育理念。可是，政府卻一直沒有解決學制的問題。香港的中學分成五級(Banding)，學生被分成五類。從九八年九月開始，香港的中學更分成以母語教學的中文中學和以英語教學的英文中學，全港只得百多所中學是英文中學，能夠進入英文中學的全都是第一級或第二級的學生。此外，近年來，政府大力推行優質教育，推出「新直資計劃」，又積極發展私立學校體系，把更多的資源投進本來已經發展得相當不錯的學校，而不是「使最不足者受益」(曾榮光，1998)。政府只求「拔尖」，卻沒有「補底」，把學生分成五類，卻沒有特別照顧學習能力差的學生，沒有設法協助不同的學生發揮不同的潛能。這樣的學校學制只是標籤學生，有違「有教無類」及「因材施教」的精神。政府如果不正視學制問題，那麼無論《教育目標諮詢文件》寫得多麼漂亮，也無法改變目前教育的不公平現象。

2. 教育政策

近幾年來，政府推出了很多教育政策，譬如：《香港學校教育目標》上提到的目標爲本課程、校本管理新措施等(頁 16)；《教育目標諮詢文件》上提到的兩文三語、資訊科技等(頁 17)。這些政策或改革的目的或理念很好，不過，政府的實施的手段與過程卻很有商榷餘地。首先，政府的教育改革推行過太急，沒有足夠的時間讓前線教育工作者去理解及實行有關內容。就以推行「資訊科技」教育爲例，教育統籌局於一九

九八年十一月發表了《與時並進-----善用資訊科技學習》的五年計劃，希望在二零零三年時，教師和學生都能夠掌握基本的資訊科技知識，且要透過資訊科技教育「把學生變爲充滿活力和創意的學習場所」、「學生則成爲主動性強、具探究精神和創意的學習者」(頁 1)。資訊科技教育的目的與《香港學校教育目標》及《教育目標諮詢文件》有關培養學生自學、主動的求學精神相配合，可是，在五年那麼短的時間裏，不少教師要由不大懂得掌握電腦操作到利用電腦科技教學，使學生變成「主動性強、具探究精神和創意的學習者」，會否有點困難？目下有多少學校仍然欠缺良好的科技教育的學習環境？其次，政府推出的教育政策及擬訂的教育目標多是徒具教育理想，苦無正確的實行方法。例如：目標爲本課程強調要教師照顧學生的不同需要，這種「因材施教」的精神相當好，可是，課程指引卻一直沒有明確指出教師應該如何去做。難怪教師只把不同的課業分給不同能力的學生，就算是照顧學生的個別需要？這樣，只會形成更鮮明的標籤效應，違反了「有教無類」的精神。又如《教育目標諮詢文件》在「建議目標」(2)「思考能力」中表明學校協助學生「掌握高層次的思考方法，包括對知識的理解、運用分析、綜合和評價的能力；具備創意思考和革新的能力；具備應變的能力；具備批判思考的素質和解決問題的能力」(頁 34)，這正符合孔子等三位教育思想家提出要培養學生獨立思考能力的看法。可是，學校怎樣提高學生這些高層次的思考方法？《教育目標諮詢文件》在十項「實踐方針」中都沒有具體的建議，試問學校又可以怎樣做呢？

3. 教學環境

香港的學校如果要實踐理想教育，一定要先有理想的教學環境。《香港學校教育目標》強調學校教育的重要性，《教育目標諮詢文件》在「實踐方針」第七項更進一步說明學校「不應只是讀書和求學的地方，也是讓學生學會做人與做事的園地」(頁 36)，教師要做到教書育人。不過，《教育目標諮詢文件》提出的實踐方針有多大的可行性？香港的教學環境容許教師達到理想教育嗎？教師要教書育人，就要有充足時間去接觸學生，現在，香港的教師根本分身乏術，他們不但要依據緊迫的課程來教書，而且花上很多時間應付連串的教育改革和處理一些繁瑣的行政事務，就連教批改作業的時間也不足夠，更遑論抽時間來與學生作進一步接觸，觀察他們、留意他們的個性和才能，以及用不同的方法來教授學生了。香港教學環境如果無法改變，那麼任何教育目標都難以實現。

4. 師資培訓

香港政府如要順利地推行理想教育，便要提高教師的質素。明顯地，香港的師資培訓並不足夠，而且不能夠與教育目標相配合。例如：《香港學校教育目標》目標九「學習技能：思考和推理」提出學校要幫助學生「符合邏輯、獨立和有創意的思考」等(頁 11)，是個很好的教育目標，因爲它能夠提高學生的學習能力。可惜的是，香港缺乏有關的師資培訓，因而教師本人都無法掌握正確的及多元化的思考方法，更不用說要去提高學生的思考方法。筆者可以學能測驗作爲例子來說明有關情況。學能測驗原本的目的是要考核學生的邏輯和推理能力，而這兩種能力是可以訓練出來的。「邏輯」其實是一門專門的學科，有一定的理論，是用來協助人釐清思路的。香港的教師大部分沒有接受過邏輯思維的訓練，在面對學能測驗時，只會不斷地叫學生做多些有關題目，結果浪費了訓練學生思考能力的機會，徒然把學能測驗變成洪水猛獸。《教育目標諮詢文件》的建議目標也提出教師要提高學生的高層思考方法，更在「實踐方針」第三項中指出學校和教師要「提供方法和條件，幫助學生自發和有效地學習」(頁 36)。試想，如果有關的師資訓練根本沒法教導準教師們掌握不同的教學法，又怎樣刺激學生主動學習？難道教師只要不停地累積經驗，最終就可以達至有關目標?有多少學生成爲了教師們的「試驗品」？

5. 社會觀念

此外，一些固有的社會觀念，也使政府難以推行「理想教育」。香港是個資本主義的社會，教育的作用往往與經濟發展有密切的關係。香港社會的「人才」，主要是能夠推動經濟發達的。香港的教育仍然是考試主導，考試的最終目的考入大學，成爲香港社會的「人才」。《香港學校教育目標》的基本目標(頁 6)和《教育目標諮詢文件》的整體目標(頁 15)都表明注重五育發展，但是香港有多少學校能夠做到五育平衡呢？所謂的「智」，就是把書讀好，應付考試。其他四育也只是紙上談兵。另外，孔子等三位教育思想家都主張「因材施教」，教師要注意學生的個性，要讓學生發現自己的興趣和才能並加以發展。不過，在香港的現實社會裏，有多少學生真的可以順著自己的興趣或個性來發展呢？就如筆者前述，連政府都只會「拔尖」，而未能夠做到「補底」，學校要實行「五育並重」、「因材施教」的教育理想，真是談何容易。

建議

香港目前的教育狀況仍然有待改善，政府要完全達至「理想教育」，實在是困難重重。然而，這並不說政府要放棄教育理想。筆者認爲政府可以做以下的事情來改善目前的教育困境，以求把《香港學校教育目標》及《教育目標諮詢文件》的內容付諸實行：

貫徹實行「拔尖補底」的理念

政府要推行「理想教育」，就要做到真正的「拔尖補底」。「補拔尖底」 符合《教育目標諮詢文件》「學校教育的目標」中指出「學校要照顧個別差異 」、「保證學生達至基本水平」(頁 17)的教育理念。筆者認爲，政府應該「拔尖」，要培養精英，而這些精英必須是曾榮光(1998)提及的「績效精英」(meritocracy)，即是經過學校選拔制度而挑選出來的人才，他們一般都具有高度的智能和專門技能。孔子、蔡元培和陶行知三位古今教育思想家都認爲教育的功能是培養人才，因爲人才可以推動社會的繁榮。陶行知更進一步提倡「人才教育」，認爲人才教育是 「屬於國民教育範疇之外的一種『因材施教』教育」(華中師範學院教育科學研究所，1984)。任何社會都需要人才去推動社會發展，而培育人才根本是「因材施教」的表現。如果政府不好好培訓精英，對這群具有特殊才能的精英來說，是不公平的。此外，政府更需要「補底」。 政府要把多一點資源投入學習能力較弱的學生身上，協助他們達至基本水平，這樣做才算是達到真正的「普及教育」。事實上，筆者絕不贊成精英主義教育。筆者主張的是政府在發展普及教育的同時，也要好好培養具有特殊才能的精英，使社會能夠不斷進步。政府如果只把學生按學習能力分成五類，卻又不因應各類學生的學習需要而提供不同程度的支援或協助，根本無法實踐理想教育。

給予教師更多教學的空間

《教育目標諮詢文件》提及到教師的責任、教學原則等，跟孔子等三位教育思想家同樣重視教師在教育過程中的作用。不過，香港目前的教學環境根本不理想，急速的教育改革以及緊迫的課程只叫教師疲於奔命。教師都無法愉快地教學，學生又怎可以做到《教育目標諮詢文件》中提出的「愉快和努力地學習」(頁 36)呢？政府要成功地推行理想教育，必須先給予教師更多教學的空間。無論教育目標的廣度和深度有多大，都需要由教師去把它實行，才會達至預期的效果。教師要有充足的時間去備課、去反思、去學習，才可以做到《教育目標諮詢文件》「實踐方針」第二項提到的「提升施教與學習的素質和效能」(頁 36)。政府不能夠一面提出要提升教師的專業地位，一面推出排山倒海的教育政策及種種監察教師的機制，阻礙教師發揮他們的專業知識來教書育人。

加強學術研究及師資培訓

《香港學校教育目標》和《教育目標諮詢文件》提出的種種目標，例如：以不同的教育方式教學、幫助學生自發和有效地學習、提高學生的思考能力等，都有助於學生有效地學習。政府如果要做到《教育目標諮詢文件》在整體目標中所說到的要使每個兒童均衡發展，掌握不同的能力，「願意爲社會的繁榮、進步、自由和民主不斷努力，爲國和世界的前途作出貢獻」(頁 15)，就必須先提升教師質素。政府應該把更多資源給予各大院校，讓它們不斷改善教育課程，把課程跟教育目標相配合，以利教師的專業發展。更重要的是，政府要鼓勵各大院校進行各類有關教育的學術研究。政府近年來提倡的質素教育，包括了要提升教師的專業水平，而教育研究正是提升教師專業水平的途徑。陶行知提出「教學做」合一，教師要做到教學相長，就要多從事教育研究，或參考各大院校的學術研究成果，掌握最新、最有效的教學方法，以擴闊自己的視野。

改變社會固有的教育觀念

社會一些有關教育的觀念是很難改變的，例如：讀書只爲了考試、五育均衡並不重要等。可是，政府卻應該站在領導地位上，透過一些政策慢慢地改變社會的觀念。譬如，政府要徹底實行「普及教育」，便不可以只「拔尖」而不「補底」，讓「精英主義」的思想在社會中廣泛流傳；政府要達至《教育目標諮詢文件》中「五育並重」及「發揮兒童的各種潛能」的教育理念，就要減少不必要的考試、開拓寬闊兒童的升學途徑、把多一點資源用來推動體育、美術和公民教育科。事實上，教統會最近提出的一些措施，如取消學能測驗、「大直路」、建設社區學院等正朝這個方向走。雖然仍然不足夠，但是不失爲好的開始。至於成效如何，則仍然有待觀察和檢討。

結語

總括來說，《香港學校教育目標》和《教育目標諮詢文件》背後的教育理念跟孔子、蔡元培和陶行知三位中國古今教育思想家的思想內容及主張有很多相同的地方。可見，香港所推行的是一套古今教育家所推崇的理想教育。不過，香港目前的教育正陷入困境，教育工作者難以實行兩套教育目標。「教育」不但影響著每個人的個人成長，也影響著整個社會的發展。香港政府一定要竭盡所能，循序漸進地執行所有能夠達至理想教育的政策，別讓兩套教育目標變成兩套洋洋灑灑的千字文，卻一點也不切實際。

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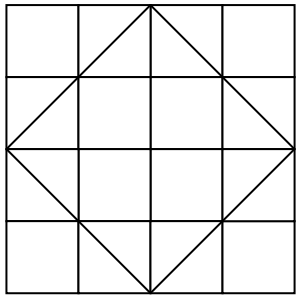
發問、問答與起來答話

香港中文大學「小學生在中、英、數三科學習動機與模式」
發展與研究計劃數學組[1]

智性互動

發問理應爲教學上重要環節之一。歐蘇伯(Ausubel)六十年代提出了「有意義的口授」(meaningful verbal instruction)及「表露法」(expository learning model)提出課堂式講授未必比自由活動方式的自我表現法遜色，可以做到既以學生爲中心，課堂節奏卻由老師所主導(student centred and teacher led)，問題在於先行組織(advance organiser)之訂定及以發問不斷監察學生是否已接收老師所欲傳遞的訊息(Ausubel, 1961, 1963, 1968a, 1968b；又見 Bell, 1978)。



早在古希臘時期，著名的蘇格拉底與曼諾(Meno)的對話就是企圖闡述一個目不識丁的小童(奴隸)如何可以透過蘇格拉底的不斷發問，自我發現出邊長爲「1」的正方形對角線之長爲「$\sqrt{2}$」)亦即右圖中 4 條斜線所形成之正方形其面積爲小正方形面積之 8 倍) (見黃毅英，1994)。縱使這段對話中可有不少值得再深入討論之處，無疑這種透過問答所形成爲智性衝擊，最後導致概念(在學習者腦海中)之自我建構至爲重要。根據 Lakatos(1976)的看法，數學學習應爲一個「合理猜想 — 勘察和反駁」的曲折歷程(zig-zag path)，可惜正如 Lampert (1990)所說：「一般來說，數學被聯想到『肯定性』：認識其中內容，獲得正確的答案，並須快速地得之」。此種文化之假設乃由學校經驗所形成。其中，『做數學』即爲遵循教師所定下之規則而行：『認識數學』意爲當教師問問題時記得起並能應用正確的規則：而『數學真理』之決定乃在於獲得答案之後得到教師之認許。這種做數學和在學校裡甚麼叫認識數學之信念乃由經年累月之觀看、聆聽及練習而形成。

反問與反省

放遠一點來看，這種發問與反問不但對問題解決能力的培養至爲重要(Scandura, 1977； 黃毅英，1990)，挑起「疑情」更是不少古代教師所用的教學方法。所謂「不憤不啓」、「不悱不發」，務求達至「小疑小悟、大疑大悟」的效果(Wong, 1998a, 1998b)。此外，讓學生起來答話本身是一種勇氣的訓練(黃，1998)，讓學生可以先組織好自己的想法，表達(present)出來，接受觀點上的挑戰，繼而辯護(defend)，最後引起一種對話和論述(discourse)。所以，老師由發問、引起回答、再繼而追問、轉向等所扮演之角色甚爲重要，而不只是停留於一問一答之一種「考問」。因此之故，向來很多學者都提出過不少有關發問之技巧(見黃，1994)，如小頓、步伐、激勵、偵察(pausing, pacing,

[1] 計劃之首席研究員爲香港中文大學課程與教學學系系主任黃顯華教授，研究助理爲朱嘉穎女士，數學組組員包括香港中文大學課程與教學學系黃毅英教授、台灣嘉義師範大學應用數學系梁淑坤教授及香港中文大學學校與夥伴協作中心劉應泉先生、世界龍岡黃耀南小學的林靜儀老師、梁芝蘭老師、葉雅文老師以及香港中文大學校友會聯會張煊昌學校冼秀容老師和李慧苑老師。本計劃得教育署資助，謹此鳴謝。

prompting, probing) (見Brown, 1975；亦見黃毅英，1994)，也提出發問質素的層次(見Sanders, 1966；張玉成，1984及黃，1994)。

總而言之，就是要透過發問，促使學生繼續思考。例如一般論者不贊成「合唱式問答」(chorus response：雖然頗爲普遍)就是基於這個原因。除了容易引起混亂外，部份學生會傾向不加思考、濫竽充數(人云亦云)。故此除了讓學生自由舉手作答外，指定特定對象發問亦有其本身的作用。在小學數學課裡常見的問題是找些甚麼學生作答或出來作報告(reporting)呢？當然找一些答案完整的報告有典範作用，反過來，太常找做錯了同學出來報告會使其他同學感到混亂，而出來報告者也有被奚落之感。不過也不妨間中找一些答案不太完整的答案討論也有好處。因爲學生思考上的謬誤因存在於腦袋裡，往往不容易探測。只有透過實際操作(運算)才能顯露。找出一些學生常犯錯誤作討論就可探討一些常見的誤解(misconception)。況且，經常只找成績較佳、做得好的作答更有「標籤效應」，宜作避免。

學生答錯了怎辦?

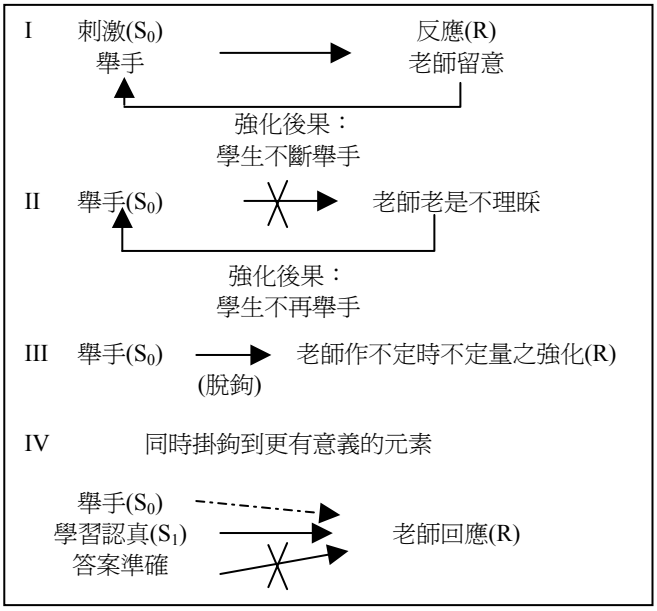
有一些老師，當學生提供了錯誤的答案時(譬如說「3」)，老師爲免由他「一錘定音」，於是問全班有否其他答案，於是有些算對的(譬如說「4」)便會舉手。老師就說「算出『3』的請舉手…算出『4』的請舉手…呀，算出『4』的比算出『3』的多，故此答案應是『4』」。這種說法是有問題的，因爲答案的真僞不是舉手決定的，一個較佳的做法是講意識到「3」不一定對，繼而與大家逐步跟蹤解決問題的過程。這是回應了Lampert(1990)所說的在數學堂裡，數學的真理全有老師所決定這個不健康現象。

如何處理胡亂舉手的學生？

至於學生過份踴躍舉手，我們也許要提防學生只爲惹起老師的注意力而胡亂舉手(attention seeking)。社群心理學實有不少討論值得我們借鑒。一般而言，我們過份理會(他們一舉手就叫其作答)自然會強化了這種胡亂舉手的行爲。但長期不理會他們，反過來就會壓抑了他們舉手的舉動，於是學生開始不留意老師發問了！這也是我們所不想見到的。

社群心理學提出的辦法就是首先用「不定量、不定時」的強化方式讓學生意識(制約：conditioning)到老師是會叫他的，但不一定舉手即叫(淡化了S-R的聯繫)。這還不夠，我們又要找一些其他您想要出現的行爲作爲取代。當然我們不希望這個「取代品」是答對了才可作答。一個可能性是學習認真、投入，就可請他作答。例如鼓勵一些近日有進步的學生作答。至於哪些才是學習認真的同學，這便是發問的藝術了。

此外，還要注意公平性(年紀小的學生尤其介意)。例如某某經常舉手，可以考慮說，「某某，我看到你已做得很好，不過今次給另一位同學作答，好嗎？」其實這樣擴大了受獎勵者的範圍。在巡視學生做活動時的口頭鼓勵亦是一種可能性。如此既有公開的獎勵，也有個別的鼓勵。獎賞變得多層次化，且亦推廣了。學生也開始曉得，不一定靠舉手吸引老師的注意力。當然，如能逐步由外在動機轉爲內在動機則更佳(劉誠，1989，1990)。



TARGET

Epstein(1989)歸納了動機理論的研究成果，提出了一個促進學習的架構，名爲TARGET，分別代表了Task(課業)、Authority(權責)、Recognition(認可)、Grouping(組合)、Evaluation(評估)及Time(時間) (又見連文嘗、黃顯華，1999)。本研究計劃亦是以此爲基本的理念架構。引申到發問，我們可以如下作出詮釋：首先，我們引發學生進入問答情景的論述(discourse)，其實可以算是一種課業，而權責是指授權(empower)學生擔當學習上的領導角色。透過老師引導之學生對答，希望學生們慢慢感受到課堂學習不是坐著等待老師最後之答案，然後抄下、記住，而是等學生們自身的猜想與辯解過後建構其數學概念，這本身便是一種權責。而老師從旁之認可不是作答案的最後拍板，而是透過整個思考過程的合理性認可數學上恰當之做法，不是靠個人的喜惡(所謂「無必、無我」)。不單如此，老師不只認可準確的答案、正確之做法、更應認可學習之投入。這就是上面所說的將強化準確答案轉到學習之認真性。至於組合，除了可作分組討論外，如何了解個別學生的能力「組別」、是否願意作答(readiness)又或只是爭取老師的注意都是值得注意的。評估當然不是指測驗考試一類正式的考核，老師在答問過程中亦應不斷「評估形勢」，看哪些學生真的透過這些答問提高了學習的興趣，哪些學生反而被忽略了又哪些學生被一時之錯誤受到挫敗。所以，評估的範疇應是涉及這些情性(動機、興趣、投入等)區宇(affective domain)，連文嘗、黃顯華(1999)更指出時間更是最被忽略的一環。Lampert(1990)便指出課堂數學教學往往訓練出學生做數學題和答有關的問題時要匆忙的作答。久而久之，使學生覺得答題中深思熟慮是不必要的。

尤如歐蘇伯所相信，口授方式的課堂教學未必沒有其長處，但必須配合以適當的發問與對答，在其間，我們若能掌握其中要點，教學才會達到「既以學生爲中心，卻又爲老師們主導」的境地。

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玩具 – 在科學學習的功能

梁家猷

相信不少老師都曾攜帶玩具進入課室作爲該課的輔助教具。有過這樣經驗的老師，大抵會發現學生都會被老師的玩具所吸引，而他們也會較平時留心，學習的興趣，亦較平時高漲，這說明了玩具在教與學上一個爲人熟識的功能 - 玩具能引發學生的學習動機。這功能在各學科均適用。然而，在科學學習上，玩具還引能起其他功能。

作爲一個科學老師，我們的職責，除了向我們的學生提供一些科學知識外，還有其他任務，例如，使我們的學生了解尋找科學知識的路 - 如何進行科學探究及使他們有興趣走科學家的路。但是，實驗室的常規儀器，往往是爲一些特定實驗度身訂造，一般而言，難以利用它們進行指定範圍以外的科學探究活動。反之，玩具的設計，往往結合了多個科學概念，而且結構上亦較繁複，因此，我們可使用適當的玩具，作爲探究對象，在課室/實驗室中進行科學探究活動。以下是一些以玩具作爲對象的探究活動的例子。

<例一> 螢光棒（見圖一）

圖一

螢光棒是一件很普及的玩具，特別在節日前後，例如聖誕節、新年，更容易購買到。在演唱會中，歌迷亦常揮動手中的螢光棒，向他們的偶像致意。螢光棒在年青人心中具一份親切感，筆者掌握這心理因素，在中一科學科單元一中，以[螢光棒爲甚麼會發光] 爲題，安排學生進行科學探究活動。活動要求學生進行小心觀察，細心觀察是科學發現的第一步，是發現問題的泉源。學生經細心觀察後便不難找出發光的秘密，從而能提出他們的假設，於是筆者讓他們進行實驗，以驗証他們的假設。

當學生做得興高彩烈的時候，筆者便向他們提出以下問題：

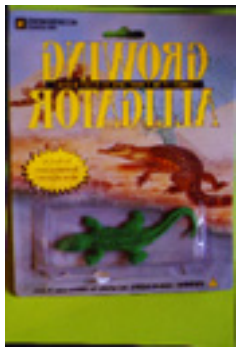
[怎樣使螢光棒發出更亮的光輝？]

於是學生便分組進行討論，得出一些結論，但是筆者並沒有即時作出回應，反之，向學生提出另一問題：

[如何能延長螢光棒的發光時間？]

學生再進行討論，最後筆者安排學生所提供的方法，讓學生進行實驗，以証明他們的假設。在整個學習過程中，同學除學會了一些知識外，他們亦認識到科學探究的步驟，認識到公平測試的重要，認識到進行實驗時，安全的重要性，而實驗的可行性，亦是進行科學探究前要考慮的一個重要問題。

<例二> 會生長的鱷魚（見圖二）



圖二

這是一條長約 10cm，身闊約 1.5cm，厚 0.5cm 的玩具鱷魚。如果把它浸入水中，它便會漸漸長大。

筆者以這玩具爲對象，與學生進行科學探究。開始時，筆者問學生是否相信這鱷魚會否在水中生長，及嘗試猜測它生長速度，要回答後一個問題，學生除需進行實驗外，還需收集數據，並想想怎樣去表達數據。初步的實驗顯示鱷魚的確會在水中長大，並且生長率是線性。於是筆者提問同學：「如果繼續把鱷魚浸在水中數天，結果會怎樣？」這研習使學生認識到科研並不是祇限於一般課堂上短短的實驗，有些研究是需要經過一段日子才能有結果，這種需長時間的科學活動，在一般學校擁有的儀器中，是較難安排到的。此外，透過這活動，學生學會用圖線表達結果，藉着圖線的曲線趨勢，學生可推測再過若干日後鱷魚的長度，這樣學生便認識到科學探究能使純猜測變成有理據的預測。

如果科學探究祇局限於老師安排，然後帶領學生完成研習，這單向性活動不單很快把學生心中提升中的興趣冷卻下來，更會使學習變得被動，鼓勵不到學生自發地學習。因此，筆者再要求學生想想他們對這有趣的鱷魚還想知道些甚麼？

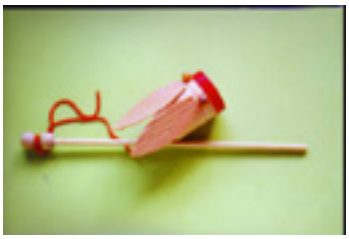
經討論後，學生提出以下問題：「鱷魚生長的體積的速度是否和長度一樣呢？它會不會在其他液體中生長？…」透過討論，學生決定那些問題可以研究，那些在有限資源和知識下未能進行探討。最後他們需要設計實驗解決他們的問題。

在進行實驗期間，學生會遇上困難，及發現方法上出了問題，例如在研究鱷魚的體積變化時，他們起初是以量筒盛水量度鱷魚的體積，但是他們發現鱷魚漸漸長大時，鱷魚便不能納入量筒內，於是他們需要另找方法去量度鱷魚的體積。此外，學生亦醒覺用排水法可能會影響量度結果，因爲這鱷魚會吸水！透過這類活動，可幫助學生提升解決問題的能力與及進行科研的一些基本技巧，例如怎樣量度不規則的物體的體積等。

一件小小玩具，便能幫助學生走上科學家的路上。

<例三> 會叫的小丑(見圖三)和蟬(見圖四)

圖三



圖四

這兩件玩具外表已很吸引，玩時發出的聲音更吸引。

筆者以上述兩件玩具如上例一樣要求學生提出他們對這兩件玩具希望知道些甚麼，然後依據可行性及安全性等原則設計實驗找出問題答案。這裡不再詳加敘述研習過程。

筆者所認識到的玩具，很多都能作爲科學探究活動的好工具，亦有不少能直接在教學上使用，代替實驗室的儀器，成爲一些課題的好教具。讓我舉一些例子証明玩具這個功能。

<例一>會發聲和閃燈的陀螺(見圖五)

圖五

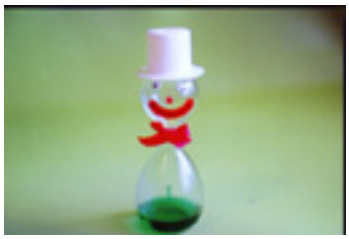
圖六

轉動時，陀螺上的燈會亮着(圖六)並發出樂音，顯明地，電路是在陀螺轉動時閉合的，這是否適用於簡單電路這一課題？市面上能發聲和閃燈的聖誕咭亦具相約功能。爲甚麼生日咭打開了便響起來和咭上的燈亮着呢？這是否表示電路在咭打開時閉合的呢？這兩件玩具中的開關是否有共通的地方？這一類玩具是否可代替實驗室中的開關，可引入使用，使學習更爲生活化？

此外，由於陀螺是在轉動時燈才亮，這玩具對研究圓周運動 可直接移用，使學生認識到物體沿圓周運動時，如果沒有外力把它拉向中心，它便會有偏離軌道的傾向，而這玩具中的電路開關是否運用了這個原理呢？(見圖七)

圖七

<例二> 熱血沸騰的小丑（見圖八）



圖八

這小丑內有液體，把小丑拿在手中液體便會沸騰，如果把手拿開，液體便慢慢流回原來地方。如果把小丑置於冰塊上，液體便會迅速跑回原位。爲甚麼會這樣呢？這玩具在氣體受熱膨脹的課題是否可加以利用？使用玩具的好處是學生由觀察開始，主動發現問題，進而想法子解決問題，是自發性的學習，因此遠較使用常規儀器進行教學好得多。

<例三> 能量轉換

很多玩具均涉及能量轉換或各種形式的能量，這對中一裏「能量」一章的教學上幫了一個忙。

筆者用二十多件玩具(圖九/圖十顯示兩件該批玩具)，代替常規儀器去演譯能量的各種形式和能量轉移，結果效果甚爲良好。

圖九

圖十

玩具是一件創作，因此，使用玩具教學有助學生學習邏輯思維與及能鼓勵學生進行創意練習。

筆者從市面購買一些木製產品(圖十一是一例) 。這個木盒子在設計上具創意，玩者要接受木盒製造人的挑戰，如何打開這盒子。這些玩具極能訓練學生邏輯性的思維能力，與及能鼓勵他們對問題作多方面的思考。

圖十一

此外，筆者亦嘗試以玩具鷹(圖十二)爲始着學生找出鷹爲甚麼能平衡，最後由他們設計另一件能平衡的玩意，讓學生發揮他們的內在潛能，使他們感覺到創造力是人人都有，不是某些人的特質。

圖十二

利用適當的玩具，應用在適當的課題上，不只幫到老師的教和學生的學，更可訓練學生進行高階思維，上述是一例，以下是另一些例子。

有兩件有趣玩具—inverting pop top(圖十三)和magic boat(圖十四)。前者轉動時會突然反轉(圖十五)，有違反地心吸力原理之嫌，而後者在沿逆時針方向轉動時會慢慢停下，和我們想像中一樣，但把它沿順時針方向轉動時，它只轉了數轉便掉頭旋轉，怪有趣。學生祇要小心觀察便會猜到這與地心吸力有關，如果屬實，把這些玩具帶上太空，它們的表現又是否能一樣？中二有一個單元是[太空之旅]，把上述情況引入課題，是否能有效地鼓勵學生進行高層次思維。科學的發現，往往是由猜想開始的。

圖十三

圖十四

圖十五

以上只是筆者對玩具作爲一件科學教具一點點意見，希望爲老師帶來一個新意念，使他們的科學堂變得更有趣，更有意義。

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新界鄉村小學：落後抑理想？

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筆者近期應邀往一些鄉村小學(村校)參與檢討工作，不但擴闊了眼界，也對不同辦學的方向有更深入的認識。

新界村校多是在二次大戰後的廿年間創辦，當年香港人口激增，百廢待舉，小學的普及爲政府發展教育的首要任務，一些社團在九龍的徙置區開辦了天台小學，而很多新界村校亦應運而生。

七十年代初的小學教育在量方面已達飽和，政府開始從質方面改進小學教育，徙置區的天台小學陸續關閉。隨著新市鎮逐步發展，設備較完善的小學陸續開辦，不少家長選擇讓其子女入讀，加上很多新界鄉民移居海外發展及政府推行家庭節育計劃的成功，村校式微的命運似乎在所難免。

自八十年代開始，政府的政策是逐步淘汰村校，這也是無可厚非的，因爲村校收生不足，加上校舍、設備和師資都及不上新市鎮的大校。從地理的分佈情況來看，村校式微是從南向北移，沙田、荃灣、葵涌等區現今差不多已無村校。

惟近年村校的命運似乎稍露曙光，主要是內地來的學生多，因現存的村校多在新界北部，往返深圳尚算方便；加上村校爲免被淘汰而發奮圖強；而且村校的環境也較接近國內農村的情況，實在更適合從內地新來港的學童。亦有家長希望子女讀書開心，不要整天在做功課，而讓孩子入讀村校。

要是教育學者杜威或盧梭復生，他們會認爲村校比市區大校更適合實踐其教育理想，因村校的自由度較大，更能關心、照顧及了解學生。對於未能適應市區學校的、過度活躍的、或成績參差的「壞學生」，村校會先讓他們開開心心讀書，然後再改善其操行；學生如有特別行爲，老師通常都盡快協助解決，若無行爲上的問題，才看其學業。故此在這方面村校是發揮著特殊學校的作用，有些人從表面上看，認爲村校的經濟效益低，其實是很不公平的，我們或應視村校爲普通及特殊學校間的緩衝區，給問題學生和其家長多一個另類的選擇。

村校校舍、課室、設備等一般不太理想，通常都沒有音樂室、美勞室、禮堂等，近年政府大力發展資訊教育，這方面的設備不比大校差，電腦拍得上大校的先進。很多村校好像與世隔絕，學生較少受物質影響，他們大都喜歡這種環境，對大自然的常識較好，例如認識到周圍的花草樹木昆蟲等。他們一般都很重感情，很少有要中途離開的。

村校的師生比率一般都較大校優勝，惟因規模小，通常是每級只有一班，或甚至是兩級同在一教室內實行複式教學，教師要兼任的科目及級別較多。一般村校老師事無大小都要處理，不能讓學生有積怨，很多小事情通常都要很快解決，故此實際工作量與大校相若。

近十年間本港的教育急劇改變，學生無心向學，老師雜務繁多，工作壓力沉重，不少學校已淪爲知識的廠房，師生及同事間的關係淡薄，很多老師覺得這樣做下去沒有意義，覺得自己和學校的宗旨不太吻合，故此教齡長的老師耗盡，年資淺的老師想轉校或轉業者比比皆是。惟村校似乎受到的衝擊較小，老師一般似較其他學

校的開心，他們仍覺得學校好像大家庭似的，在大校任職者應在這方面多反省。

總括來看，村校所能發揮的教育果效，並非目前新市鎮的大校所及，而且村校所剩數目不算多，可以視作調整緩衝的機制，八十年代開始政府淘汰村校的政策似應重新檢討。

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美國「設計活動教育」新趨勢

孔美琪
維多利亞幼稚園

我和其餘 4 位老師一行五人往美國參加爲期四天的「第八屆兒童設計活動研討會」。進行研討會的地方是位於美國的中部 – Urbana-Campaign，那兒是一處較偏靜的市鎮，環境很優美和寧靜，四處種滿粟米及甜豆，在香港便很難找到這樣令人舒服的地方了! 那兒的人很樸素和友善，當我們有需要時，他們也很樂意幫助我們。

我們居住及上課的地方，並非一般現代化的酒店或學校，而是一座具有歷史價值和充滿藝術氣氛的大屋，四周圍都能感受到大自然的氣息，無論在屋內、屋外及花園都能看見由屋主從世界各地搜集回來的雕像和藝術品，這樣的學習環境實在令我們意想不到和興奮。

在四天的研討會中，美國學者莉莉安.凱斯及蘇菲亞.查斯 (Sylvia Chards)大力提倡以幼兒主導，著重幼兒心靈推動的「兒童設計活動」(The Project Approach)正是發現式之學習: 讓幼兒對一些事物產生興趣，主動探求，發掘知識及運用已具有的技能及技巧去發揮，並且經歷親身學習的體驗，以激發幼兒主動找答案的積極學習態度，從中培養思考、分析和表達的能力，藉以繼續其探索、調查、找尋及澄清概念這循環延續的樂趣，滿足其學習之需要。

此次於美國進修之 Project Approach 課程，瞭解到設計活動方案教學是什麼。此次學習中，明白設計活動方案教學可分三個階段: (一)是方案開始; (二)是方案執行; (三) 是強化方案。

第一階段活動開始是教師利用圖片或簡短的幻燈片放映，講個故事或展示圖片、傳遞一兩件有趣的東西….等，很容易激發幼兒的興趣，這樣， 一開始討論就可以給幼兒深刻的印象。在初討論的階段，教師會發現幼兒能運用他們的語言和行爲等知識來討論相關的經驗。教師也可讓幼兒在課室內戲劇扮演、繪畫、書寫，教師可藉著觀察幼兒的遊戲和工作， 了解幼兒理解的部份，也可以藉此知道幼兒的偏好和關心的事物，家長也可提供一些資訊，與孩子聊聊方案的進行情況， 與孩子分享和方案有關的資料及到校參觀孩子的作品。而當第一階段結束步入第二階段時，教師可回頭檢視設計活動方案主題網的計劃，並根據目前孩子身上了解的進行評估。

第二階段執行設計活動的重點在於提供幼兒新的第一手經驗，並協助幼兒以各種有趣的方式思考該經驗，以激發出有意義的活動並投入其中，活動可有校外參觀、教室訪客、調查活動、計劃小組學習活動等。在此階段，幼兒學習監控並評估自己的努力與成就、面對自我評價、相信自己的判斷、練習發問、不怕失敗而勇於嘗試，教師鼓勵幼兒自然地互相幫助，協調這些學習經驗，塑造設計活動整體的成果。

第三階段強化設計活動，是活動的高潮，教師可讓幼兒向其他班級發表成果， 作開放參觀，而方案的主要力量在協助幼兒結合新、舊學習經驗，維持幼兒的興趣， 而此階段可讓教師和幼兒可以一同回想方案執行中值得回憶的事件及回顧在這段時間裏孩子學到的能力， 進行設計活動方案的評估。

在設計活動中，兒童與環境中的人、事、物發生有意義的交互作用，盡力將社會對兒童的教育要求與兒童

的需要和興趣相符合。在設計活動的過程中充份顧及兒童已有的知識和經驗的重要性，主張讓兒童在遊戲狀態中主動地去建構知識。在實施設計活動的過程中，從主題網絡的設計，方案活動的展開和實施，到方案的總結，整個過程不墨守成規，而是通過積極的師生互動，給與兒童充份自由探索、盡興表現和共同生活的機會。同時，也將“最近發展區教學”的概念運用於設計活動，要求教師在盡可能理解兒童的基礎上不失時機地通過教學去促進兒童的發展。

「兒童設計活動」是針對一個主題做更深入的探討，「兒童設計活動」因此能與其他教學方式整合成任何課程，幼兒的學習過程中可以進一步地計劃課程並評估自己的發展。幼兒在日常進行的主題活動獲得基本的技能，加上「兒童設計活動」學習中，在一個有意義的情境，便將這些技能運用出來，所以教師可以無懼將原先設計的任何主題作爲後盾，幼兒透過自己互相的討論、計劃、設計、安排、檢討等不同層面引發出學習動機時便作爲補給。教師與幼兒都在彼此互相學習，兩者皆成爲課室的主人，擦出「教」與「學」的火花!

此外「兒童設計活動」不單只在學校進行活動，亦有賴家長的參與及支持，進行「兒童設計活動」的同時，家長的角色亦要因應需要而有所轉變，他們再不是每天檢核幼兒功課有多少，而是藉著和幼兒談天、發掘幼兒的興趣及取向、了解事物的過程、尋找問題的真相、搜集有關的資料，甚至到訪學校講解，帶領校內幼兒出外參觀; 進行實地考察。幼兒感到父母的支持，對於父母的幫助亦能令他們對日常生活事物更感興趣，他們嘗試在自己各項工作中運用父母最爲著緊的技能如: 讀、寫、算以配合自己的需要。因此在進行「兒童設計活動」家長同時扮演著一個極爲重要的角色。

根據 Lillian Katz 提及主題教學及設計活動可相輔相成，一些比較知識性或不能提供幼兒親身體驗的主題，應以主題教學模式，例如: 不同國家、恐龍、太空…等。

主題教學與設計活動五個不同之處	
主題教學	設計活動
● 教師協助兒童學習技巧	● 教師提供機會讓兒童運用技巧
● 外在的學習動機: 兒童依從教師的要求，並希望獲得教師的獎勵	● 內在的學習動機: 兒童對事物感興趣，認爲富挑戰性，而參與的過程又樂趣無窮
● 教師決定教學活動及教學材料	● 教師提出一系列活動供兒童選擇，並讓他們自行決定配合自己程度又富挑戰性的活動
● 教師是專家，由於兒童能力不足，一切均需由教師教導	● 兒童是專家，教師是諮詢者，協助兒童發揮所長
● 教師負責兒童的學習，進展及成果	● 教師與兒童分享學習過程及進展

資料來源: Katz, L & Chard S.(2000) *Engaging Children's Minds* (2nd Edition). Boston : Ablex Publishing Corporation

除了著名學前教育家及對兒童設計活動有資深研究的 Dr. Katz 及 Dr.Chard 講解其理論、經驗及例証外，我們還有機會分別與一些來自美國本土、加拿大…等不同國家的學前教育工作者，組成約六人一組的小組學習和討論，大家互相分享經驗及交換意見，從中了解其他國家如何推行兒童設計活動。我們還能與其他學前教育工作者一起實際地進行兒童設計活動，同學分爲 11 個小組，就研討會的大屋及附近環境作研究項目，包括我組研究“Sunken Garden”，其他研究項目包括湖、通道、地板、燈、廚房、東方影響、窗、香草花園…等。大家一起以大腦激盪法去選擇題目、搜集資料、整理資料、訪問有關人員、拍照、商討如何展出我們的作品及研究所得

的成果等，令學習氣氛非常融洽，從而我們更能清楚明白如何將書本上的理論融合在實際推行中。

在短短的四天行程中，我們不單能親身學習，還能體驗當地的文化和結識不同國家的學前教育工作者。因正值暑假，只限於暑期課程，曾參觀 2 間幼兒園，卻未能真正實地體驗設計活動在課室的推行，實美中不足。

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江蘇、台北和新加坡小學教育的綜合

李傑江、鄧兆鴻、胡少偉、冼偉林
香港初等教育研究學會

「優質的香港教育模式； 小學全日制之研究」研究小組曾造訪三個不同的華人地區，以考察當地的小學運作情況，並研究有任何值得香港小學教育界借鑒的地方。研究小組考察的華人地區包括江蘇省(南京及揚州)、台灣以及新加坡。在江蘇省，小組分別在南京及揚州兩地參觀考察了共八所不同性質的小學，訪談對象包括了教育部官員、8 位校長、20 多位老師及主任、12 位家長及 30 多名學生等。在台灣，小組拜訪了人本教育基金會，並參觀了四所不同的小學(當中三所位於台北)，訪談對象包括 4 位校長、16 位老師、6 位家長以及 12 名學生。在新加坡，小組參觀了三所小學，訪談對象包括 3 位校長、20 多位老師、8 位家長以及 12 名學生，亦與新加坡教育部的官員進行了多次的面談。

小學教育的階段象徵了孩子以集體學習的形式正式接受社教化的第一步，故其學習的內容除了包含個人在社會生活的基本能力之外，其學習形式亦無可避免反映出個別社會所盛行的價值觀及意識形態，以至於有關當局的教育理念，及整體社會的經濟環境。南京揚州(下稱「內地」)、台北以及新加坡三地雖然同樣是以華人爲主的社區，但其現代化的程度及社會基本結構不盡相同，反映在小學教育裡，自然亦有不同的文化表徵及重點。

學校教育的職能

在內地，學校教育是延續其集體主義意識形態的重心項目，小學教育的理想除了要注重德智體及勞動等方面的發展以外，學生的國家意識以及服務集體的意識亦是小學的重點目標。假如我們將這一個層次的教育效能稱爲道德教育(或政治教育)，則同一高度的道德教育目標並不存在於台北或新加坡的小學教育當中。台灣在解嚴之前亦有強調三民主義的集體教育觀，但自 1987 年解嚴以來，社會上主要的建制均朝著民主化及權力下放的方向發展，在小學教育方面集體主義的色彩已經大爲減退。台北目前所盛行的教育價值觀反而是一定程度的應試教育心態，尤其是普遍家庭均具有一定的經濟能力，孩子往往在小學放學後即立即被安排轉到私人補習班裡上課，另外在學科課程之上，家長亦會把孩子送到學習藝術的才藝班，令孩子的學習生活普遍十分忙碌。至於新加坡，其教育政策以經濟效益主導，亦不大強調集體主義思想的道德教育，學校的功能主要乃爲市場提供相應的人力資源[1]。在小學教育上，此看法則體現爲一定程度的效益主義以及精英主義教育觀，在六年小學教育裡，學生要分別在四年級(學習能力檢測)及六年級(小學離校試)面對兩次公開試，由於兩者均影響重大，故不少的家長每星期會讓孩子上兩至三節的私人補習課，整體而言，孩子所面對的學習壓力十分之大。

[1] 新加坡前教育部長在 1986 年有下述的講話： "One of the key factors which must guide our education system in future years must be to ensure that our education system remains relevant to the type of economy in which our children will have to find employment when they leave school."

課程及課堂設計

三地所教授的學科種類大抵相近，離不開「語文」「數學」「美」「音」「體」「社會」等。另外，內地有教授自然科，而新加坡則有科學科。三地課程的一個較大的分別可能在於主科(語文及數學)所佔的課時比例上：從我們搜集到的時間表上推算，這在新加坡是 76-80%，比中台都多。內地是 43-48%，而台灣則是 42-50%。出現這個現象的原因大概有兩個：其一是新加坡推行雙語教育(英語及母語)，而中台則不然[2]。其二是新加坡政府相信其國人的雙語表達能力是促進其經濟發達的重要因素，而教育爲經濟服務亦是其國策之一，故其將主科及副科的堂數定爲百分之八十與二十之比例亦非不能理解[3]。

另一個值得討論的是學生作息的安排：三地當中，以新加坡的半日制形式最接近香港，而且以三十分鐘一堂，課與課之間互相緊接著，學生並無明文的休息時間(見附表一)。另外新加坡的半日制與香港的也有分別，他們的一三五年級是下午班，而二四六年級則是上午班，假如上下午班的作息時間與教育素質的高下有一定的因果關係的話，這種混合安排令每個學生都要接受年份相等的上午及下午班教育，似較香港的劃一式半日制公平。

在日制安排上，內地是全日制而台灣則是以全日制爲主的，但兩者的相同之處是每課間均有十分鐘的轉堂時間，讓學生及老師稍爲歇息，也讓老師有時間從一個班房步行到另一個班房上課。除此以外，內地的時間表安排也有兩個特色：第一，他們的午飯時間特長，一般有一小時五十分到兩小時不等，相信與內地人士的午睡習慣有關。第二，在他們的時間表上(見附表二)每天均有固定的時段進行保健及德育活動，包括寫字、眼睛保健操及早操和晨會等，這都對孩子的全面發展有積極意義(台灣有些學校也有早操晨會等時段，但寫字時間及眼睛保健操時間則沒有了)。

台灣的小學使用全日制爲主的混合模式：低年級(一、二)上半天課；中年級(三、四)每星期上三天全日；高年級(五、六)每星期上四天全日(見附表三及四)。它的好處是：以一種漸進的形式讓孩子逐步適應較長節數的學校生活。而且這也與孩子不同階段的體質發展互相配合。因爲孩子在幼稚園的上課時數一般較短，若貿然在剛進小學的時候要求他們連續留在學校七小時，可能會令他們不適應小學的學習生活。

學校環境及管理

綜合而言，三地的學校環境都有所不同。以研究小組所參訪的學校而言，以台灣的學校規模最大，一般全校會超過 70 班，每班人數約在四十人以上，每校老師人數可達數百人。據說這些超級大校都集中在城市，而鄉村小鎮的小學亦有小於 30 班的，規模相差頗遠。至於在南京及揚州，則以座落於城市的主要學校規模較大，由 49 班至 55 班不等，每班人數可以多達五十多人。至於座落於縣及鎮的學校則一般只有 20 多個班。在學校環境方面，以大校而論，中台兩地的小學均有不錯的操場及雨天操場，至於除此之外的設施，則以台灣的學校較優勝了。他們的學校一般均設有保健室、牙醫診所、電腦室等；此外，台灣小學班主任的辦公桌就設在課室之內，班主任一般兼教自己班的不少科目，令老師與孩子的關係密切，亦強化老師的歸屬感。

至於新加坡的半日制小學，以研究小組所探訪的學校而言，一般每晝設有 26-28 班，每班人數約有四十人。據研究小組從新加坡教育部所取得的資料看，一般小學在基本設施上已有不錯的配備，例如他們除了設有牙醫診所及醫療休息室外，也設有一個 700 平方米的飯堂以及約 200 多平方米的停車場等，這都是內地與香港的小

[2] 香港目前小學主科（中英數）所佔的課時比例約爲 63-66%，也比新加坡少。
[3] 見小冊子 Primary Education: Schooling in Singapore, Ministry of Education.

學所望塵莫及的。

至於在學校管理方面，有一點特別值得我們注意的是教師開會時間的安排。在台灣，每逢星期三下午，全台的小學都不用上課，以供教師進修研習或開會之用。這做法的好處是爲教師預留一段特定的時間，讓他們可以心無旁騖地進行非教學的工作。另外由於這個是全台小學一律執行的措施，故此不同學校的教師亦可趁此機會互相交流或進行其他團體活動。

在新加坡，由於他們推行的是一校一舍的半日制，校長與主任要兼顧上下午校的老師及同學，對於在不同時段上課的老師而言，並不容易聚集起來開會及表決意見，對此，他們的處理方法就是在星期三的中午建立一個叫接觸時段(Contact Time)，讓上午校的學生提早廿五分鐘放學，而下午校的學生則延遲半小時才上課。期間照顧學生的工作由義工家長負責，而所有老師及主任則會開會討論學校的行政事宜，或分享教學經驗等。

學生的課外活動及家課量

在南京及揚州，自從素質教育改革在 1990 年推出以來，在老師職責及小學生的課外活動及家課量等方面都有了新的整合。小學老師雖然每星期祗有十多節課的負擔，但在此之上他們還要兼顧學生的課外活動，例如當班隊輔導員或執教興趣班等。但是所謂的課外活動，其實已經併入了正規課程之內，成爲「活動類課程」。當中有少先隊的團體活動，另外還有一項名爲「科技文體課」的單元，兩者每週合共四至五節，「科技文體課」的內容包括唱歌、書法等的文娛體育活動(即「興趣小組」)，校方亦可利用這段時間進行集體活動，或到校外參觀一些「教育基地」(例如天文台、植物園、烈士陵園)等。

在台灣，中高年級的小學生在時間表上一般有每週一至兩節的「團體活動」(或作「社團活動」)，意味著學生可以有固定的集體活動時間(例如是運動或音樂隊伍練習等)，另外，非校隊成員的學生也可以在這段時間參加課外活動，內容包括不同的興趣小組，例如合唱組、籃球組、游泳組等，由不同的老師指導。除此之外，台北學生普遍在課餘時間參加的才藝班也可說是課外活動之一，雖然並非正規學校教育的範圍。

在新加坡，研究小組所訪問的小學都有爲學生提供的不同種類的課外活動，包括各類型的體育活動(如田徑、藍球、網球)、制服小組(如紅十字會)和小組活動(如民族舞、戲劇、園藝等)。但估計小學生實際參與的課外活動可能比中台的學生少，最主要是因爲學生要在小四及小六分別應付兩個公開試，另外，新加坡在下午天氣較熱，有不少人士認爲並不適宜讓學生在此時段進行戶外體育活動，加上新加坡小學目前仍以半日制爲主，故可用以進行非正規教學活動的時間及地方亦不多。

在功課量方面，三地當中僅以江蘇省對此有所規定，內容包括：「小學一年級一般不留書面作業，二、三年級家庭作業每天不超過 30 分鐘，四年級不超過 45 分鐘，五、六年級不超過 1 小時。」(《國家教委九年義務教育全日制小學、初級中學課程計劃(試行)》)制定此規條乃爲確保學生有足夠的活動和遊玩的時間。至於台灣及新加坡兩地，情況有所不同。據「研究小組」抽樣訪問所得，台灣的小學生花在做功課的時間由半小時至三小時不等，但一般都在一小時內完成。但由於英語目前在台灣是十分熱門的科目，不少家長會安排孩子上英語(及其他科目)的補習班，所以，孩子除了應付學校的作業外，不少還需要做補習班的功課。在新加坡，據「研究小組」抽樣訪問所得，新加坡的小學生花在寫功課的時間，由半小時至三小時不等，平均多在兩小時內完成。也有部份受訪的學生表示，他們聘請了私人補習教師，輔導的科目多數爲中文、英文、數學等，平均每星期補習一至兩天，每次約兩小時。所以，除了應付學校的作業外，不少學生還需要做補習課的作業。

師生溝通及家校合作

以研究小組的參觀印象而言，三地中以新加坡的情況與香港的較爲接近。由於兩地均是半日制，加上課程緊迫，老師與學生的溝通主要仍然是在正規課堂教學的環境下進行。至於內地及台灣，情況稍有不同。在台灣，每天早上有二十分鐘的導師時間，既促進師生溝通，亦讓老師有時間辦理班務。而且班主任在台灣又稱爲級任導師，會兼教學生的不少科目(例如國語、數學、美術、道德健康、體育等)，平常級任導師的工作桌就置在課室之內，學生與老師的關係明顯較爲密切。至於在內地，班主任老師是學生班隊(少先隊)的輔導員，也會帶領學生進行不少的科技文體活動，亦不乏師生溝通的機會，其美中不足之處是每班的人數較多，往往有五十人或以上，對班主任老師來說是一個很重的負擔。

在家校關係方面，三地的文化不同，故亦有不同的表現，其中尤以內地及台灣的差異最爲明顯。內地的家校文化主要仍以學校爲主導，由校方舉辦家長參觀日，甚至出版教育家長的刊物，亦有以學生表演爲主的家長晚會等。學校爲家長安排活動，家長普遍亦對校方及老師十分信任。故此內地的學校雖然也有家長委員會的組織，以向校方反映家長的意見，但整體上對內地的家校文化影響並不大。

台灣的家校文化與內地的對比很大，因爲家長會不獨參與校務(例如圖書管理、督導交通、提供輕度的醫護、園藝管理等等)，也能左右學校在校管上的決策，故有學校行政部門與學校教師會及家長會在權力均衡上鼎足三立之說。以最近台北市政府遴選教育局長一事爲例，台北市教師會和台北市家長會聯合會、台北市家長協會，都參與了此次教育局長遴選。而在短期內，遴選國小校長亦已指日可待，在國民教育法的校長遴選規章上已列明，在遴選委員會中須有至少五分之一的成員來自家長會，充份反映出家長在台灣教育民主化上的積極角色。

結語

在本文，研究組以五個不同的角度比較了內地、台灣以及新加坡的小學教育情況。期透過這五個方面的反映，以了解三地的小學教育的概況，從而啓發香港小學教育的參與者去思考一個理想的日制安排，須從學校教育職能、課程和課室設計、學校環境和管理、學生的課外活動和功課量、與及師生溝通和家校合作等五方面配合，才能有所作爲。在此，小組期許香港目前推行得如火如荼的小學全日制改革並不止乎一個政治動作，而能提昇爲香港小學教育素質改革的好開始。

＊ 此文章的資料來自香港初等教育研究學會和教育評議會合辦的「優質的香港教育模式：小學全日制之研究」該研究計劃是得到優質教育基金贊助，謹此致謝。

＊ 附表一：楊州市某小學作息時間表

	節次	分鐘數	時間	
上午		10	7:30-7:40	教 師 早 操
		20	7:40-8:00	早 操、晨 會
	1	40	8:10-8:50	第 一 節 課
	2	40	9:00- 9:40	第 二 節 課
	3	45	9:50- 10:35	第 三 節 課 (課始: 眼保健操)
	4	40	10:45-11:25	第 四 節 課

下午		120	11:25-1:25	午 飯、午 睡
		5	1:25-1:30	預 備
		15	1:30- 1:45	寫 字
	5	45	1:55- 2:40	第 五 節 課 (課始: 眼保健操)
	6	40	2:50-3:30	第 六 節 課
		10	3:50	學 生 放 學

附表二：台北市某小學作息時間表

	節次	分鐘數	時間	
上午		20	8:00- 8:20	週會、升旗、朝會、早操
		20	8:20-8:40	導 師 時 間
	1	40	8:45-9:25	第 一 節 課
	2	40	9:35- 10:15	第 二 節 課
		15	10:15- 10:30	課 間 活 動
	3	40	10:30-11:10	第 三 節 課
	4	40	11:20-12:00	第 四 節 課
下午		65	12:00- 1:05	午餐、午間活動、靜習
	5	40	1:15-1:55	第 五 節 課
	6	40	2:05- 2:45	第 六 節 課
	7	40	2:55- 3:35	第 七 節 課
		15	3:35-3:50	整 潔 活 動
		20	3:50-4:10	放 學 時 間

備注：

1. 全台的小學在每星期三的下午都沒有課上，留作「教師進修及研習活動」。
2. 一二年級的學生每週祇在星期四需要上第五至第七節課，其餘時間午後毋需上課。
3. 三四年級的學生每週祇在星期一、四及五需要上第五至第七節課。
4. 五六年級的學生逢星期一、二、四及五需要在下午上課。

附表三：新加坡某小學作息時間表（上午）

	節次	分鐘數	時間	
上午	1	30	7:25-7:55	第 一 節 課
	2	30	7:55-8:25	第 二 節 課
	3	30	8:25-8:55	第 三 節 課
	4	30	8:55- 9:25	第 四 節 課
		25	9:25- 9:50	小 息 時 間
	5	30	9:50-10:20	第 五 節 課
	6	30	10:20-10:50	第 六 節 課
	7	30	10:50-11:20	第 七 節 課
	8	30	11:20- 11:50	第 八 節 課
	9	30	11:50- 12:20	第 九 節 課
	10	30	12:20-12:50	第 十 節 課

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課堂教學基本法

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引言

「基本法」本來是個沈重的詞語，因爲它可以指國家憲法，也可以指某方面的基本法律。但「基本法」這個詞語有時用起來也有輕鬆的一面，例如「遊戲基本法」、「購物基本法」、「交友基本法」……，說起來並不覺得沈重。我以爲討論課堂教學是認真的事，有時不免嚴肅，但可不宜沈重。我現在把題目擬爲《課堂教學基本法》，是取其不沈重的用法，雖然我們所討論的，是個嚴肅的課題。

所謂《課堂教基本法》，討論的顯然是課堂教學所涉及的基本原則。基本，意云「根本」，例如事物的根源或最重要部分，就是事物的根本。因此，我預備提出來討論的，是我認爲課堂教學中最主要、最根本的東西，雖然是否最主要、最根本，還得要大家來判斷。

觀課報告考察項目的歸納與說明

本港各大專院校的教育學院，都有導師觀課的要求，而且要填寫觀課報告。根據各教育學院觀課報告的內容，導師所考察的範圍，約可歸納爲五方面，包括：預備工作、施教過程、課堂互動、教室管理、教師表現或特質。其中「預備工作」方面，雖會影響課堂教學的表現，但並不是課堂教學的直接表現，爲了節省篇幅、時間，我刪除了這一部分。下面所列，就是香港大學、香港中文大學、浸會大學的教育學院和香港教育學院觀課報告的考察項目：

表一：各教育學院觀課報告的考察項目

考察項目 ＼ 教院名稱		浸大教院	港大教院	中大教院	香港教院
施	投入程度	✓			
教	講解技巧	✓	✓	✓	✓
過	提問技巧	✓	✓	✓	✓
程	教具運用	✓	✓	✓	✓
	教學步幅	✓	✓	✓	
	鞏固所學	✓		✓	
	目標達成	✓		✓	
	時間控制	✓			

考察項目	教院名稱	浸大教院	港大教院	中大教院	香港教院
	教學策略				✓
	教材運用				✓
課堂互動	學生參與	✓	✓	✓	✓
	對首創性/ 主動性的支持	✓			
	回應學生的感受	✓		✓	
	個別照顧	✓			
	引起興趣		✓		
	氣氛營造		✓		
	組織活動技巧/ 學習活動		✓		✓
	吸引、延續學生注意力			✓	
	身體語言互動技巧			✓	
教室管理	關注教室環境	✓			
	處理秩序難題/ 突發事件	✓	✓	✓	
	注意學生反應/ 不良行爲		✓	✓	
	成功執行常規/ 維持秩序		✓		✓
	避免過激指責			✓	
教師		(教師特質)	(教師表現)	(教師個性)	(教師特徵)
	儀表		✓		
	聲線		✓		
	目光		✓		
	神態		✓		
	語言		✓		
	一致性			✓	
	熱誠			✓	
	效能			✓	
	信心			✓	
	外表			✓	
	公正			✓	
	親切及支持			✓	
	良好師生關係			✓	

根據上表所列資料，有幾點需要略作說明。

1. 各教育學院一致留意「講解技巧」、「提問技巧」和「教具運用」的考察，不過香港教育院並沒有「講解技巧」和「提問技巧」兩項，而只有「語言運用」一項。香港教院小學教育證書課程的觀課報告，把「語言運用」分列爲：(1)教學語言，包括語音、聲線、流暢程度、措詞；(2)語言溝通。「講解」和「提問」必然涉及語言的「運用」和「溝通」，因此我也算香港教院有「講解技巧」和「提問技巧」的要求，雖然在內涵上未盡相符，這是大家都知道的。
2. 浸大教院有「投入程度」一項，其他教院則沒有列出；「目標達成」一項，只有浸大教院和中大教院列出，而「教學策略」和「教材運用」，則只有香港教院列出。
3. 「學生參與」，各教育學院都認爲在課堂教學中是很重要的。但「對首創性/ 主動性的支持」、「個別照顧」、「引起興趣」、「氣氛營造」、「吸引、延續學生注意力」、「身體語言互動技巧」，則只有一所教育學院認爲有考察的必要。
4. 「教室管理」方面，香港教院有標示這個範圍，但並沒有開列考察的細目，只好勉強歸入「維持秩序」項下。「關注教室環境」一項，只有浸大教院列出，而「避免過激指責」，則只有中大教院列出。我相信大抵有關導師因有所見，所以才列爲考察的項目。
5. 教師個人方面，浸大教院和香港教院各有「教師特質」和「教師特徵」的標目，但沒有列出細項，而港大教院的「教師表現」考察，則有五項，中大教院的「教師個性」考察，則有八項。我的推測是，浸大教院和香港教院沒有列出細項，主要由導師根據教師在課堂教學中的表現，來描述他們的「特質」和「特徵」；港大教院和中大教院的導師，則要通過開列的項目，來評估教師的個人表現。取徑不同，觀課報告的形式自然也有分別了。

我在下面試參考各教育學院觀課報告的內容，再結合自己的一些看法，談談課堂教學基本法。

課堂教學基本法(一)

了解教學對象

課堂教學的教學對象，當然就是學生。學生有不同的能力、認識、性向、態度，因此往往會影響我們的教學效果。多了解他們多一些，就會對教學有利多一些。知己知彼，因勢利導，雖屬老生常談，但不一定毫無價值。不過，因勢利導，並非投其所好，兩者是有分別的。最近報刊、電視介紹的「九反」教師，他的教學用的就是「投其所好」而不是「因勢利導」，許多教師或許不願認同他的做法，但他的確在了解教學對象方面用了不少功夫，因此頗受他的學生和部分家長的歡迎。現代教育學者所強調的「學生爲本」，以至教育當局所推行的「校本課程」、「目標爲本課程」，他們所重視的，就是了解教學對象。

選擇施教策略

策略，指根據情況而制訂的行動方針和方法，因此，在概念上，施教策略可涵蓋施教方法，而施教方法不能涵蓋施教策略。課堂教學的成效，會受到幾方面的因素所影響，除了教師因素外，還包括：教學對象、教學目標、教學內容、教材性質、教學時間、教室環境等等。掌握多方面的情況，再來制訂適當的施教方針和施教方法，這就是施教策略的選擇。這個世界可以有永恆的的原則，但應該沒有永恆的策略，因人、因時、因地、因事而

變，是運用策略的主要精神，課堂教學施教策的選擇，也應該如此。

講究語言運用

教學語言是課堂教學的主要部分。教學語言的表達形式是多種多樣的，概括起來，主要有三種：教學口頭語言、教學書面語言、教學體態語言。這三種語言在課堂教學活動中，構成了一個以口頭語言爲主、以書面語言和體態語言爲輔的綜合語言系統。如果說，口頭語言是教師在課堂教學中進行知識信息的有聲表達，書面語言和體態語言則是教師在課堂教學中對知識、感情等信息的無聲表達。由此可見，教學語言不同於一般生活語言，也不同於日常的工作語言，它具有很強的藝術性[2]。講究教學語言的運用，特別是講究口頭語言的藝術運用，是語文教師不可不留意的課題。《禮記・學記》云：「善教者，使人繼其志。其言也，約而達，微而臧，罕譬而喻。」[3]意思是教學語言要言簡而意明，話語淺近而意義深遠，這可說是對教學語言最主要的要求。還有把要求說得較詳細、具體的：教師在教學語言方面，應力求做到下列幾點：(一)準確簡明，富有示範性；(二)通俗生動，富有幽默感；(三)富有條理和層次感；(四)富有啓發性、激勵性；(五)抑揚頓挫，富有節奏感[4]。所謂「幽默感」、「節奏感」，已是藝術加工的要求了。

鼓勵學生參與

課堂教學的成效，與學生參與的程度有密切的關係。學生參與愈多，他們所取得的學習成果就會愈大。因此，教師在課堂教學中，如何鼓勵學生參與，鼓勵學生怎樣參與，向來是個大家關注的課題。有經驗的教師都知道，提問可引起學生的學習動機，啓發他們思考，促進他們流露感情、表達觀點，是鼓勵學生積極參與的有效辦法。其他如組織講演、辯論、諮詢、調查、匯報、觀察等等課堂活動，也是培養學生積極參與意識的有效途徑。此外，在教學過程中有意留出空白，也是誘使學生積極參與的方法。空白是一種藝術，例如：刪去一些教學內容，讓學生有思考活動的餘地；在讀到關鍵處稍作停頓，讓學生去構建自己的答案；總結時少提供一些要點，讓學生去補足等等[5]。

盡力達成目標

任何一節或一個單元的課堂教學，總會有預定的目標，一切策略、方法，一切活動、安排，都是爲了目標的達成。缺乏目標的教學，有時也會取得一些成果，但往往要靠運氣，而且一定與前後課節之間缺乏緊密的聯繫，在教學內容上，也會出現較多重複、缺漏的情況。有了預定目標，並不是不可修訂或調整，我們可根據學生反應、教室環境、突發事件而作必要的修訂或調整，但整個教學，還是有清楚的取向，而在前的修訂或調整，更可以在後來的課節作適當的配合或補足。這就不會影響主要目標的達成。因此，所謂「盡力達成目標」，關鍵是「盡力」而不是「必須」。根據經驗，有「盡力」之心的教師，在課堂教學中大多能達成預定的目標。

課堂教學基本法(二)

課堂教學的優劣成敗，與教師的表現有極密切的關係。除了上述五項基本法，教師還可以對自己有附加的要求。這些要求，或可名爲「法外之法」。

互動

課堂教學，是教師和學生在教室中的雙邊活動，因此互動是課堂教學最重要的要求。我們在上課前不妨問：我會怎樣引發師生之間的互動？下課後，我們也可以檢討：這一節課是否有足夠的互動成分？現代語文教育，愈來愈講求電腦多媒體教材的配合，我們在評量多媒體教材的優劣時，往往會從互動功能方面着眼。我們對科技製作的東西已有這樣的要求，難道對以人爲主的課堂教學，不該有更高的互動要求嗎?

誠懇

誠懇發自內心，表現出來是一種真摯篤實的態度。有了這種態度，就可破除教師與學生之間的隔膜，建立互相信任的關係，甚至有時可以使課堂中的教學語言，包括口頭語言、書面語言、體態語言，都蒙上一層光彩，增強說服的力量。我曾受教於不大善於詞令的老師，也曾觀察過略嫌拘謹的教師上課。結果是，他們的誠懇態度，竟使大部分學生忘記了他們的不足。當然，態度誠懇而又善於詞令的教師，可說是兩美兼備，最爲難得。大多數的情況是，詞令有相當水平，再加上誠懇的態度，教師在課堂教學中，就一定會有不俗的表現。

投入

投入指精神的專注。教師是成年人，在群體生活中，不免會面對有待處理的事務和複雜的人際關係。例如我們有時會有掛慮，有時會感到不如意，而家庭、學校、親人、朋友、同事、鄰人等等，有時也會做出一些干擾的事，影響我們的情緒。有專業精神的教師，都知道把個人情緒帶入教室是不適宜的。教師進入教室以後，所應該做的，就是要忘記私人的事務，聚精會神投入教學工作，與學生的活動、反應相呼應，力求爭取課堂教學的最大成效。藝能界的表演者，往往能做到這一點，這很值得我們效法。

警覺

在課堂教學中，教師不能只關注教學內容的處理和教學目標的達成，他還應有敏銳的感覺，爲周遭的情況變化而作出適當的反應。例如教學環境的改變、教室中的突發事件、個別學生的言談舉止、部分學生的情緒表現等等，都會影響課堂教學的進程，如果教師視若無睹，只顧按照著原定計畫施教，不作任何調整或處理，結果一定會影響教學的成效。不過，有一點可以肯定的，就是精神專注投入課堂教學的教師，感覺會較爲敏銳，對教室中所發生的一切事情，會較有警覺之心。此外，教師進入教室以後，時時提高警覺，也可逐漸培養自己對教室的情況變化有敏銳的感覺和迅捷的反應。

靈活

成功的課室教學，往往因爲有事前的周詳計畫和現場的靈活調動或安排。「靈活」與「警覺」是互相依存的。在課堂教學中不懂靈活之道的教師，即使在教室現場中有警覺之心也沒有用。可見「警覺」與「靈活」，相合則兩美，分離則兩傷。所謂靈活，從課堂教學的角度來說，必須與教學環境、教學內容、學生反應、輔助設施等等相結合，其中包括：施教方式靈活、剪裁教學內容靈活、組織教學過程靈活、處理突發事件靈活、提問技巧靈活、詢問應答靈活、因勢利導靈活等等。

結語

從法律觀點看「基本法」，我們會重視立法的精神、法律的條文和法律的貫徹執行。課堂教學基本法，談的是教育中的教學原則。我們會重視教學原則所包含的精神和意義，但更重視「人」的成分，即教師在教學中的角色。這是教育與法律不同的地方。在課堂教學中，教師只要不違背大家認同的教學原則，就可以因應實際的情況，在教學上作適當的安排或調整。教亦多術，我們不必刻板地遵從教學原則的條文。

有人認爲，教師在課堂教學中要扮演三種不同角色：教師專業角色、藝員角色、推銷員角色。作爲教師，必須具備應有的學養和修養，這是專業要求；作爲藝員，必須留意自己的儀表、聲音、動作，把表達技巧充分發揮，達到吸引觀眾的效果，這是表演要求；作爲推銷員，一切以顧客需求爲依歸，達到銷售的目的，這是促銷要求[6]。我們知道，教師到底不同藝員和推銷員，但藝員的表演藝術和推銷員的促銷藝術，都有表達技巧的要求，教師是不是也要學習、掌握他們的表達技巧？

也有人認爲教室就是舞台或直播室，教師每一次踏入教室進行課堂教學，就是在舞台或直播室表演，而且是現場演出或直播，稍一出錯，都會讓觀眾看到[7]。在課堂教學中，我們可以有不同的表演風格和表達技巧，但別忘了學生就類似觀眾，一節課堂教學，就好像一場表演。教師能抱著這種態度去進行課堂教學，教學表現大抵不會差到那裏去。至於我所提到的課堂教學基本法，只不過有類於一些表演守則，供表演者作爲參考，臨場表現，仍然有待教師的靈活變通。

附註

1 1999 年 7 月 9 日無線電視台新聞節目報道：美國哈佛法學院用二十萬美元聘請顧問調查學生缺乏學習興趣的原因。這顯示哈佛法學院很重視對教學對象的了解。
2 王枏 (1998)。《教學語言藝術—課堂教學的主旋律》。廣西師範大學出版社，頁 5-6。
3 吳哲楣主編 (1995)。《十三經》上冊。國際文化出版公司，頁 511。
4 殷巧兒 (1994)。朗誦技巧。載李學銘編《語文教師的認識》。語文教育學院，頁 75-76。
5 彭永才 (1992)。如何使演說更具感染力。載李學銘編《語文教學與語文學習》。語文教育學院，頁 103。
6 馮克誠、范英、劉以林 (1996)。《教師行爲規範全書》第 10 冊《教學技術行爲規範(下)》。華語教學出版社，頁 31、72、73、108、109。
7 馮克誠、范英、劉以林 (1996)。《教師行爲規範全書》第 8 冊《教師語言行爲規範》。華語教學出版社，頁 7-9。

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從「黑箱作業」看教育理念

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進念二十面體(Zuni Icosahedron)是一個民間藝術組織。這個多元化的藝術組織於一九九五年六月至八月間，舉辦了一個社區學校藝術教育活動，名為「黑箱作業」(Blackbox Exercise)。這是一個由前市政局資助的藝術教育活動，由一群年青義工及一位全職的統籌者推行，並邀請了幾位在錄象、漫畫、裝置，攝影、文學等藝術範疇有創見的藝術家參加。

近年，香港的藝術教育漸漸走向學科為基礎的發展方向。如大部分的學科一樣，藝術的確是可以系統性地學習的學科，但亦如某些其他學科一樣，可以幫助學生發展情感教育、建立價值及確立社會意識等，而因此，教師應該理解本科的特性及同時細心衡量教育的意義及目標，才能達成全面教育學生的目的。社區學校藝術教育，是否在這方面帶來新的啟示？

本文先審視進念「黑箱作業」這個社區與學校合作的藝術教育個案，再帶出一些有關的教育概念。「黑箱作業」這項活動，為藝術教育提供了不同的教學資源及方法，並根據較進步的教育觀點，推行時能照顧到學生在認知方面、在發展個人方面及在發展社會意識方面各個層面，並且，它可以擺脫了學校課程的限制，亦即是擴闊了藝術教育課程，讓學生達成有效的學習。它所帶出的有關教育概念，包括有:發展學生的學習性向，教育目標的轉型及擴闊課程等，都有助學生發展學習動機，專心學習，以致促成良好的學習效果。但這裏涉及的教育概念，從未有機會在本港實行，卻在「黑箱作業」中論證了。

進念的黑箱作業

引起動機的主題

這個名爲「黑箱作業」的活動，本來暗喻學校教育的複雜及難以明瞭。這個主題，就首先引起參加者的關注，而各活動(包括展覽、討論、創作等)，都環繞這個主題作出探討及引伸。而由於活動的對象大多是學生，因而黑箱比喻爲學校這個主題，引發青少年學生不少回響，不少都把切實的學校經驗拿出來互相交流分享。於是學生對參予「黑箱作業」都很感興趣，而且印象深刻。

達成多方面的教育目標

「黑箱作業」的目的，是希望年青人主動對藝術、個人、環境、社會及文化作出探索。這個教學活動把教育中重視的認知、情意、與及社會等元素都綜合起來，使參加者得著較完整而多方面的教育。這個開闊的教育概念，必須貫徹在所有的活動內容中，才能取得預期的效果。這種開闊教育概念，可從以下分析「黑箱作業」活動形式，顯示如何貫徹。

形式活潑的展覽介紹裝置的概念

「黑箱作業」的第一階段活動是參觀展覽。展覽場地是一個木板搭成的大黑箱，裏面以塗上黑漆的木板分隔成九間房子，而房子是有通道互通的。學生可隨意選擇使用哪一扇門進入黑箱內。箱子內的各個房子都由藝術家利用不同素材及媒體；作出裝置。而學生可在黑箱內各房間自由進出。進念的工作人員並不作出具體的解釋和陳述，對於同學的提問只作出啓發式的回答，例如當被問及藝術家的意圖時，會反問「你又認爲他的意圖如何？」；被問及爲何這樣做時，會答：「你不會這樣做，又會怎樣做？」故大多數同學都能夠體驗黑箱的裝置過程，從而整理出裝置藝術的概念。而不同年紀的學生，無論小學、中學、及大學的學生，也會對黑箱裝置產生好奇，進而對裝置及藝術產生探求的興趣。

活動工作坊共同探索身體與環境的關係

第二階段的活動工作坊著重刺激同學對環境作出探索：例如身體在環境中的方向性，關注力、節奏感、同步性等。透過活潑的遊戲及活動，進念工作人員營造輕鬆的學習氣氛，並與同學打成一片，而同學亦有份參予設計遊戲，而有些時候，同學會選擇作旁觀者，亦完全容許，同學是依自己的學習方式及興趣，體驗及經驗這些活動。

討論是活動經驗的體現

不論是第一階段的參觀展覽或第二階段的活動工作坊，也有討論的環節，這環節使同學認識別人的觀點。而最重要的，它是參加者參觀展覽或工作坊經驗的體現。例如：在討論環節中，同學可以共同探討展覽中裝置的形式與內容，同學或會提出「裝置是否等於佈置？」、「爲何某藝術家的裝置是一間空空的房？」、「爲何錄象與聲音的混合也算是藝術？」等等問題。從討論中，同學會明白到藝術形式是多樣化的。他們亦可能對藝術技巧作出批評，或談論觀看展覽時的心得或感受，於是藝術亦成爲與人溝通的媒介。

參加者亦會發表參加活動工作坊的感受，做完活動後，同學能對事情作出反省。例如「黑漆中感覺很冷。」「人很多時也缺乏方向感。」這些，都能擴闊同學的視點觀感，對平日較少思索的問題，作出思考。同學或會開始思索個人與環境的關係，人與人的關係等。

討論環節正好讓同學有一個溝通、探求及互相參考的機會，比權威式的教學，在學習方面更奏效。進念工作人員亦多用啓發及鼓勵聯想的方式，使同學發揮多向性思維，增強同學的自主性及創意。

藝術座談會進一步鞏固所學的藝術知識及經驗

一系列的座談會，是擺設裝置的藝術家主持的，在會上，藝術家與同學分享有關裝置藝術及其他與藝術有關的概念，如創意、審美等。同學更有機會直接了解藝術家的創作過程和意圖，當中誘發了不同題目的討論，例如在美學、哲學、教育等各方面，擴闊了同學的視點，使同學把個人與社會上的事情聯系。這些討論，會幫助同學建立日後的生活態度及價值觀，這個教學方式擺脫了學校課程的限制，而學生所學的，比校內所學的似更寬廣。

創意工作坊－自做裝置

創意工作坊給同學機會，共同研究裝置，並且著手進裝置藝術的創作。同學們在工作坊內把領悟到的裝置藝術知識運用，在一個約一立方呎的小黑箱內進行裝置藝術。許多同學的作品反映了同學們對生活、社會或教育的心聲、而在工作坊，同學更藉藝術發展個人思考，抒發個人情緒。這個活動總結了同學在兩個多月參加「黑箱作業」的經驗。一位參加者更表示，「這個階段的學習，就好比用一條鎖匙開啓了我的腦袋，使我漸漸發現不同的通道。」這個表述，正面反映了「黑箱作業」的教學效果。

黑箱作業的教育效果

上述的演譯，描繪了「黑箱作業」的教學方式，它運用了不同類型教學活動及教育資源。有些方式是確立知識系統的；有些是要達成發展參加者的經驗的；有些是爲提高學生的學習興趣，鼓勵學生探求的精神。這些教學活動都收到明顯的效果。例如確可以發展個人情意與認知；確可以使個人多認識別人與增加社會意識；確可認識藝術與個人的關係等。當然由於傳統學習形式根深蒂固的影響，有一些同學較難接受「黑箱作業」的教學形式，認爲這種學習「不大正式」，此外，還加上管理與資源的問題，其實很多細節仍有待改善。然而這些活動背後的概念，是希望學生產生學習動機，有助同學專心學習，達致良好的學習效果。這些從經歷中發展學習的理論，早已在教育理論上出現。以下筆者嘗試從進念這個個案中整理出對於當前教育甚有意義的概念，希望教育工作者面對教育工作時，能時常持一個清醒的腦袋，面對教育問題。

適應學生學習方式的教學可增強學習效果

教師在教學中往往會發現，學生會有不同的學習方式(learning style)。例如有些學生十分倚靠老師的講授，但有些學生卻在圖書館東翻西翻，仍然在學習上有出色的表現。其實學習方式的形成，是基於學生有不同的學習性向(aptitudes of learning)。構成學習性向的原因十分複雜，包括一切可歸因爲個人意圖、情意及認知方面發展的因素。故確切地說，教師面對教學，並非僅僅是傳授知識這般簡單、死板。面對不同需要及不同能力的學生，教師一方面要採用不同的教學方法，提供不同類型的學習環境及資源，幫助大部分學生達到有效的學習。另一方面，教師更要發生學生的「學習性向」，使學生的能力及傾向足以應付社會一般的要求，並且培養學生能力，能調節個人的興趣及專長，才容易在現代化的社會中立足。

教育目標的轉型，教育應調節個人發展

傳統的學校教學，是以教師爲主導的，教師依照學科爲單位的課程，把知識傳授給學生，並且以規劃化的考試，作爲評估學生的學習成就。這方式可有效地增加學生的知識，而教師亦因此成爲授受關係中的權威。由於社會進步及轉型，知識普及和來源多樣化，教師也就不能單單滿足於傳播知識，教育的目標，從以往的灌輸知識，轉變爲培養學生的個人質素和學習能力，及引導學生個人發展。以香港爲例，目前的轉向，香港的教育比以前更重視發展個人認知、價值取向及社會技能等方面。學生學習的目的不單是學到某些知識技能，而是希望培養成探求的態度，運用知識的能力，可以把所學的知識技能綜合應用，甚致產生新的學問技能，去應付社會上的問題和挑戰。

這種更新的教育觀念，不僅表示教育方式應該由傳統的知識傳授，變爲透過知識去培養和訓練學生各方面的能力，更指出，學校或教師更需要有意發掘每個學生的潛能及個人目標，提供各種合適的方法，讓同學在教師的引導下，發揮自己的潛能，一方面更認識自己與環境的關係，另一方面亦對社會作出貢獻。教育目標的轉型，預示教師的教學方式亦應當相應變得有彈性。「黑箱作業」的整個活動的運作方式，對如何實踐這種教育觀念，作出正面的，很有價值的啓發。