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Article

# East Meets the West: Influence of Chinese and the Western Values in Hong Kong New Senior Secondary Curriculum

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Abstract: After the end of colonial rule in 1997, the Hong Kong education system has been experiencing a policy reform on Senior Secondary Education (NSS) Curriculum commenced in September 2009 aiming to educate students as globalized Hong Kong citizens for the Western. Although previous scholars argued that it is hard to differentiate between domestic values and the Western values in account of curriculum development (Sewpaul, 2007), this study demonstrates an analysis using the dichotomy to investigate how local curriculum, especially in the post-colonial areas, embrace both the Western values and domestic values. Using content analysis on the NSS curriculum guides, this article evaluates the influence of the Western values and Chinese values in the NSS curriculum through investigating: (1) how the Western values and Chinese values was incorporated into the curriculum throughout its development (2) why some values are more significantly highlighted in the curriculum guide. Findings include that more Chinese values are involved in the curriculum documents. This may be because of the upholding of domestic values as a post-colonial city. The Western values which are academically related are greatly incorporated into the local curriculum.

**Keywords:** values education; post-colonialism; new secondary school curriculum; educational reform; Hong Kong

### Introduction

Previous social and cultural capital study postulated that values are significant to shape societies which may also lead to important societal changes. Such societal change can be reflected in school curriculum (Tatto et. al. 2001). Meanwhile, the increased calls for two camps, upholding local traditional values and adding elements of Western values into the education curriculum, have heightened debates on the influence of domestic values and Western values on local curriculum development in decolonized society (Jung, 2018). The robust debates on the Western values versus local values in curriculum reform has contributed to a shifting ethos, relevance and function of local curriculum among decolonized society and within Hong Kong. In Hong Kong, this debate has been heightened in the face of launching a new curriculum reform-New Senior Secondary (NSS) Curriculum. Whether the influence of Western versus local traditional values should be captured as a positive-sum game in order to respond to the globalized context.

Hong Kong experienced a long period of colonial rule under the British government, before the hand-over to China in 1997. Connecting to the *Learning to Learn curriculum reform* in 2000 and the focus of student-centered rationale, the implementation of the New Senior Secondary (NSS) Curriculum commenced in September 2009, aiming to facilitate the development of a more flexible cross-discipline curriculum. At the same time, after the colonial rule ended in 1997, Hong Kong experienced influence by the trend of globalization (Jung, 2018; Forestier & Crossley, 2015; Tan 2016; Scholte, 2008). Hong Kong has been trying to internationalize using the Western values to enhance the competitiveness in the higher education sector (Jung, 2018) and education curriculum in primary and secondary education. In this article we seek to evaluate the influence of the Western values and Chinese values in the NSS curriculum through investigating: (1) how the Western values and Chinese

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values were incorporated into the curriculum throughout its development (2) why some values are more significantly highlighted in the curriculum guide.

### **Background**

In 2000, the document of the Reform *Proposal for the Education System* was submitted to the Hong Kong Government by the Education Commission. In 2003, the Education commission published "Review of the Academic Structure of Senior Secondary Education, proposing the adoption of a new 3-year senior secondary academic curriculum (Education Commission, 2000). In September 2009, the implementation of the New Senior Secondary (NSS) Curriculum commenced. Students acquired curriculum knowledge, which is connected by eight KLAs (i.e. Chinese Language Education, English Language Education, Mathematics Education, Science Education, Personal-Social and Humanities Education, Technology Education, Arts Education and Physical Education), through four core subjects, two to three elective subjects. The curriculum content was broad and diversified, but specialized according to students' diverse abilities, interests and needs in order to foster students' self-directed learning capabilities (Education Bureau, 2017).

In 2001, the curriculum report Learning to Learn – The Way Forward in Curriculum Development (2001) suggested Moral and Civic Education (MCE) to the secondary schools to promote five priority values and attitudes (perseverance, respect for others, responsibility, national identity and commitment) in the curriculum. Perseverance means overcoming challenges and striving to achieve their goals; Respect for others is defined as accepting individual uniqueness and maintaining peaceful relationships; responsibility is to develop students' helpful attitude to peers, community and the society; national Identity represents improvement of "understanding of the Basic Law and the concept of one country, two systems" (Education Bureau, 2002); Commitment defines the persistence to complete one's own duties (Education Bureau, 2002). Although some schools incorporate the values into the KLAs and subject learning, there was a lack of standardized guidelines specifying the application of the five values into generic skills and attitudes. In 2008, the MCE curriculum framework was revised by adding integrity and care for others as the priority values and attitudes. Integrity means maintaining trustful relationships; Care for others means showing sincere concern for others' needs (Education Bureau, 2017). In 2017, the updated Secondary Education Curriculum Guide splendidly published the document of "values education" stresses the importance of values education in achieving the learning goal "to become an informed and responsible citizen with a sense of national and global identity, appreciation of positive values and attitudes as well as Chinese culture, and respect for pluralism in society" (Legislative Council Panel on Education, 2018).

# **Theoretical Framework**

Education in the Western

Education in the Western has been defined as a cultivation process of students to be capable of facing a rapidly changing, globally interdependent world (Gardner, 2007; Jacobs, 2010). This then brings into question the role of the local government and the rising importance of Western education. Reflecting an interconnected world, scholars have been discussing the aim of Western education. As Stewart (2010) suggested, education in the Western is to prepare students to be capable of changes in the international marketplace, science and technology, demographic immigration and emerging economies; Cloud (2010) postulated to educate sustainability for cultural preservation, economic and environmental development. Gento & Gonazalez (2012) further breakthrough the discussion by pointing out that education can act as a cultivating role optimizing the appropriate behavior for the rapid change in society. Hence, education in the Western should emphasize more on "the integral development of a human being in all his/her dimensions and individual characteristics", which value should be put as the key focus (Gento & Gonazalez, 2012).

Hong Kong has been influenced by Chinese Confucian cultural traditions which values the Five virtues: benevolence (ren 仁), integrity, uprightness (yi 義), rite and propriety (li 禮), moral understanding (zhi 智), and trust (xin 信) (Knapp, 2009). Benevolence means loving and aiding the others; righteousness means doing things and making judgements properly; propriety means realizing the truth and becoming a perfect person through rituals and courtesy; wisdom means acquiring knowledge; trustworthiness means being sincere to others (Knapp, 2009). Didactic teaching and learning is a significant way to realize these virtues and become a perfect person. This also influenced learning modes in Hong Kong which put learning, teaching and schooling the highest priority. Knapp (2009) further specified the five virtues in different indicators (Table 1). For instance, benevolence is paired with the indicators of "love the people with specific and close relationships", "taking full responsibilities, with respect and deference", "put themselves in others' places and overcome selfishness"; integrity, uprightness is paired up with knowing how to act appropriately in all circumstances, recognize non righteous things or situations.

**Table 1.** Categories of Chinese values.

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Categories of Chinese Values	Indicators							
	A1.love the people with specific and close relationships							
	A2.taking full responsibilities, with respect and deference							
A.benevolence (ren 仁)	A3.put themselves in others' places and overcome selfishness							
	B1. knowing how to act appropriately in all circumstances							
B.integrity, uprightness (yi 義)	B2. recognize non righteous things or situations							
	C1. courtly manners							
C.rite and propriety (li 禮)	C2. know one's own social position and conduct oneself accordingly							
D. moral understanding (zhi 智)	D1. ability to recognize and differentiate between good and "not-good"							
E. trust (xin 信)	E1. being honest and trustful keeping promises							

The Western values as foreign values are different from the indigenous Chinese Confucian values. In 1972, UNESCO outlined a framework of global values in six aspects (i.e. physical, intellectual, moral, social & practical, aesthetic & artistic and religious) which aimed to be promoted by different educational systems (Gento & Gonazalez, 2012). From the empirical studies reviewed (Gento & Gonazalez, 2012), in general the values of Western can be concluded into seven aspects:

- (I) promotion of integrity, survival, physical function and emotional balance,
- (II) development of knowledge and conscience, intellectual attitudes and strategies,
- (III) promotion of responsible free behavior,
- (IV) perception, enjoyment and promotion of aesthetic manifestations,

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- (V) accommodation to configuration and functioning of human groups and their cultural manifestations,
  - (VI) respect and accommodation of human beings to their context and environment, and
- (VII) development of the ability to survive and to being successfully integrated in diverse contexts

As outlined above, based on the empirical studies reviewed, we further listed out the indicators describing the aspects (Table 2). This constitutes an important component for this study because these categories are used for the content analysis performed.

**Table 2.** Categories of the Western values.

Categories of Western Values	Indicators						
	Ia. Sensory and motive functionality						
I. Promotion of integrity, survival, physical	Ib. Personal hygiene, Nutritional balance, Balanced sexuality						
function and emotional balance	Ic. Physical and emotional stability						
	Id. Self confidence						
II. Development of knowledge and	IIa. knowledge acquisition (conceptual contents)						
conscience, intellectual attitudes and strategies	IIb. the automation of procedures						
	IIIc. internalization of attitudes towards knowledge						
III. Promotion of responsible free behavior	IIIa.improvement in the behavior of people						
IV.Perception, enjoyment and promotion of aesthetic manifestations	IVa.use artistic standards in different ways to conceive and to create a work of art.						
V.Accommodation to configuration and functioning of human groups and their cultural manifestations	Va.shows an adequate social education when he/she shows respect to collective patrimony, implying rules, symbols and uses) of a specific human group						
VI. Respect and accommodation of	VIa. Respect						
human beings to their context and environment	VIb. caring for the environment						
VII.Development of the ability to survive and to	VIIa. legitimate desire of learners to obtain outstanding results in the education system VIIb. appropriate technical training and the suitable use of emerging technology						
being successfully integrated in diverse contexts	VIIc. ability to live independently in a satisfactory way						
	VIId.use one's own educational level to improve one's						

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	economic situation
	VIIe. live in ecologically suitable environments and adopting an ecologically responsible lifestyle
VIII.Free and responsible supreme acceptance and justification of personal and cosmic limits	VIIIa. person's projection beyond his/her existence and physical or temporal limitations

Dichotomy between Foreign and Domestic Values

Since 2000, different countries have been starting to integrate Western values into their local curriculum in cultivating students to ensure their survival ability and attitudes of maintaining harmonic relationship with the environment and humans (Gento & Gonazalez, 2012). This is especially visible to societies that moved from authoritarianism to more democracy (i.e. Mexico) and societies that moved towards decentralization (i.e. South Africa) (Rubin, 2016). When the social system kept reconstituting itself by integrating the foreign values into local curriculum, a dichotomy of values between foreign and indigenous cultures appeared (Anderson-Levitt & Alimasi, 2012). A social system's semantics has to do with the observation and description of the system-environment distinction, and with the explanation of why and how the social structure is changing (Wu, 2009). Some scholars argued that putting domestic values and non-domestic values as binary basis for analysis may stereotype both the domestic and internationalized cultures (Ryan & Kam, 2007; Vignoles et. al, 2016). However, The identification of value influence can facilitate sufficient understanding towards the discourse of local tradition and modernity in post-colonial regions, as the pedagogy is inhabited from local traditions, and further entangled with colonial influence and later the globalization influence (Cheng and Xu, 2011). This study will take the approach of investigating how the NSS curriculum embraces both the Western values and Chinese values.

Before the end of british colonial rule, there was a dichotomy of "Previous" Western and Chinese culture or tradition in Hong Kong (Jung, 2018; Forestier & Crossley, 2015): colonized by the British, the Hong Kong education system borrowed from the English model, which was influenced by Anglo-Saxon western culture (Jung, 2018). The Hong Kong Education System was guided by the English model, but at the same time being exam-oriented in nature and implementing didactic teaching practices influenced by Confucian-culture traditions (Forestier & Crossley, 2015). After the colonial rule ended in 1997, Hong Kong experienced a new dichotomy of new-era-western and Chinese culture (Jung, 2018; Forestier & Crossley, 2015; Tan 2016; Scholte, 2008). The new dichotomy was influenced by the new era of western culture which includes elements of western modernity (liberalism, critical thinking, individualism) influenced values taught through education (Forestier & Crossley, 2015). The new-era-western culture co-existed with the pre-existing confucian cultural traditions in Eastern culture. Starting in the 1990s, East Asian countries began to view their national economic competitiveness to internationalize their higher education sector (Jung, 2018). The eagerness of enhancing education curriculum also happened in Hong Kong. With the pre-existing exam-oriented nature and didactic teaching practices unchanged, Hong Kong attempted to borrow so-called "progressive" reforms that championed child-centered approaches to learning from the new-era-western culture (Jung, 2018). The following essay would take the Western values and Chinese values as an analytical approach to investigate the development of NSS curriculum.

# Methodology

### Data Collection

This article is based on the analysis that was conducted on the curriculum guides in understanding the nature of design of the NSS curriculum. Within the decade, three curriculum guides was published: The New Academic Structure for Senior Secondary Education and Higher Education (2005), Senior secondary curriculum guide - the future is now: from vision to realisation (secondary 4-6) (2009), and The Secondary Education Curriculum Guide (SECG) (2017) (Table 3). The New Academic Structure for Senior Secondary Education and Higher Education was the first curriculum guide open for discussion on the details of NSS curriculum; Senior secondary curriculum guide - the future is now: from vision to realisation (secondary 4-6) acted as a direction guide prior to the first year of implementation of NSS curriculum in 2009; The Secondary Education Curriculum Guide (SECG) was the latest curriculum guide in enhancing the curriculum with accord to Hong Kong context. The study will analyze based on the three documents.

Table 3. Seven priority values and attitudes (Education Bureau, 2017).

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Seven priority values and attitudes	Actions
PE. Perseverance	PE1. Overcome challenges and failures with courage PE2. Strive in the face of hardship to achieve their goals
RO. Respect for Others	RO1. accept everyone is unique RO2. try to establish peaceful and friendly relationships with everyone RO3. live and work with others in harmony.
RE. Responsibility	RE1. develop a caring and helpful attitude to others RE2. take appropriate action for the betterment of their peers, the community and society
NI. National Identity	NI1. improve understanding of the country, the Basic Law, the concept of "one country, two systems"  NI2. strengthen sense of national identity
CO. Commitment	C1. committed to complete one's own duties C2. proactively think about how to complete the tasks and make things better persistently
IN. Integrity	IN1. maintain truthful communication IN2. help establish mutual trust
CF. Care for others	CF1.show sincerely one's concern for others' situations, feelings and needs

### Data Analysis

The content analysis is three tiered, underpinned by a conceptual analysis of the Western values and Chinese values using the categories emerging from the theoretical framework from Knapp (2009) on Chinese values (Table 1) and the Western values from Gento & Gonazalez (2012) (Table 2). The categories and indicators constitute an important milestone for this study because they facilitated the calculation of the frequency of the mentioned Chinese values and the Western values to show the significance of the values within the whole curriculum. The numbering does not show the hierarchy of significance in relation to each other.

The analysis started from categorizing the values promoted in the NSS curriculum to identify how the curriculum design strikes a balance between Chinese and the Western values. The content analysis would be first conducted on the written curriculum based on the seven priority values and attitudes appeared in the three documents (Table 3). These values are construed as goals for helping students develop qualities beyond knowledge learning of facts, concepts, and skills for transmission (Deng, 2009). The analysis continued with identifying hidden categories and indicators of Western and Chinese values in the values education stated in the curriculum guides. The frequencies of categories and indicators of Western values and Chinese values that appear in the documents are counted to reveal the values proposed in the hidden curriculum guides.

### **Results**

The Incorporation of the Western Values and Chinese Values in the Curriculum Document of Values Education

Chinese values have laid a foundation in educating students to be caring, peaceful and trustful through the seven values in the curriculum. "Respect for Others" of the seven values is similar to the Chinese value's Category A- Benevolence in trying to establish peaceful and friendly relationships with everyone (RO2), and live in harmony (RO2); "Integrity" is similar to Category E-Trust in maintaining trustful communication (IN1) and establishing trust (IN2); "Care for Others" is also similar to the Chinese values of Category A- Benevolence to show sincere and care for others situations (CF1); The Western values have also formed a base in establishing the seven values in boosting student's uniqueness and eagerness to strive for excellence. "Perseverance" is influenced by Category VII- Free and responsible supreme acceptance and justification of personal and cosmic limits that encourages students to overcome challenges (PE1) and strive to achieve the goals (PE2); "Respect for Others" is partly influenced by Category VI - Respect and accommodation of human beings to their context and environment that highlights everyone is unique (RO1); "National Identity" does not have full similarity with Chinese Confucious Belonging-Identity theory that one belongs to a community (Dai, 2020), but it have acknowledges the importance to improve understanding of the country (NI1) and strengthen sense of national identity (NI2), which are the essential part of global-local identity (Afton, 2020). Hence, "National Identity" is similar to Category V - Accommodation to configuration and functioning of human groups and their cultural manifestations. Some values are both influenced by Chinese and Western values. "Responsibility" is partly influenced by Category B - Integrity, uprightness when it encourages students to take actions that are good for the society (RE2). The sense of responsibility as a social member is also similar to Category III - Promotion of responsible free behavior under the influence of Western values; "Commitment" is also partly influenced by Category E - trust in promoting commitment to complete one's own duties (C1). The sense of individual responsibility in completing tasks by oneself is also similar to Category III - Promotion of responsible free behavior under the influence of Western values. The identified results reveal the interpretation of good values, attitudes, and good qualities for the Western from Hong Kong perspectives. As stated in the curriculum document, "Positive values and attitudes not only help students develop a healthy lifestyle and positive learning attitudes, but also equip them with good qualities to meet the requirements of their future workplace and be a sensible citizen in Hong Kong." (Education Bureau, 2017) Values including benevolence, integrity, trust, responsible free behavior, accommodation to human groups and manifestations, respect of human beings to their context and environment, ability to survive and integrate in diverse contexts, accepting personal and cosmic limits contributed to the ideal personality for the Western in face of challenges. Benevolence and trust are especially significant in influencing the actions among the seven priority values (RO2, RO3, RE1, C1, IN1 and IN2), of which the actions are mostly related to social relations that keeping peaceful and harmonic accompaniment is important in the Western.

Category C - rite and propriety (li 禮), Category D- moral understanding (zhi 智), Category I - Promotion of integrity, survival, physical function and emotional balance, Category II - Development of knowledge and conscience, intellectual attitudes and strategies and Category IV -

Perception, enjoyment and promotion of aesthetic manifestations do not have intersection with the core values. However, it is notable that indicator of Category D- moral understanding (zhi 智) (the ability to recognize and differentiate between good and "not-good") matches with the learning objectives of moral education. As stated in *The Secondary Education Curriculum Guide (SECG)*:

The cultivation of positive values and attitudes can:

- develop secondary students' competency in judging right from wrong;
- facilitate the development of a positive identity; and
- enhance secondary students' self-esteem and self-confidence (p.4).

However, it is put as the "additional" attitude that students acquired after adopting the seven priorty positive values and attitudes in esolving life encounters in the document (p.7).

Nonetheless, students may encounter various life events and issues in which various and even conflicting values and attitudes are embedded. Students are encouraged to analyse these events and issues in a rational and objective manner, and adopt positive values and attitudes as one of the guiding principles to make judgements and decisions.

The Incorporation of the Western Values and Chinese Values as Hidden Curriculum

Most Chinese values are covered in the curriculum (Table 4), including category A benevolence, category B - integrity, uprightness, category D - moral understanding, and category E - trust. It is highlighted that none of the documents identified values related to Rite and propriety ( 禮) such as 'courtly manners', 'know one's own social position and conduct oneself accordingly'. Meanwhile, the Western values are selectively covered in the curriculum, which are mostly related to academic learning (Table 5). Four categories from western cultures including Category I -Promotion of integrity, survival, physical function and emotional balance, Category II - Development of knowledge and conscience, intellectual attitudes and strategies, Category VI - Respect and accommodation of human beings to their context and environment, and Category VII - Development of the ability to survive and to being successfully integrated in diverse contexts are included. Promotion of responsible free behavior, perception, enjoyment and promotion of aesthetic manifestations, accommodation to configuration and functioning of human groups and their cultural manifestations and free and responsible supreme acceptance and justification of personal and cosmic limits were not mentioned, leaving only four out of eight categories identified in the documents. Before colonial rule till 1997, Hong Kong's education system borrowed the English model, which was influenced by Anglo-Saxon western culture (Jung, 2018). The hegemony of Anglo-Saxon western culture may form an image of superiority over the Chinese Confucian cultures that "wisdom and knowledge come through separation and classification as is the case in European thought" (Haldane, Lafond & Krause, 2011). After colonial rule, upholding Confucian values can make an alignment between Indigenous knowledge and notions of Western education in the reformed curriculum.

Table 4. The Seven Priority Values of the written curriculum and the Chinese values.

	PE1	PE2	RO1	RO2	RO3	RE1	RE2	NI1	NI2	C1	C2	IN1	IN2	CF1
A.benevolence (ren 仁)				•	•	•								•
B.integrity, uprightness (yi 義)							•							
C.rite and propriety (li 禮)														
D. moral understanding (zhi 智)														
E. trust (xin 信)										•		•	•	

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PE1 PE2 RO1 RO2 RO3 RE1 RE2 NI1 NI2 C1 C2 IN1 IN2 CF1 I. Promotion of integrity, survival, physical function and emotional balance II. Development of knowledge and conscience, intellectual attitudes and strategies III. Promotion of responsible free behavior IV.Perception, enjoyment and promotion of aesthetic manifestations V.Accommodation to configuration and functioning of human groups and their cultural manifestations VI. Respect and accommodation of human beings to their context and environment VII.Development of the ability to survive and to being successfully integrated in diverse contexts VIII.Free and responsible supreme acceptance and justification of personal and cosmic limits

Struggles Faced in Balancing between Western and Chinese Values

Both Western and Chinese values are observed in the development of the NSS curriculum. Although most Chinese values are kept, Western values are more frequently mentioned throughout the years. Table 6 shows the different frequencies of the coding units by indicators and categories. From the analysis, the Chinese values category that had the most mentions in the three curriculum guide is A – 'benevolence (ren 仁)' [186 mentions]. The two most mentioned indicators are: A2 – 'taking full responsibilities, with respect and deference' [167 mentions] and B2 - 'recognize non righteous things or situations' [109 mentions]. Table 6 also shows by far the most mentioned Western values is Category II - Development of knowledge and conscience, intellectual attitudes and strategies (419 mentions) and Category VII - Development of the ability to survive and to being successfully integrated in diverse contexts (358 mentions). Category II and VII have a considerable difference in number of mentions compared to the others, and within Category II and VII the most mentioned indicators are II1- knowledge acquisition (conceptual contents)(419 mentions), VIIa legitimate desire of learners to obtain outstanding results in the education system (144 mentions) and VIIb- appropriate technical training and the suitable use of emerging technology (109 mentions). The category of the most mentioned among the Western values (Category II) are significantly more than the Chinese values (Category A). The NSS curriculum highlights more on the Western values.

Table 6. Number of mentions of Chinese and the Western values.

	Number of Mentions														
		Chin	ese Va	alues				The Western values							
	A1	A2	B2	D1	E1	Ib	Ic	Id	II1	VIa	VIb	VIIa	VIIb	VIIc	VIIe
Learning to Learn	0	9	0	1	0	3	3	7	58	9	0	46	35	24	5
Senior secondary curriculum guide	2	28	0	1	1	15	2	3	29	5	2	6	6	19	2
SECG	17	130	109	3	2	62	9	20	332	51	24	92	68	50	5
Total of Mentions	19	167	109	5	3	80	14	30	419	65	26	144	109	93	12

The Western values with the highest mentions are mostly related to cognitive development such as 'knowledge acquisition on conceptual contents' (Indicator II1), 'legitimate desire of learners to obtain outstanding results in the education system' (Indicator VIIa). This may be because of the long term influence of Chinese traditional Confucian influence on the Hong Kong education system. During the colonial era (from 1842-1997), the Hong Kong Education System was guided by the English model, but at the same time being exam-oriented in nature and implementing didactic teaching practices influenced by Confucian traditions (Forestier & Crossley, 2015; Deng, 2009) and screening culture during British colonial rule. Under the cult of efficiency, the British colonial government had low expenditure on education to provide limited seats for secondary education and tertiary education (Cheng, 2002). A pyramid structure of the education system in Hong Kong was maintained under colonial rule, for all the students could receive nine year free education, while only few of them could enter senior secondary education under the secondary education and the university entrance examination (Hong Kong government, 1978). Students took the General Certificate of Education (GCE) examination at the end of primary education. Based on their academic capability, the students were placed into one of the five school bands (with band 1 the most academically capable and band 5 the least capable). Students were selected for the final 2 years of secondary education based on the public examination results in secondary 5. University entrance examinations further screened out the secondary 7 students for tertiary education. From the Chinese Orthodox Confucian perspectives, since the very young age, children should act with adult seriousness to excel in academic performance to accomplish their responsibilities to shine for their families (光宗耀祖)(Naftali, 2010). Under such conditions, the screening culture was encouraged and continued: only the academic fittest could survive in access to the limited provision of education. The aftermath of screening culture continued in today's Hong Kong education when competition on academic performance is still thriving in secondary education. This also agrees that values education in curriculum design with Chinese characteristics requires time, research and development (Zhan, 2004).

### Conclusion: Struggles Faced in Balancing between Western and Chinese Values

Throughout this article we have sought to show the influence of Western and Chinese values on the macro level of curriculum decisions in Hong Kong's New Senior Secondary Curriculum policies. This study demonstrates an analysis using the dichotomy to investigate how local curriculum integrate both Western values and domestic values in face of the globalized context. The

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study evaluated the influence of the Western and Chinese dichotomy on the NSS curriculum when moving towards the Western as a post-colonial city. In the written document, benevolence and trust have the greatest influence towards the actions which are mostly related to social relations; At the hidden curriculum level, it seems that more Chinese values are involved in the curriculum documents. This may be because of the upholding of domestic values as a post-colonial city. The Western values which are academically related are greatly incorporated into the local curriculum and reveal the tendency of continuing the domestic learning culture of prioritizing academic excellence.

Research can be conducted at a micro level on the implementation of the NSS curriculum. What kind of reaction from parents, students and teachers towards the development of NSS and value cultivation is another complex question that requires further research. However, this research indicates that the NSS curriculum is the outcome of interpretation of Western values and Chinese values. The influence of these values at the macro-level of curriculum design is obvious.

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