

The struggle between globalisation, nationalism and music education in Hong Kong

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Abstract

The year 2008 marked the eleventh anniversary of Hong Kong's return from the United Kingdom (UK) to the People's Republic of China (PRC). In this decade, the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (SAR) Government has repeatedly emphasised the importance of the development of national identity and patriotism in school education, and has at the same time introduced diverse cultural values into the school curriculum. This article explores the dynamics and complexity of the relationships between the state, globalisation and nationalism in Hong Kong that are re-shaping music education in response to contemporary sociopolitical changes. It argues that Hong Kong school music education has made a gradual cultural shift towards globalism and nationalism, and away from the Westernism that has dominated Hong Kong music education since before the change of sovereignty on 1 July 1997. The article concludes with a discussion of how music education might juggle two pairs of relationships in the curriculum: between global and national cultures; and between the education of cultural values and nationalism in Chinese music. There is pressure to rethink teacher education in terms of the need to be aware of the socio-political environment in which it operates, and within which it makes music education socially relevant.

Introduction: Globalisation, nationalism, and cultural transmission in education

Since the 1980s, globalisation has been a profound and ongoing process occurring in many economic, political, cultural and educational dimensions of the contemporary world. Despite considerable debate over precisely how best to define globalisation (Scholte, 2005), there is broad agreement that it is an historical process involving the uneven development and partial and contingent transformation of cultural, economic and political structures, practices and social relations (Hobsbawm, 1999; Jessop, 1999). There is a substantial literature on the challenges of globalisation to nation-states, and its various, even contradictory impacts on the economic, political, cultural, social and educational dimensions of human activities in an increasingly interconnected and interdependent world (Carnoy & Rhoten, 2002; Clayton, 2004; Conway and Heynen, 2006; Held et al., 1998; Robertson, 1992, 1995; Thadani, 2006).

In this era of increasing globalisation, the concept of national culture is problematic because globalisation has posed challenges to the cultural identities of peoples in different parts of the world. A core hypothesis in the globalisation debate is that globalisation fundamentally alters the relationship between the place where we live and our cultural experiences and identities (see Waters, 1995). Giroux (1999) suggested that globalisation produces a new generation of youth, who are steeped in an environment where electronic images and popular culture intersect. As many young people struggle to become citizens of a global culture, they become culturally disoriented, and the differences between locality-defined cultures, which had constituted people's identities before, become increasingly blurred (Tomlinson, 1999). In the shadow of globalisation, the nation-state has remained a focal point of struggle over cultural identity (Smith, 1995). Identities can change over time (Fitzgerald, 1993) and across and within situations (Hermans et al., 1992); whilst globalisation as a complex connectivity 'alters the context of meaning construction ... it affects people's sense of identity, the experience of place and of self in relation to place' (Tomlinson, 1999, p. 20).

As a result of the spread of globalisation, new conflicts and tensions have emerged, resulting in a surge of nationalism and fundamentalism (Huntington, 1996). Subsequent to the work of Antonio Gramsci and Stuart Hall, many cultural theorists cited the importance of culture as an educational location where identities are continuously 'transformed, power is enacted, and learning assumes a political dynamic as it becomes not only the condition for the acquisition of agency but also the sphere for imagining oppositional social change' (Giroux, 2004, p. 60). In particular, in the face of globalisation's impact upon the nation-state, nationalism has been revived as a central form of political and cultural identity, which has resulted in diverse national or local responses (Almas and Lawrence, 2003; Held et al, 1998; Schmidt, 1999). One surprising feature of the global age is how robust local and national cultures have proved to be (Appadurai, 1990). The tendency of globalisation to 'detraditionalise' societies does not necessarily mean that local cultures vanish, but rather that traditions are forced into the open and challenged by a multiplicity of cultural forms (see Giddens, 1994, 1999).

Changes in the structures, processes and concepts of societies and cultures arising from globalisation affect, and are affected by, education as much as by other social institutions and systems. As Gardner (1999) explained, education changes over time in association with shifts in values and scientific findings, as well as with broader historical and social forces such as globalisation. Many concerned educators have examined the complicated relations between globalisation and contemporary educational policies and practices across national and regional boundaries (see Blackmore, 1999; Stromquist & Monkman, 2000; Law, 2003, 2004a; Li, 2003). The channels and mechanisms through which globalisation influences national/local education systems include educational borrowing from other countries, either voluntarily, or involuntarily, with or without adaptation to local needs

and conditions (Dale, 1999). Working from a foundation of theories related to globalisation, identity development, and citizenship education, Parmenter et al. (2000) explored elementary school children's geographic and affective location of the self in Japan, Macau, and Hong Kong. They argued that education no longer provides these children with only a national identity, but also with regional and global identities. Banks (2002, 2008) proposed that citizenship education should be reformed to help students to become active citizens, and to develop reflective cultural, national, regional, and global understandings of their nation and the world. For example, in the school curricula of China (Law, 2006, 2007), Japan (Ikeno, 2005; Parmenter, 2004), Singapore (Kluver and Weber, 2003; Lim, 2008), the United States (Feldmann, 2007; Hursh, 2007), Australia (DeJaeghere, 2008; Print, 2001) and the United Kingdom (Kiwani, 2008; Lunn, 2008) citizenship education is promoted to prepare students to juggle global, national, local, and personal-social dimensions of multiple identity in a multileveled polity. Discussions of global and local influences in a dynamic society are also to be found in music education policy (Chen-Hafteck and Xu, 2008; Leu, 2008; Lew and Campbell, 2005).

Hong Kong is no exception to the international trend of being caught in the tension between global and national/local identities. On one hand, the government of Hong Kong believes that education reforms can help maintain and enhance the capacity to compete in the global economy by promoting multicultural education, fostering a global awareness and outlook, encouraging life-long education and re-emphasising the quality of students' experience etc. (Education Commission, 2000; Law, 2004b). On the other hand, since Hong Kong has become one of China's SARs, it has been given China's national flag and anthem, and a share in traditional Chinese musical culture. So, while globalisation is seen by some as exacerbating the homogenisation of cultures through the dominance of Western values, the introduction of cultural diversity in Hong Kong serves to reassert the significance of traditional Chinese music and nationalistic education, and in so doing moves away from the dominance of traditional Western classical music in the curriculum. Sources of data include government documents concerning literacy, educational policies and music curriculum guidelines. Our discussion will draw attention to the dynamics and contradictions of SAR music education that are associated with – though not solely determined by – global and national education.

General background of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (SAR)

Hong Kong is located on China's south-eastern coast, incorporating a small portion of the mainland east of the Pearl River, and adjoining the Guangdong Province of the PRC. Between the 1840s and 1997 Hong Kong was a British colony. On 1 July 1997 it was returned to the PRC, and became one of its Special Autonomous Regions. As a colony, and then a SAR, Hong Kong is neither a nation-state nor an independent territory. Under the unprecedented framework of 'One Country, Two Systems', as set out in the Basic Law (which is the SAR's mini-constitution), Hong Kong has been promised a 50-year right to maintain its own capitalist system and way of life, and to enjoy a high degree of autonomy in all matters except foreign policy and defence.

Demographically, almost 95% of its 7 million residents are ethnic, Cantonese-speaking Chinese, whilst the remaining 5% comprise various nationalities, including Filipinos (32.9%), Indonesians (25.7%), White (10.6%), Indians (6.0%), Mixed (5.3%), Nepalese (4.7%), Japanese (3.9%), Thais (3.5%), Pakistanis (3.2%), Other Asians (2.3%), Koreans (1.4%) and Others (0.6%) (Census and Statistics Department, 2007). During the colonial period, many Chinese people in Hong Kong preferred to call themselves 'Hongkongese', rather than being associated with either Britain or Mainland China. The identity of the Hongkongese might be characterised as having 'no roots, in Hong Kong, or anywhere

else' (Teather & Chow, 2003, p. 99).

Hong Kong is very sophisticated and cosmopolitan, blending traditional Chinese and Western cultures, since, because of its natural harbour, it was chosen as the pivotal point for British foreign economy, politics and culture. The Hong Kong Government provides an environment that is conducive to freedom of expression and artistic creation, as well as to free participation in all cultural activities. Music production in Hong Kong includes many types of music ranging from Cantonese (a major dialect in Hong Kong) pop, Mandarin (an official modern Chinese spoken language used by the PRC) pop, Western and Chinese classical music. The Hong Kong Philharmonic Orchestra (HKPO), which was first established as an amateur orchestra known as the Sino-British Orchestra, turned professional in 1974. The Hong Kong Sinfonietta (founded in 1990 and turned professional in 2000) present regular Western classical music programmes in the territory. There is also a long tradition of Cantonese opera (one of the major categories of Chinese opera, originating in the southern part of China). The Hong Kong Chinese Orchestra (HKCO), founded in 1977, and regarded as the only local professional Chinese orchestra, has a rich repertoire of both traditional Chinese music and contemporary full-scale works. To promote Chinese music further, the HKCO has expanded its discography to include live recordings of its concerts, and studio recordings in CD, VCD and DVD formats. Since the changeover of Hong Kong, it has also organised many activities to reach wider or even global audiences. These activities include an International Seminar on Retrospect and Development of Modern Chinese Orchestra in 1997, the International Competition for Chinese Orchestral Composition 2000, and the Chinese Orchestral Composition Symposium, which promoted Chinese orchestral compositions. Since cultural globalisation is not static but an ongoing process with dimensions that are continually evolving, we can expect Hong Kong to be a melting pot of Chinese and Western cultures. Its mixed-up culture and its special historical background is its most special cultural feature.

Decolonisation as a cultural shift from western-based to global music education

Since the Treaty of Nanjing on 29 August 1842, English has been the first language of Hong Kong. Economic, demographic and political forces generally, and the Morris Education Society School (the first Western school established in Hong Kong after the British occupation) in particular influenced the study and use of English in the early colonial period (Evans, 2008). Although a large number of Hong Kong people spoke Cantonese for daily communication, English was the preferred official language for the Government, business and the professions (Qian, 2008). According to the *White Paper on Education Policy* (Hong Kong Government, 1965, para. 254), English should be integrated in the whole curriculum through to the sixth year of general education, and used as the language of instruction in some subjects. In 1997, just two months after the transfer of sovereignty, the Hong Kong Education Department (1997) addressed the issue of Medium of Instruction in its policy document, entitled *Medium of Instruction Guidance for Secondary Schools*, with reference to the promotion of biliterate (standard Chinese and English) and trilingual (Cantonese, Putonghua and English) skills in its schools. Politicians, educators and policy makers in Hong Kong have been shaping the education agenda to fit the region's rapidly changing political scenario, most obviously by encouraging more schools to use Chinese instead of English as the first language of instruction (see Bray and Koo, 2004; Evans, 2000; Hopkins, 2006). In 1998, the post-colonial government enforced the use of Chinese as the default medium of instruction in junior secondary grades in local public schools. As a result, about three quarters were forced to adopt Chinese as the medium of instruction, whilst the rest (which met the criteria for student ability, teacher capability, and school support) were allowed to continue using English.

Before the hand-over of Hong Kong to the PRC, singing English songs was encouraged within a generally Anglo-centric approach to music education. By 1952, the Music Department of the Hong Kong Education Department had planned for primary and secondary music education to adopt aspects of the English music education system, such as the use of the *Oxford Music Course*, and Curwen's Tonic Sol-fa system (Ho, 2000). Western classical music was the core of musical knowledge in schools, and singing and listening activities were European centred (see Curriculum Development Committee, 1983, 1987; Cheung, 2004). Music syllabuses (see Curriculum Development Committee, 1983, 1987; Curriculum Development Council, 1992) and public examinations emphasised the importance of the 'high-culture' musical knowledge of the Western tradition. The traditional Western music learning of secondary schools was further reinforced by the classical musical training of school music teachers in higher education institutes (Ho, 2000, 2001).

In order to equip the young generation to cope with the challenges of globalization and a knowledge-based economy, Hong Kong launched large-scale educational reform in the late 1990s. As a result, education was given new roles and functions, such as enhancing 'knowledge, ability, quality, cultivation, and the international outlook of the people of Hong Kong' (Education Commission, 2000, p. 29). In February 1998, the Curriculum Development Institute conducted surveys of Hong Kong primary and secondary school music teachers. Survey data revealed that primary school music teachers rated the teaching of multicultural music as the most important learning area, whilst secondary school music teachers regarded it as the second most important (just after Western instrumental music) (Curriculum Development Institute, 1998a, 1998b). Moreover, 34.6% and 39.7% of primary and secondary school teachers respectively expressed great interest in learning multicultural music for their in-service teacher training (Curriculum Development Institute, 1998a, 1998b). As the world becomes a global and inter-dependent village, school education is encouraged to develop a global outlook amongst students in order for them to be able to cope with the changing world of the 21st century (Curriculum Development Council, 1999). To this end, Hong Kong education began to respond to globalisation by reforming its education, and more particularly by broadening its school music curriculum to include non-Western music. African culture and music is included for the first time in the revised school music curriculum (see Curriculum Development Council, 2001, Chapter 7). In response to socio-cultural change, the Curriculum Development Council (2003) revised the music curriculum for nine-year compulsory education (grades 1 to 9) in order to cultivate students' life-long interest in music, and 'to raise the standard of and cultural qualities of Hong Kong' (p. 8). Students have to understand how the world works culturally and socially, and to respect and value diversity and cultural differences. In particular, students are now encouraged to understand and respect the 'traditions as well as values of other cultures through appraising music from different cultures' (p. 15). A teaching project based on a musical entitled *Save the Earth* was included to help students to cultivate creativity, and to strengthen awareness of environmental protection through creating, performing and appraising the process of producing a musical (see Curriculum Development Council, 2003, pp. 105-6).

The SAR Government will introduce the new senior secondary and higher education curriculum for three-year junior secondary, three-year senior secondary and four-year undergraduate academic structures in 2009. One of the major aims of the music curriculum for senior secondary education is to enable students to 'construct knowledge and understanding of diverse musical cultures' (Curriculum Development Council & Hong Kong Examinations and Assessment Authority, 2007, p. 2). The general requirement for music study at the New Senior Secondary (NSS) Curriculum is that students should perform and listen to music in a variety of genres and styles from different periods and cultures, so as to develop musical ideas by employing appropriate compositional devices, and through respect

for different musical traditions and cultures. It should be stressed that teaching diverse music cultures is new in Hong Kong, and that music teachers are still experimenting with appropriate instructional approaches to help students appreciate the rich diversity of human experience.

Decolonisation through the promotion of nationalism in school music education

In addition to the broadening of the global dimension, the return of Hong Kong to China in 1997 has also led to another form of cultural decolonisation of school music education: the introduction of a national dimension emphasising Chinese elements and national rituals. Hong Kong has never had a history of being a nation-state. National identity has been a complicated, longstanding issue for the majority of Hong Kong people. After 1997, how to help Hong Kong people have a strong sense of China's national identity has been a major concern of the post-colonial government.

National identity and Hong Kong society

Despite their Chinese descent, many Hong Kong people lacked a long-established traditional culture, and have no strong sense of belonging to the mainland. The 1985 survey revealed that 59.5% of the respondents identified themselves as 'Hongkongese' (or 'Hong Kongers'), and 36.2% as Chinese (Lau, 1992, p. 152), whereas in another survey in 1988 the figures were 63.3% and 28.8% respectively (Lau, 1992, p. 152). According to Suttill (1989/90), Alex Kwan, a sociologist, argued that the Hong Kong Chinese were 'marginalized' people who were ambiguous about their identity as being either Chinese or British (p. 15). Post-1997 surveys showed that there were some improvements in Hong Kong people's sense of national identity. For example, a student survey suggested that most local secondary school students did not feel strongly about being Chinese, whilst less than half of them expressed love for their nation and were proud of the return of Hong Kong to China (*The Sun*, 1 October 2003, p. B20; also see *Sing Pao*, 1 October 2004, p. A06). Hok Yau Club, a Hong Kong non-profit making social institution for students, conducted a 'Secondary School Students National Identity Survey' in September 2004, in which data from interviews with 3,605 secondary school students showed that only 62% of them said that they loved their motherland (*Sing Pao*, 2 October 2004, p. A09). At the same time, there were attempts to reposition nationalism in social contexts. As argued by Fung (2001), 'nationalistic discourse' was viewed by the local media to negotiate the 'spatial distance between the national and the local', and to 'subsume the local identity and national identity' (p. 595).

The version of the one-China principle, as applied by the China's central government to Hong Kong, Macau, and Taiwan, involves appeals to a homogenous version of the Chinese nation to safeguard China's sovereignty and territorial integrity. The promotion of nationalism has been an essential component of the Chinese state's determination to create a new, unified collective political culture (see Fairbrother, 2008; Ho, 2007a). The icons of the Chinese landscape, such as the Great Wall, the Yellow River, and the dragon are frequently shown on the mass media to reinforce national integration (Pan and Chan, 2000; Zhao, 1998). On the eve of the 10th anniversary of Hong Kong handover, President Hu Jintao (2007) reminded all sectors of Hong Kong to love the motherland (and Hong Kong), and particularly urged Hong Kong to foster national identity among its young people and increase their exchange with their mainland counterparts.

Promotion of nationalism through education

The post-colonial government has reiterated the importance for education to foster national identity among young people across the school curriculum. In view of the impending transfer of political sovereignty, this allegiance resulted in the production of guidelines for civic education in 1985 and a revised version in 1996. The *Guidelines* (Curriculum Development Council, 1996) and *Biannual Report* (Committee on the Promotion of Civic Education, 1996)

specified that the promotion of Chinese culture and traditions is an important task for civic education. The *Guidelines* propose a curriculum framework with equal emphasis on human rights education, education for democracy, education for rule of law, nationalistic education, global education and education for critical thinking. The government of the SAR produced CDs of songs by Hong Kong popular artists entitled *Xianggon Shi Wo Jia (Hong Kong is My Home)* to be included in the *Guidelines* pack for primary school students (Ho, 1999). They were intended to encourage students to understand the ideal of 'responsible citizenship', and to cultivate a sense of belonging to Hong Kong so that they would actively contribute to the society. It was suggested that the civic education guidelines should be introduced across all subjects in both the formal curriculum and for extra-curricular activities. The dominant understanding of nationalism through civic education is an attempt to explore both cultural and political identity as essential for 'a complete national identity' (Leung, 2003, p. 29). The post-colonial emergence of Chinese national identity in the SAR is the new core value of school education. The *Basic Education Curriculum Guide: Building on Strengths (Primary 1 – Secondary 3)* refocuses moral and civic education onto the five priority values of 'perseverance', 'respect for others', 'responsibility', 'national identity', and 'commitment' (Curriculum Development Council, 2002a, Chapter 3A). Chinese culture and national identity has been included as a new module in primary school general studies, and relevant topics have been added to the personal, social, and humanities education curriculum (Education Department, 2002). The introduction of Chinese culture and national identity is a means to maintain the principles of Hong Kong as part of China and 'One Country, Two Systems', so as to help students find their roots and adjust culturally and psychologically to the political changeover.

Education for nationalism through music education

On 10th June 1996, the 'Song for 1997' was published in the news bulletin of the Hong Kong Federation of Education Workers, which marked the development of a political dimension outside the formal music education system. The lyrics run: '... Hong Kong people and hearts from overseas sing joyfully along the Yellow and Yangtze Rivers day and night ... Welcome 97, one-country, two systems, peaceful unification. This is our common dream...' (translated by the authors). To give the general public, particularly youth, a better insight into the Chinese nation, and foster their love for and identification with it, the Kowloon City District (mainly a residential area accommodating a population of about 362,000) Council compiled a civic education package entitled 'Getting to Know our Country – the People's Republic of China'.

After 150 years of British colonial rule, there is an urgent need to cultivate the younger generations' sense of belonging to the SAR as well as to the PRC. Shared histories, memories, values and symbols can help promote a sense of pride in one's state and country (Smith, 1986, 1990; also see Anderson, 1983). After the 1997 handover Hong Kong schools were encouraged to transmit musical meanings that fostered love for the motherland and loyalty to the PRC. Various ethnic groups from the mainland dressed in traditional costumes performed their folk dances and songs to celebrate reunification on the PRC's television programmes (Pan et al., 2001). The Communist Party was promoted as the sole authority of the Chinese nation. According to PRC media outlets, the story of the 1997 handover referred to the communist leaders as 'heroes' and Western colonists as 'villains' (Pan et al., 2001, p. 335). The learning of Chinese music was the soul of ancient Chinese aesthetics, involving a thoughtful and intellectual experience, whilst on the other hand, music served as a symbol of national identity. The school curriculum can serve to secure a commitment to sustainable development at a national level, and has long served as an apparatus for nurturing national values (Crawford, 2000; Pike, 2000; Ntshoe, 2004; Tye, 1999).

Moreover, the current curriculum reform includes introducing Chinese culture into arts education (Curriculum Development Council, 2002b, pp. 48 and 101-105). The

Supervision Report on Chinese elements in the School Curriculum (Curriculum Development Institute, 1998c, p. 14) recommends strengthening students' Chinese musical skills and knowledge through performance, appreciation and composition. The curriculum guideline recommends singing and listening to folk songs from diverse regions of China, and the musical skills of *luogujing* (music played by gongs and drums as preludes for songs, and to accompany acting and the martial-arts, particularly for Peking opera) (Curriculum Development Council, 2002b, pp. 103-5). In this regard, more development and promotion of traditional Chinese music should be the main target for school music education.

The SAR government hopes that the national anthem and the national flag will help increase students' patriotism, and that all schools will participate in flag ceremonies, particularly on the National Day of 1st October. Chinese nationalism has been emerging to various degrees in Hong Kong music education, such as in the demand to sing the PRC's national anthem in schools. Altogether, teaching students to identify with mainland China has been a challenge to teachers and schools in Hong Kong, and, owing to various historical, social, cultural and political factors, there is still a long way to go in promoting political/national education. According to Ho's survey (1999) conducted in early 1998, although 89 out of 123 music teachers had started to teach the PRC's national anthem, only 42 thought they had no problems in teaching it. Many students responded to these ceremonies by giggling, and viewed them as 'embarrassing' (*Hong Kong Economic Times*, 1 October 2004, p. A18). The fact that some schools taught the national anthem whilst many refused, did not provide a reliable standard for developing appropriate social and political values in class. Although one of the major objectives of the overall Hong Kong school curriculum was to encourage students to appreciate their Chinese cultural heritage, classical Chinese music was not a significant element in the music curriculum, and Chinese instruments and vocal music were less preferred by most students (Ho, 2003, 2007b; Ho & Law, 2009; Law & Ho, 2004, 2006).

Hong Kong school music education caught between globalisation and nationalism

Despite the massive economic and political pressures of globalisation, along with the teaching of information and communication technology in Hong Kong since the late twentieth century, the current proliferation of ethnic nationalism in school music education is basically uneven. Concerns about how globalisation, nationalism, cultural identity and its formation on the one hand, and school music education on the other, intersect with the multiple and often contradictory dynamics of power amongst students and teachers, have resulted in two dilemmas about the transmission of global and national cultural values in Hong Kong school music education: (i) between globalisation and nationalism within the context of the debate about cultural identity; and (ii) between the understanding of Chinese culture and the issue of national understanding in a new global age. This section will argue that part of the challenge facing teacher education is to respond more nimbly to the changing needs of society.

First, the 21st century presents Hong Kong school music education with a new challenge of broadening Chinese children's awareness and appreciation of music from other cultures (Curriculum Development Council, 2002b, 2003). However, as Yuen said (2004), the education system of the SAR 'remains very much monocultural with its own distinctive identity' (p. 152) (also see Westrick & Yuen, 2007), and Hong Kong classrooms are experiencing unique challenges to reform and to establish intercultural pedagogy. A survey of values education in Hong Kong found that elite respondents did not rate global awareness as an important element in school (Lee, 2001). In a sample of 30 primary and secondary school music teachers, all of them maintained that they taught multicultural music in class but only three said that it represented 30% or more of their music lessons, with a focus on folk songs

from other countries (Ho, 2006). The rest noted that only a small fraction of their lessons were given over to multicultural music. Most teachers also said that their music textbooks were Western, classical-oriented, and that other resources on teaching diverse musical cultures were limited (Ho, 2006).

The SAR's music curriculum guidelines attempt to address the tension between globalisation and nationalism by clearly stating that music education should contribute to students' intellectual and moral development, and thereby help them to cultivate respect for other musical cultures, their sense of national identity and their life-long music learning (see Curriculum Development Council, 2003, pp. 3-8). There are concerns about how nationalism, global elements, cultural identity and formation and school music education intersect with the multiple and often contradictory dynamics of power. A subtle tension arises concerning how Western music, Chinese music and other multicultural music should or could be balanced in the teaching curriculum. However, as Lee (2008) said, national identity in Hong Kong school education has not taken up the same position as globalisation in curriculum reform. Most recent authors writing about the future of nationalism foresee some transformation of the classic nation-state under globalisation, and a decrease in nationalist sentiment over the next century. As Giroux (1999, 2004) noted, cultural identity is continually transformed through education, and the process of cultural globalisation has eroded the sharp distinction of cultures by locality, ethnicity and inheritance (also see Dale, 1999; Gardner, 1999; Warschauer, 2002). Tomlinson (1999) defines globalisation simply as a 'complex connectivity' that expands social ties across the planet, and suggests that the way in which national identity is experienced within globalisation is in flux. As Chen (2005) argued, the current expression of Chinese nationalism should be realised in a more positive format that incorporates internationalism. The significance of culture and context in guiding the school curriculum rests on the capacity of globalisation to work towards the creation and integration of the Western and Chinese cultures of Hong Kong (Luk Fong, 2005).

Second, if we believe that cultural values and identities have sustained the unique mosaic of social life in Hong Kong, then we can expect school music education to contribute not only to the accumulation of knowledge, but also to cultural and nationalist discourses, thereby nurturing students' senses of respect, loyalty and global citizenship. The process of globalisation has brought translocal culture into the foreground and pushed territorial culture into the background (Pieterse, 1995). Territorial culture then has to struggle to adapt to the current situation. Globalisation stimulates both standardisation and diversity in the cultural development of societies. For example, the Civic Education Committee has been showing a 45 second educational advertisement on television that mixes Chinese and Western cultures, entitled 'Heart Intertwined with Mother'. It highlights the close relationship between Hong Kong residents and Mainland China, and features shots of school students singing the national anthem, Chinese traditional arts, Chinese medicine, modern fashion, a Western orchestra, smiles of multicultural children and the global city of Hong Kong. As in other societies, the relationship between global and national cultures in Hong Kong is one of continuous contestation, which refutes the notion that national culture protects or elevates national or even local cultures in school music education.

Although Hong Kong marked its 11th anniversary of the handover to the PRC on 1 July 2008, questions remain concerning whether school music education should use patriotic songs and traditional Chinese music to help students foster a sense of pride in China's history and traditions. Hong Kong is a very pragmatic society, and most students are not concerned with notions of patriotism and nationalism (*Hong Kong Daily News*, 29 September 2003, p. A11; *Hong Kong Economic Times*, 1 October 2004, p. A18; *Wen Wei Pao*, 3 June 2006, p. A32). Many students and teachers feel uncomfortable about learning and teaching political or civic education for reasons that may include their lack of resources, unfamiliarity with

Chinese music and their insensitivity toward politics (see Ho, 1999; Law and Ho, 2004). According to Ho's survey (2007b), 1806 Hong Kong Chinese students were asked to rate their preferred musical styles for singing and listening in classroom music. Most preferred to learn Hong Kong Cantonese popular songs, with an average mean of 2.47 ($SD = 0.692$) (1 = no interest, 2 = some interest, 3 = much interest); whilst traditional Chinese music and Chinese folk music showed respective average means of 1.78 ($SD = 0.711$) and 1.39 ($SD = 0.603$). Patriotic music activities were also not commonly found in Hong Kong schools. Nearly one-third of the school students (i.e., 31.1% out of 1,806 students) stated that their schools never conducted patriotic musical activities, such as singing and listening to the PRC's anthem, and another one-third (35.7%) said their schools had these activities just once during the academic year (Ho, 2007b). Due to their musical background and educational training, most teachers mainly teach Western music in their school music lessons. Though traditional Chinese music is also important, most teachers felt that this type of music could only be taught through extra-curricular instrumental ensemble (Ho, 2006). These data could imply that traditional Chinese music continues to be not highly regarded in the curriculum. National or patriotic education is weak with regard to school music education, and negative responses to the teaching and learning of political ideologies may well be related to the apolitical nature of colonial education that has resulted in weak sentiments of national pride, identity, and awareness.

The Hong Kong school music curriculum has long been heavily Westernised, and so tends not to emphasise issues of cultural diversity and nationalism. How and to what extent can music education in Hong Kong take broader educational and socio-political concerns into account in the global age. Given the range of cultural practices, how should the topic of culture and identity in the organisation of school knowledge be addressed? As a result of increased exposure, East to West and West to East, new modes of awareness are resulting in new musical knowledge. The promotion of the global and national dimensions of the school music curriculum can be facilitated, though with difficulty, by music teacher training institutions and music teachers. The world has changed, so must the education system and the teaching profession (Education Commission, 2000). At present, Hong Kong higher education institutions that prepare music teachers for the profession are trained mainly in Western classical music (Ho, 2001). To rectify this, the curricula in higher music needs to be restructured in order to provide opportunities for pre- and in-service music teachers to study world music culture, and more particularly to learn how to teach a variety of global musical styles. Moreover, at the school or classroom level, music teachers and students can be important selectors of music knowledge and cultures from around the world depending on their needs, preferences and abilities. Music teaching should be regarded as a profession that demands a sense of personal and corporate responsibility for the education and welfare of students in their changing world. In particular, teachers' genuine interest and enthusiasm can play an important role in fostering open-minded inquisitiveness amongst students, and in encouraging them develop a positive attitude towards various pieces of music (see Chen-Hafteck, 2007; DeNora, 2000; Green, 2005; Skelton, 2004).

Active learning from other cultures may also serve as a good introduction to Chinese culture and music, whilst active interaction between Chinese and other cultures may enhance its music's contribution to the rest of the world. While improving the quality of music teaching and learning is of primary concern to the music education profession, music educators should also search for better ways to expose students to the music of other cultures. The teaching profession should become more involved in the educational debate to ensure that teaching resources and education for diverse musical cultures are included in curriculum development. In response to the fundamental conflict between education and schooling, Elliot (1995) suggests that the 'most essential long term task facing our profession involves

enrolling parents, colleagues, administrators, politicians, and others in the quest to make schools more educational in nature and, therefore, more hospitable for music teaching and learning' (p. 306). Advocacy for music education is a major professional activity that is not only understood by music educators. Education decision makers – boards of education, government policy makers, legislators – must appreciate why music education is important to society if they are to make informed decisions about educational policies that affect music in schools and young students' social worlds. The global media and the emergency of the world information order have contributed to the formation of the global culture. Government strategies should be sensitive to teachers' need to translate global imperatives into demands on education to create an opportunity for the development of the teaching profession (Law, 2003). The 'reflective modernization of teacher education' would implicate to rethink the new concepts of learning, reconsider the teacher education curriculum, restructure new forms of partnership between schools and universities, and reconsider of how the professional skills and knowledge of teachers to be evaluated (Young, 1998; also see Loomis et al., 2008). It is only through active participation in a dynamic system of the education community that enables a professional to remain up-to-date in a fast-changing world.

Concluding Remarks

Since Hong Kong's return to the PRC in July 1997, it has been deliberately decolonised in various respects including political and cultural dimensions. What is the next chapter in the story of music education in Hong Kong likely to be? Will it be an interplay on a stage set by the global and the national? The development of school music education cannot be explained by reference to simplistic or deterministic notions of 'cultural identity', 'nationalism' or 'globalisation', the uncritical acceptance of which continues to inform much public discussion of music teaching. These two forces, the global *and* the national, comprise a dual causality underlying curriculum development in school music education in post-1997 Hong Kong. Although both globalisation and nationalism appear as important themes in the curriculum, they actually compete dexterously with each other after the post-1997 curriculum reform (Lee, 2008). Chinese music, nationality identity, and diverse music cultures appear to be equally focused on curriculum reform. However, rather than being integrated, the two are presented in a rather disjointed and dichotomised manner in teaching and learning practices. The tensions of music education caused by its involvement with the complexities of state, identity and power politics have constituted the contexts of practice in the postcolonial period of Hong Kong. These tensions relate to the long-standing division between China and colonial Hong Kong, and the political and cultural assumptions that both produced that division and have been reinforced by it. The interplay between the school curriculum and cultural identity, between global and national processes, is part of one attempt to discover the logic involved in present day school education.

In the response to the pressure of nationalism, the music curriculum of Hong Kong has been undergoing reforms in order to better equip students for coping with rapid contextual changes. At the same time, there have been attempts to locate globalisation in changing contexts. The struggles to strike a balance between nationalism and globalisation are not specific to Hong Kong. In the current global age many nation states (see for example DeJaeghere, 2008; Feldmann, 2007; Kiwan, 2008; Kluver and Weber, 2003; Law, 2006; Parmenter, 2004) are faced with the problem of how to reflect their social diversity whilst maintaining national unity. Music education, whatever its nature or extent, is thus inherently political, cultural and instrumental for the exercise of power in society.

Music educators and policy makers also need to recognise that globalisation in the contemporary world has revolutionised international relationships and the meaning of

patriotism. Amidst such radical change, they should consider how to cope with the larger issues of political processes, globalisation, and nationalism. The increasing fluidity and loosening of cultural boundaries is creating new dynamics and challenges, which have direct impact on the meaning and representation of nationalism in Hong Kong. This study argues that music teachers should be aware of music socialisation, and examine the ways in which music and society interact across socio-cultural boundaries. Cultural difference and cultural diversity are characteristics of multiculturalism, and teachers have facilitated the development of music education in a democratic and diverse way. The kind of society that Hong Kong becomes, and the ways in which national identity and globalisation are represented should be matters for music teachers and educators themselves to determine as they re-examine and debate the meaning of teaching traditional Chinese music and other world music cultures in the twenty-first century.

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