CAN LANGUAGE POLICY OUTCOME BE PREDICTED – A MATRIX APPROACH TO LANGUAGE POLICY ANALYSIS USING HONG KONG FROM 1997 TO 2010 AS A TEST CASE

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Can language policy outcome be predicted? A matrix approach to language policy analysis using Hong Kong from 1997 to 2010 as a test case

By

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I, Vincent Kan, hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis and the material presented in this thesis is my original work except where indicated. I further declare that I have followed the Institute's policies and regulations on Academic Honesty, Copyright and Plagiarism in writing this thesis and no material in this thesis has been previously published or submitted for a degree in this or other universities.

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ABSTRACT

Can language policy outcome be predicted? A matrix approach to language policy analysis using Hong Kong from 1997 to 2010 as a test case

by Vincent Kan

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This study used Hong Kong as a test case to examine whether a selfdevised, theory-informed language policy (LP) analysis tool can be used to make reliable outcome predictions, especially in multilingual environments.

A so-called Ferguson Tollefson Matrix (FTM) was developed in this study to facilitate LP analysis and outcome predictions. The FTM has been designed to systematically break down a LP into its education and political components, therefore highlighting its strengths and weaknesses.

The FTM is significant in at least two ways. First, as an analytical tool, it can make before-the-fact predictions on language policy outcomes - facilitating meaningful policy debates and refinements prior to implementation. Second, as a policymaking tool, the FTM can be used to support the design of pedagogically

sound language policies and thus has the potential to reduce the risk of political controversies.

Hong Kong was identified as a candidate for testing the FTM's reliability because, since 1998, she has gone through substantial changes in her LP, in particular over the medium of instruction (MOI) for secondary schools. The Chinese medium of instruction policies have not been popular with the majority of parents and the government has since announced a policy revision, the Finetuning policy (FT) taking effect from the school year 2010-2011. The timing of this policy revision vis-à-vis this study provides a unique opportunity to test the FTM's predictive capability and reliability against a real case.

Based on the literature, historical data and others' empirical studies, this study developed and tested the reliability of the FTM before using it to analyse and make predictions about the FT. To establish a proxy-outcome, the study surveyed one quarter of Hong Kong's local secondary schools to identify what changes in practice in MOI were planned.

The findings show that the FTM's predictions were in fact met, thus giving an affirmative answer to the thesis question. A discussion on the implications of the FTM's potential as an aid for language policymaking concludes the study.

Keywords: analysis, bilingual, language policy, matrix, medium of instruction, multilingual, outcome, prediction, reliability

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I dedicate this study to my family, especially my wife who stood by me sacrificially.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Hong Kong was a fishing port off the south coast of the Guangdong province

when it was ceded to Britain in 1840 after the Opium Wars; one hundred and

fifty seven years later, sovereignty was returned to China. Since colonisation in

1840, English has been at least one of the official languages, being the sole

official language until 1974, and has remained an official language, even after the

1997 handover to China.

Prior to 1997, the prominence of English could have been attributed to the

presence of colonial influences; yet it has been observed that even post-handover,

there is a still a strong sentiment that English should remain the teaching

language (medium of instruction or MOI) for secondary schools (some even

argue for more English in primary schools). Political forces notwithstanding, the

demand for English also flies in the face of evidence from research that mother-

tongue education is more effective.

The MOI issue has led to multitudes of studies.

Traditional policy analyses over the decades have focused on the why aspects

of policy outcomes (why English is preferred, why mother tongue has not been

strongly enforced...), yielding comprehensive and insightful explanations for the

reasons leading up to the policy revisions of each era (more in Chapters 2 and 5).

However, fewer attempts have been made to address the issue of just how policy

tension developed, specifically, just how educational and political agenda come

into conflict within a policy.

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To facilitate a "how" oriented analysis, this study had to devise a novel approach of its own using foundations laid by Kirkpatrick (2007), Ferguson (2006) and Tollefson (2002). The approach, termed the Ferguson Tollefson Matrix (FTM, or the Matrix) uses matrix analysis to investigate the properties of a policy – its effectiveness, impact and potential for controversy – before making outcome predictions. For this study, Hong Kong's MOI policy revisions between 1997 and 2010 were used as test cases for the FTM to investigate whether policy outcomes can be predicted.

1.1 The aim of the study

The primary objective of this study was to test the Matrix's effectiveness by investigating whether it can successfully predict policy outcomes, thereby giving a new perspective to the tension that has been observed to exist between political and pedagogical principles in the development and implementation of language policies (LP) in a multilingual society such as Hong Kong.

As the study straddles both theory and practice (case studies), it also sought to investigate just how recent and current policy principles have or have not dealt with these tensions, and why they often exist in this constant paradoxical state of tension.

1.2 Significance

This study has potential significance in several areas.

The first is the development of an analytical tool to test past, current and future LPs for outcome predictions. As designed, the tool in the form of an analytical matrix is sensitive to local contexts and thus has the potential to become highly generalisable.

The second is its ability to explain how tension develops between pedagogical and political objectives in a language policy. The FTM, through its delineation of a policy's political and pedagogical components, when supported with contextual information, can highlight just how policy tension is developed and what possible outcome it would create.

The third is an extension of the first. If the FTM is indeed as reliable as indicated by this study, then its potential as a guide for policymaking and its overall impact on language policymaking could be substantial.

1.3 Structure of the study

This study comprised seven areas of investigation: literature, framework, methodology, context, validation, analysis and prediction testing.

1.3.1 Literature Review

The literature review of this study sought to understand the current thoughts on language policy and planning (LPP) in a multilingual society.

Language policy in broad terms is a set of codified statements indicating what languages are to be used and for what purpose in a given setting (a country, an institute); language planning is its executive counterpart – the conceptualisation, legislation and implementation of the policies (Wiley, 1996).

In general, wherever there is a need for a language policy, there is usually a suggestion that two or more languages co-exist alongside each other. In many cases, one of these languages enjoys a level of privilege (or even power) that its counterparts do not (e.g., English in Singapore; see Gupta, 2008).

Much work has been done to understand the various approaches to LPP in different multilingual societies. Theories have been developed to evaluate these

approaches and models built based on these theories. Chapter 2 gives an overview of these theories, approaches and models.

1.3.2 Framework

The framework development of this study sought to refine an earlier version of the FTM and develop alongside it a set of methods for making outcome predictions.

The author developed the framework for the analysis used in this study in 2009 based on a matrix called the Ferguson Tollefson Matrix (FTM) named after Gibson Ferguson and James Tollefson – for it was Ferguson (2006) and Tollefson (2002) who had raised the 11 (five from Ferguson and six from Tollefson) conceptual questions and issues that provided the framework for the FTM. Unlike Ferguson and Tollefson's original design, where every question or issue was designed to stimulate in-depth analysis, the original 2009 matrix used them as a categorisation filter – meaning that each question or issue was used to identify whether the issue being examined was primarily an educational (E) or a political (P) one.

The FTM is therefore highly dependent on how the 11 categorisations are made. Although the original FTM made some useful policy outcome predictions, the fact that it never received a vigorous theoretical examination has remained an omission that should be addressed. Chapter 3 will address this with a more rigorous classification of the 11 questions to make the FTM more reliable.

1.3.3 Methodology

The methodology of this study was the methodology (or mechanics) of the FTM: how the FTM is applied to a language policy and how it analyses policies and make predictions from the analyses. To facilitate the demonstration of this method, a 1997 policy was used as a test-sample.

With the construction of the FTM completed in Chapter 3, it is possible for the study to use it to analyse a policy through the FTM's zoning and omission analysis (what zoning and omission means will be made clear in the chapter). The method involves plotting a policy's statements into their corresponding cells in the matrix. The policy will then be evaluated and predictions made. In short, the plotting identifies the characteristics of the policy and the evaluation makes predictions based on that.

Chapter 4 is therefore the first illustration of a theory in practice approach adopted by this study – an approach to be repeated when the current policy is analysed.

1.3.4 Context

Chapter 5 provides the context for the study. The information it provides supports the requirements of Chapters 4, 6, 7 and 8; the chapter pursues the context of Hong Kong's last 50 years of LPP from two angles: the demographic and the historical.

The demographic angle focuses on aspects such as population, socioeconomic data and the education budget over the last six decades using data captured at ten-year intervals highlighting the growth that the school system experienced since the end of World War II, which also reflects the overall economic and population growth of Hong Kong.

The historical angle focuses on the evolution of Hong Kong's language policies for schools and in particular, policies regarding medium of instruction

(MOI). As briefly alluded to in Section 1.1 and to be elaborated upon in Chapter 5, Hong Kong has gone through several iterations of language policy revisions since the end of World War II – some, especially those from the last 12 years, have generated considerable debate.

To have an understanding of these debates and the disagreements behind them, and therefore how they ought to be analysed and evaluated, Chapter 5 seeks to understand Hong Kong's students, teachers and parents by revisiting many of the landmark educational events.

1.3.5 Validation of the FTM via analysing the test-sample policy

With the test-sample policy plotted into the FTM in Chapter 4 and context of the language education policy of Hong Kong illustrated in Chapter 5, it is then possible for Chapter 6 to perform an analysis, make predictions and test the predictions of this test-sample policy.

It is important to make clear that the primary purpose of Chapter 6 is to test the FTM's predictions rather than to identify the inherent virtues (or lack thereof) of the test-sample policy. It should also be mentioned even at this early stage of the study that this test-sample policy is being analysed for predictions after the facts, that is, the outcomes are already known. This feature is inherent in the setup of the study and should not be considered a limitation, as the study also analyses the current policy, testing predictions against a separate case study in real-time where the outcomes are unknown.

1.3.6 Analysing the current policy

Having established the predictive reliability of the FTM in Chapter 6 by putting a 12-year old policy through the FTM's analysis, Chapter 7 will then test the predictive reliability of the FTM on a current policy.

The current policy is in fact a revision of the test-sample policy. The current policy, the 2009 Fine-tuning the Medium of Instruction for Secondary Schools (FT or Fine-tuning), is in both form and function a series of amendments to the 1997 Medium of Instruction Guidance for Secondary Schools (Guidance) which is used by Chapters 4 and 6 as the test-sample policy.

Although the analytical and predictive process for the FT is identical to that of the Guidance, it is not split into separate chapters as Chapters 4 and 6 were. Chapter 7 uses the FTM to perform an analysis of the FT and to make several outcome predictions.

1.3.7 Testing the real-time predictions

Chapter 8 details the results and subsequent analysis of a survey conducted between May and August 2010. The survey is used as a proxy outcome with which to test the predictions made in Chapter 7; this is necessary because the policy under investigation, the FT, was brand-new at the time of the study and thus the actual outcomes remain unknown. The survey sought to understand the planned changes of 127 secondary schools as they anticipated the change in language policy brought about by the implementation of the FT.

1.3.8 Conclusion and discussion

Chapter 9 summarises the main points of Chapters 2 to 8, and revisits the thesis question of whether language policy outcomes can be predicted. It then makes several remarks drawn from observations made throughout this study.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Language policy and planning (LPP) are two separate components within what is commonly referred to as language policy (LP). The policy component is the legislative (usually in the form of legal statutes) aspect while the planning component is the executive (usually implementation) aspect.

Policy in broad terms is a set of codified statements indicating how languages are to be used and for what purpose in a given setting (a country, an institute). In general, wherever there is a need for a language policy, there is usually the suggestion that two or more languages co-exist alongside each other. In many cases, one of these languages enjoys a level of privilege (or even power) that its counterparts do not (e.g., English in Singapore; see Gupta, 2008).

Planning is the executive wing of LPP – the conceptualisation, legislation and implementation of the policies (Wiley, 1996). As the process suggests, language planning is itself a combination of educational (pedagogical) and sociopolitical factors. The history of language planning has shown that not only do the substance of pedagogy and politics change over time as language usage changes, the relative weighting between the two also changes (Baker, 2006; Ferguson 2006, Fishman 2006). Throughout this flux of changes, while the language users' interest or the policies' effectiveness (noting that one of the key functions of planning is to implement policies) should have been the primary concern, history has not shown this to be necessarily the case. As Freeman (1998) observed, "... policy is often not based on language or education issues at all...

(instead) it reflects power struggles between particular social groups with particular political interests" (p.35).

As a combined entity, language policy and planning (LPP) could thus be seen as a set of processes by and through which different languages find, occupy, extend and/or defend their space in their respective multilingual societies. Given that the role of policies and planning is typically a government-related role, history has shown that oftentimes political priorities take precedence over educational ones, rendering language users' interests secondary to political ones (Fishman, 2006) and it is therefore unsurprising that the subject is often studied as the effects of politics on language education.

Ferguson and Tollefson are two among many scholars who have worked extensively on the subject of LPP along the crossing lines of education and politics, and each has summarised them into a series of conceptual questions or issues.

For Ferguson (2006), they are:

- The choice of medium of instruction for various levels of the education system.
- 2. The role of the home language (or mother tongue) in the educational process.
- 3. The choice of second / foreign language as curriculum subjects of instruction along with the associated issues on:
 - a. When these languages will be introduced into the curriculum.
 - b. Whether foreign language study will be made compulsory, for whom and for how long.

- c. What proportions of the school population will be exposed to second / foreign language instruction.
- 4. In the case of English and a few pluri-centric languages, what variety of the language will serve as a model (or norm) for teaching purposes (p.34-35)?

And for Tollefson (2002), they are:

- 1. What are the major forces affecting language policies in education and how do these forces constrain policies and the public discussion of policy alternatives?
- 2. How do state authorities use educational language policies to manage access to language rights and language education?
- 3. How do state authorities use language policy for the purposes of political and cultural governance?
- 4. How do language policies in education help to create, sustain or reduce political conflict among different ethno-linguistic groups?
- 5. How are local policies and programmes in language education affected by global processes such as colonisation, decolonisation, the spread of English, and the growth of the integrated capitalist economy?
- 6. How can indigenous peoples and other language minorities develop educational policies and programmes that serve their social and linguistic needs, in the face of significant pressures exerted by more powerful social and ethno-linguistic groups? (p.13-14)

These questions are highlighted in full as they will be used extensively in the analytical sections of the study, but even now as a matter of theoretical background, it can be seen that, for Ferguson and Tollefson at least, education and politics are tightly interwoven threads in the fabric of LPP.

The remainder of this section reviews current theories and thoughts on language policy and planning (LPP) as it pertains to a bi or multilingual society. This subject is as broad as it is diverse, and this study categorised them under the following sub-headings:

- 1. What is the native language or the L1?
- 2. The ecology of languages.
- 3. LPP in the context of multilingualism.
- 4. Overview of the different modes of bilingualism.

This is a departure from the more analytical approach such as: What are the leading thoughts on LPP? Or, how has LPP been applied? The reason for adopting this approach is that LPP is not a latent-need in the way, say, public health or public transport is. LPP is not necessary until circumstances deem it so; thus the what, why followed by how approach might misrepresent LPP. This alternative approach, beginning with "What is the native language or the L1?", negotiates first the contextual course that has been charted since the formation of LPP by educators, linguists and policy makers in the last century, with an emphasis on the last 30 years – while looking at the theories tangentially. This approach is not unique to this study; Malaret-Collazo (2009) amongst others has used a similar categorisation while investigating LPP in different multilingual contexts.

2.2 What is the native language or the L1?

The native language, the home language or the L1 is supposed to be a straightforward concept – it is simply the language spoken by people in their homes (Braine, 2005), i.e. their mother tongue. As home multiplies into communities and societies, the result could be one of uniformity, e.g. Hong Kong where 90% (CSD, 2007) speak Cantonese (a Southern Chinese dialect), or one of diversity, e.g. post-apartheid South Africa where there are many languages (Ridge, 1996) of African origin and nine are given official status alongside Afrikaans and English.

As the example of South Africa suggests, what should be constituted as official is not always a straightforward matter. The nine African languages were part of the community of native South African languages long before they became official – while English and Afrikaans, with European origin, were always official and have remained so. The example of Hong Kong is similarly non-intuitive, as even though 90% of the population speak primarily Cantonese, it was not granted official status until 1974. Other examples include Canada, Ireland, Singapore, Spain, and Wales, where language majority, minority, and official status have not always been naturally correlated.

This lack of correlation can be explained in historical terms, where the presence of political power (Baker, 2006) grants status which thus develops and encourages the use of particular languages according to policies based on self or perceived public interests rather than along native (majority or otherwise) lines (Fishman, 2006). There often exists in the history of the multilingual societies a

period of colonisation, and such power influenced the language preferences over the local population. As in the case of Hong Kong (colonised by Britain from 1842 to 1997) and South Africa (a complex web of Dutch, British and White-Afrikaans rule from 1652 to 1994), the presence of power brought more than a different (foreign) language. Colonial powers not only gave their own language(s) a privileged status and social utility, but they have also left behind the legacy of a changed language landscape because of the length of time involved. For example, some 98% of post-apartheid black parents want their children to be educated in English (Ridge, 1996), and 80% of pre-1998 secondary schools in HK were classified as English Medium (EMI) (Poon, 2010. p.20). Remembering that this changed landscape is itself creating the next landscape, the future is no longer so straightforward.

What history has left behind, and not just in Hong Kong or South Africa, has become the present reality. The historical causes notwithstanding, the overwhelming reality for many (e.g. parents of school-aged children) is not why they are in a multilingual society but how best to deal with it – which school to send their children to, what language(s) should they be taught and be taught in, etc. In turn, this same reality has transferred into demands or obligations for their policy makers and educators – especially if there is some form of democratic representation. This review thus looks at just how LPP has functioned in some postcolonial societies, particularly Hong Kong but also Australia, Malaysia, New Zealand, Singapore and South Africa, in the last several decades. Hong Kong in particular is used as a test case to represent some of these multilingual societies

where the shadow of colonialism has been receding (if not gone) while the language diversity has remained.

2.3 The ecology of languages

As the cases in Section 2.1 suggest, there is considerable interplay between languages and social systems to the point where one creates the identity of the other. This interplay was termed "the ecology of language" by Haugen (1972, p.328) almost 40 years ago and it has since become the mainstay belief that languages in a multilingual society can be seen as a living entity, and therefore are a resource rather than a problem. Since Haugen, and especially so from the 1990s, many have worked to take the concept forward. Important work includes Mühlhäusler (1996) who took the concept to embrace not just a language in its environment but languages as a whole; and together with others' works such as Ricento (2000) and Hornberger (2002), they have enabled the ecological concept to play an increasingly important role for LPP researchers as they seek to investigate relationships between societal multilingualism and individual language choices, and how these relationships can be managed most effectively. As Hornberger (2002) puts it:

The one language – one nation ideology of language policy and national identity is no longer the only available one worldwide (if it ever was). Multilingual language policies, which recognize ethnic and linguistic pluralism as resources for nation-building, are increasingly in evidence. These policies, many of which envision implementation through bilingual intercultural education, open up new worlds of possibility for oppressed indigenous and immigrant languages and their

speakers, transforming former homogenizing and assimilationist policy discourses into discourses about diversity and emancipation. (p.27)

An important theme of the ecology of language approach is that the interaction between language and society deems language a living entity – beyond its identity and utility to its users – so language itself can be considered an organism within an ecosystem. It can thus be studied and understood in terms of its living history and its living space with the corresponding concepts of language evolution and language environment (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). As will be seen later, some of these concepts have since been assimilated into policy documents (e.g. the Education Commission Report of Hong Kong (2005) stated "enriching the English environment" (p.63) as one of its key recommendations).

While the broad ecological approach sees all world languages as one ecosystem with each language being important for the development, well-being and sustenance of every other language (Liddicoat & Bryant, 2001; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000), this study took a narrower approach and focuses only on works that relate to languages that are in constant interaction with each other, i.e. languages within a multilingual society.

Noting that interplay between languages is real in any multilingual environment, Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) pointed out that LPP cannot target just one language in its setting but should target all. Similarly they recognised that the environment that language inhabits transcends the typical boundaries that LPP operates within (usually schools); thus any effective planning must take the broader environment into consideration:

...language planning activity must be perceived as implicating a

wide range of languages and of modifications occurring simultaneously

over the mix of languages in the environment - that is, implicating the

total language eco-system (p.296).

Again, this seems to have been adopted by Hong Kong at least in form, as

the official language policy is termed the "Biliterate Trilingual Policy (BTP)"

(Provisional Legco, 1997) where all of the three main spoken languages (the

southern Chinese dialect Cantonese, the mainland official dialect Putonghua and

English) were given equal status.

Another important outcome of the ecological approach relates to pedagogy.

As van Lier (2000) has pointed out, language learning from an ecological

perspective should not be just about the process of teaching and learning in the

cognitive sense, but should be expanded to include the learners' interactions with

their language environments and their social activities. In this conception, LPP

interacts with its theoretical counterparts in sociolinguistics (Ricento, 2000).

The ecological approach enables LPP to be seen from a perspective where

policy objectives and outcomes are not just action / reaction pairs but rather, from

the perspective of languages, live alongside each other in a multilingual

environment. Their interactions within their cultural, economic and socio-

political context ultimately affect their conditions – or in ecological terms, their

well-being (Hornberger, 2002); and these factors should be taken into

consideration when predicting policy outcomes.

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2.4 LPP in the context of multilingualism

As Section 2.2 illustrated, the environment that multilingual societies find themselves in is intimately related to their history; and as Section 2.3 suggests – at least according to the ecological approach – their futures are also closely related to their multilingualism. In short, there is little to understand about LPP in the absence of context (Schmidt, 2006). Tollefson and Tsui (2003) noted that factors such as ideological and discursive constructs, the gap between discourse and practice, resource, language rights, ethno-linguistic diversity and social conflict, and local and global concerns all contribute to the complex fabric of what constitutes context in LPP terms. This section seeks to highlight some of the more pertinent contextual factors that feature in selected postcolonial multilingual societies where English is featured as one of the official languages.

Taking the generally valid assumption that plans seldom work out perfectly, King and Benson (2003) argued that the gap that continuously develops between discourse (policy terms) and practice (implementation and outcome) has itself become a form of constant discontinuity. This discontinuity is more than just a reflection of the difficulty of implementing LPP perfectly, and it is actually creating a new reality that in turn is becoming the context for subsequent LPPs. For example, Webb's (2003) analysis of the implementation of the post-apartheid language policies of South Africa found that the process was immensely complex; thus not every policy initiative turned out as planned. Yet the sum of what has worked and what has not has become the new reality that subsequent policies face. The test case of this study, Hong Kong, has also

demonstrated this pattern of constant discontinuity. However, it has also been noted that failure to execute perfectly is not the only contributing factor to discontinuity, especially in cases where the pattern of discontinuity has remained consistent over a longer period with several LPP iterations. This form of consistent discontinuity, as Wiley (2002) and others have argued, is actually the result of deliberate manipulation. For example, despite powerful discursive attention to concepts such as opportunities and equality, most schools in the USA have remained exclusively English medium, thus limiting the opportunities for American Indians and other ethno-linguistic minorities – and the discontinuity cannot be attributed to imperfect LPP execution but rather should be seen as the result of deliberate policy manipulation.

Prominent examples such as that of the USA might give rise to the notion that inclusive LPP practices are always preferable to their exclusive counterparts as they offer equality of access and opportunities. LPP is indeed a direct and reflective means with which to view language rights – especially for ethnolinguistic minorities. Simply put, if a minority language is not taught in schools (or used in public) on the basis of some form of policy guarantee or protection, it is difficult to argue that it has the same rights as its majority counterpart. Even so, the question remains, just what should the basis of language rights be? Three common criteria are territory, ethno-linguistic identity and citizenship.

The territorial approach, ascribing rights based on language geography (when the different languages of a multilingual society happens to be distributed geographically), has the appeal of pragmatism. In cases where the territorial and ethno-linguistic distribution matches, it has proven useful, e.g. the language

rights of Welsh in Wales (Jones & Martin-Jones, 2003). This approach becomes less straightforward, as can be predicted, when the territorial and ethno-linguistic distribution do not match, e.g. the native Americans, who are distributed across the US, might require a denominator other than geography to argue for their language rights.

The ethno-linguistic approach is based on how users of languages identify themselves, e.g. the way the Maoris of New Zealand (May, 2003) advocate rights for the use of Maori in schools and in public. However, such form of identification has become increasingly fluid - because with migration and intermarriage, such identity changes.

The citizenship approach ascribes rights and responsibilities based on citizenship. In the USA, citizens have the right to use English but equally new citizens (naturalised immigrants) are expected to learn English (McCarty, 2003). In countries such as South Africa where multilingual citizenry is supported (under the constitution all citizens have the right to be educated in one or more of the 11 official languages of their choice (Webb, 2003)), the approach is now being seen as a form of support for equality and partnership among different ethno-linguistic groups.

What the three different approaches have highlighted, aside from the expected absence of one ideal way for all, is that a decision together with a balancing act is usually required. The ways in which these LPP decisions are taken are what McCarty (2003) termed ideological and discursive constructs. As ideological constructs, policies often reflect the interests of groups that exercise control over the LPP institutions, usually the legislative and executive branches

of governments. Interest need not always imply selfish or self-serving motivations, as the well quoted cases of South Africa or New Zealand have illustrated. However, in times past such as the European colonisation period or 19th-century USA, LPP has certainly been used to expand or maintain the interest of Europe in sub-Saharan Africa (Alidou, 2003) or of the Englishspeaking in the USA. Discursive constructs are the public counterpart to the predominantly government (or power) centric context of LPP, as an examination of the public debates of the same period can give good insight into the corresponding social issues at stake. The discourse of advocations for equality and opportunities are common, though their notions of equality and opportunity can be non-intuitive. For example, and as will be shown in greater detail in Chapters 5 and 8, there is continuing demand for greater exposure to English at secondary school level in the predominantly Cantonese speaking community of Hong Kong. In other words, the ethnic Chinese of Hong Kong demand a greater portion of teaching to be conducted in the students' L2 on the premise of equality and opportunity even though this would appear to run counter at least to the idea of equality (e.g. Kirkpatrick, 2007).

It is difficult not to notice the role of resources, primarily financial resources, when studying the LPP context in a multilingual society. In nearly all of the societies used as cases in this study, there was one (occasionally two) majority or dominant (the two need not be the same) language alongside the minority ones. For the minority language users to avoid marginalisation, developmental resources are usually required (Tollefson & Tsui, 2003). With the level of resource required to develop and maintain minority language material

typically usually beyond the means of their community, either state (e.g. New Zealand, USA) or international bodies' (e.g. World Bank in sub-Saharan Africa) support is required. But as both May (2003) and Alidou (2003) have noted, such support usually entails some form of control; therefore control of resources and control of LPP, perhaps not unexpectedly, go hand in hand. The challenge for minority languages is to secure the necessary level of resources without losing control in the process.

The last element in the fabric of the LPP context in a multilingual society is also the most topical – that of the role of globalisation. Here, and for the rest of this thesis, globalisation is taken to mean the period from the internet age (1990s) onwards as opposed to the post-Columbus age used by historians.

In many ways, the forces of globalisation parallel that of colonisation. As colonial forces exerted influence through power and enforced privileges through controlling access to English and other European languages, so globalisation is today exerting a similar if less easily identifiable influence with the almost exclusive use of English by the post-modern centres of power (BBC 4, n.d.). These centres include the media (including the internet), multinational companies and the economic structures that they have co-created. Local concerns also play a role in the shaping of LPP in the globalisation era, if sometimes as counter currents. In Malaysia, for example, although English is widely spoken, support for the native Malay language Bahasa Melayu has remained strong as a symbol of Malay nationalism (Gill, 2003). In Malaysia's next door neighbour Singapore where again English is widely spoken, even with widespread agreement that English-knowing bilingualism is deemed compatible with the national interest,

there is nonetheless value ascribed to local languages (the state's other official languages: Chinese, Malay and Tamil) for their contribution to the city-state's long-term stability (Pakir, 2003). The impact of globalisation is felt not only at the macro scale such as in national policies, but is also felt at the micro scale, such as classroom practices. One of the most pertinent consequences of globalisation is that of the increasing role of English as a subject and/or as a medium of instruction (MOI). All of the cases quoted in this review (e.g. Hong Kong, India, Malaysia, Singapore, South Africa and the USA) feature some form of LPP dilemma as their policy makers struggle to come to terms with the role of English versus that of the home language in the classroom. In Chapters 8 and 9 it will be shown that, in the case of Hong Kong (itself a forerunner of globalisation in the macro economic sense), a successful integration of global economic factors with domestic teaching and learning factors requires many considerations in regard to planning and implementation beyond just redistributing the proportions of teaching time between L1 and L2.

2.5 Different modes of multilingualism

Multilingualism owes its roots not to naturalism but to history – its development is very much the history of its users. It is therefore important to recognise that the so-called modes of multilingualism are more like devices than discoveries. Devices by definition imply human effort and intervention – so indeed these modes of multilingualism have strong social elements to them. The planning devices used are usually linguistic devices, such as corpus planning or acquisition planning; while the policy devices are usually some form of

legislation, such as officialisation. Hornberger (2006, p.29) systematically organised the different policy and planning devices as shown in Table 1.

As terms such as standardisation or proscription suggest, these devices carry with them power with which they can promote, change or marginalise the different languages within their jurisdiction. How this is exercised often depends on the objectives of those in power, and as the Freeman (1998) quote used in the introduction of this chapter suggests, quite often those objectives are politically oriented. When power charts it course over the development of languages, it leaves behind a historical trail. Academics who have charted such trails carefully have come to recognise some commonalities and thus have been able to identify their declared and actual (if different) objectives. Some of the more distinctive work in this area includes:

- Ruiz's (1984) model: language as a problem, language as a right and language as a resource. It is primarily a historical / sociolinguistic approach, looking back at what has been done in various multilingual societies.
- Wiley's (1996) model: language shifts, language maintenance and language enrichment. It is a similar model to Ruiz's based on the USA.
- 3. Cummins & Carson's (1997) model: five types of bilingual education. Four of the five focus on different minority languages; the fifth is an adaptation of the famed immersion model (e.g. Lambert, 1974) for language majority students to learn a second language.

4. Baker's (2006) model: monolingual, weak and strong forms of bilingual education, sharing many features of Cummins' model.

These four models all analyse the respective multilingual environments from a macro (policy makers' or language planners') perspective. The fifth model, while sharing many features of the four, is unique in that it is constructed from the micro (language users') perspective.

 Kirkpatrick's (2006) model: native-speaker, nativised and lingua franca. This specialised model focuses on the role of English in multilingual societies.

The remainder of this section will focus on Kirkpatrick's model.

In the native-speaker model, learners (learning English as a second or foreign language) typically look to one of the four or five mainstream English speaking nations, i.e. Australia, Canada, England, the USA and New Zealand as benchmarks. Then either through replication (the UK General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) curriculum in English is widely adopted) or imitation (various forms of cross-accreditation) the English of these nations is used as the standard for language acquisition for foreign learners. Although some of these practices have their roots in the colonial past of Britain (which controlled Australia until 1788 and Canada until 1867), it would be amiss to ascribe this as the sole cause. Kirkpatrick (2006) identified several reasons for the native model's advocation, one of which is the strength of the native varieties' codification. As a well (and widely) documented language model, there is far more teaching material on native varieties such as American or British English, thereby facilitating its teaching, and this in turn has worked to

enhance the status of these varieties. These two factors working in a cyclical manner means that over time this model has become established as one of power and historical authority.

Kachru (1998, p.93-95) has identified several indicators of the presence of foreign language influence (typically English) in his "three concentric circles model" (p.94) used to describe the spread of English. The three circles (inner, outer and expanding circles) describe the function of English in respective societies. In Asia Pacific, the inner circle is represented by countries such as Australia and New Zealand where English is the first language. The outer circle is represented by countries such as India, Singapore and the Philippines where English is highly nativised. The expanding circle is represented by countries such as China and Japan where English is used primarily as a foreign language. As for the indicators, they include: the presence and availability of English newspapers and other media, these media being locally managed, and, local (i.e. neither colonial nor foreign controlled) government bodies, are planning the role and usage of English for locals. These indicators can be readily identified in both Hong Kong and Singapore.

The nativised model takes the local variety of English as the norm while treating the native varieties as alternatives (Kachru, 1992) and it usually takes place where English is widely used, e.g. India. In the native-speaker model, the standard variety of English (typically imported from the UK, USA, etc.) is replaced by a local variety, and the local variety is presented to learners as the norm. Over time, teachers of the local variety become the subject authority, thus establishing power for them – in a way, seizing it from native-speaking teachers.

As Kirkpatrick (2006) puts it, the nativised model is the democratic counterpart to the imperialistic native-speaker model (p.76). It must be noted, however, that the nativised model has neither the history nor level of acceptance that the native-speaker model has. The native-speaker model has, besides the four previously identified strengths, an appearance of standards and correctness (Kirkpatrick and Xu, 2002) which remains important to substantial ESL countries such as China. Yet the case of China also highlights the importance of a nativised model – given English's presently unshakable status as China's second language of choice – for her population would exhaust every available language teacher from the so-called standard English speaking countries and still need many more. A nativised model (or some derivative thereof) is likely to be the only sustainable teaching model, given such demands.

The last model, English as a lingua franca, is also the newest of the three (Jenkins, 2006). Lingua franca means a form of common language and was first identified some 40 years ago (e.g. Smith, 1976) but only gained true prominence as a viable model in the last 20 years. As Kirkpatrick explained (2006),

The great majority of learners of English are learning English so that they can communicate with other non-native speakers of English. If this is in doubt, recent estimates of the numbers of people learning English in China alone vary from between 200 and 350 million (Bolton, 2002; Kirkpatrick & Xu, 2002). While native speakers will naturally be part of the group with whom these learners may need to communicate in the future, the majority will be fellow non-native speakers, whether they be Europeans, people from the Middle East, or Asians. We can state the

same fact in a slightly different way. We can say that the major role of English today is as a lingua franca. This use is worldwide. English is used as a lingua franca in Europe. It is used as a lingua franca throughout India, Africa and Asia. (p.78)

As alluded to in section 2.4, the rise of globalisation has changed the use of language in one substantial way - from being the language used between natives and non-natives to the language used between non-natives of different L1s, e.g. in Africa, India or South East Asia (Kirkpatrick, 2006). However, unlike the native-speaker or nativised model, codification remains a gap for the lingua franca model. Due to its newness, attempts to describe English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) are just starting – as opposed to the voluminous work available for the native-speaker model. Recent developments, however, have been encouraging. Jenkins (2000) worked on the phonology of international Englishes, where she was able to show what sounds and aspects of pronunciation hinder mutual intelligibility and what other sounds and aspects of pronunciations The VOICE project (Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English) has established an ever-growing computer corpus capturing spoken ELF interactions (e.g. Hulmbauer, 2009), helping to widen the understanding of how different L1s' speakers use English. The ELFA (English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings) project represents a similar effort in academic settings (e.g. Mauranen, 2009). Both the VOICE and ELFA projects have accumulated over 1 million words in their respective corpuses. There is also the ACE (Asia Corpus of English) project, investigating the role of English as the lingua franca in Asia. This is particularly interesting because the ASEAN organisation (the EU equivalent of ten South East Asia countries: Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam) has declared English to be its working language (2009 ASEAN Charter, Article 34) even though English is not a native language of any of its members (e.g. Kirkpatrick, 2010).

These projects together could be the base from which to establish a wider body of knowledge about ELF. Like the nativised model's democratic virtues, the ELF model is also being credited with contextual merits that are not present in other models (Kirkpatrick, 2006). It can liberate teachers from the burden of being measured against native speakers, it enables the cultural content of the teaching to be broadened (particularly in the local context) and it confers language ownership as opposed to alienation. Unlike the native speaker or the nativised model, ELF has the reality of globalisation already built in and should be considered as a most viable model should the world continue on its present (massive) movement towards English. However, the aforementioned lack of codification will continue to hinder the development of ELF, and until this is sufficiently addressed (itself dependent upon a wider acceptance of ELF as a viable model), the ELF model might not have the strength yet to present itself as the answer to Ferguson's (2006, p.35) important question: In the case of English and a few pluri-centric languages, what variety of the language will serve as a model (or norm) for teaching purposes?

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has sought to negotiate the course that LPP has taken in the last 30 years in an attempt to identify just how (or why) a particular thought or theory on LPP is prominent in the current context. From the process, it has shown that the perception of native-ness, pedagogical objectives, local and regional politics all play a role in the shaping of respective LPPs. These different factors are so tightly interwoven that one perhaps cannot look at the education aspects without questioning the political, and vice versa. Recalling Ferguson's and Tollefson's series of conceptual questions and issues raised in the introduction of this chapter, education and politics indeed seem inseparable in the context of LPP.

The purpose of this study was to test this appearance of inseparability to see to what extent it holds up, whether LPP can in fact be a purely educational pursuit, and, to what extent these policies' outcomes can be predicted.

CHAPTER THREE: FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to develop an analytical framework (or tool) to

systematically delineate a LP policy statement into its components so as to reveal

its underlying characteristics.

The development process is to first construct a matrix using Ferguson's

(2006) questions (abbreviated as F1 to F5) to form the rows of the matrix and

Tollefson's (2002) questions (abbreviated as T1 to T5) to form the column (Table

2). As will be shown later this assignment is arbitrary and it would not have

mattered had it been reversed. Next, each of F1 to F5 and T1 to T5 will be

studied closely to investigate their inherent nature, with an assignment of a

primarily educational (E) or political (P) attribute given (Table 3). Finally, these

attributes are plotted to form the Ferguson Tollefson Matrix (FTM) (Table 4 and

Table 5) and the FTM can then be applied to perform policy analysis and make

outcome predictions.

Unlike Ferguson and Tollefson's original design, where every question or

issue was designed to stimulate in-depth analysis, the FTM only uses Ferguson's

and Tollefson's questions as a categorisation-filter, meaning that each question is

only used to identify whether the issue being examined is primarily an

educational (E) or a political (P) one. The FTM is therefore highly dependent on

how the categorisations are made.

To investigate if a common sense approach is in fact adequate, this study

invited three notable experts in the field of education policy to perform a test-

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categorisation of Ferguson's and Tollefson conceptual questions and issues. As the objective of the test was not to use their results as design references, but merely to investigate the adequacies of the common sense approach, the three experts were asked to categorise the questions and issues in an impromptu manner based on their views and opinions rather than to perform any in-depth or systematic analysis. Using their results, and following the same framework of construction used for the FTM (see Section 3.8 for details), three trial matrices were produced (Figure 1); the author's common sense trial is also included for reference. As can be seen, the three trial matrices are very different from each other, suggesting that a common sense approach – even by experts – is inadequate. A more thorough approach to each of Ferguson and Tollefson's questions is thus required.

This study represents a more sophisticated version of the matrix to the common sense approach; in particular, the more rigorous classification of Ferguson and Tollefson's questions as either primarily educational or political should make the FTM more reliable, the aforementioned limitations notwithstanding.

Given the novelty of the process, this study wished to highlight at this stage that whatever this brief introduction has failed to explain regarding the design or the mechanics of the FTM will be made clear, as each step will be elaborated upon in the subsequent sections of this chapter.

3.2 Approach

This section will examine the 11 conceptual questions and issues from Ferguson and Tollefson. The goal of the examination is to decide whether each

question or issue addresses an educational (E) issue or a political (P) one. To qualify for an E, a question or issue must be primarily pedagogical; if it has primarily political considerations, it is given a P.

It is therefore important to reiterate that this study was not trying to answer Ferguson or Tollefson's questions per se. For example, one of Ferguson's (2006) questions is, "In the case of English and a few pluri-centric languages, what variety of the language will serve as a model (or norm) for teaching purposes?" (p.35). Rather than attempting to find a full answer to this question, this study only looked at the nature of language variety as an issue (see Section 2.6) rather than comparing the relative merits of the various possible models for teaching purposes.

The conceptual questions and issues to be considered and categorised are: For Ferguson (2006, p.34-35),

- The choice of medium of instruction for various levels of the education system
- The role of the home language (or mother tongue) in the educational process
- 3. The choice of second / foreign language as curriculum subjects of instruction along with the associated issues on:
 - a. When these languages will be introduced into the curriculum
 - b. Whether foreign language study will be made compulsory, for whom and for how long
- c. What proportions of the school population will be exposed to second / foreign language instruction

4. In the case of English and a few pluri-centric languages, what variety of the language will serve as a model (or norm) for teaching purposes

As will be made clear when the FTM is described, question 3 with its sub-questions has to be separated as:

- 3. What second or foreign language(s) should be taught in the curriculum?
- 5. When should L2 be introduced into the curriculum and how? And for Tollefson (2002, p.13-14),
- 1. What are the major forces affecting language policies in education and how do these forces constrain policies and the public discussion of policy alternatives?
- 2. How do state authorities use educational language policies to manage access to language rights and language education?
- 3. How do state authorities use language policy for the purposes of political and cultural governance?
- 4. How do language policies in education help to create, sustain or reduce political conflict among different ethno-linguistic groups?
- 5. How are local policies and programmes in language education affected by global processes such as colonisation, decolonisation, the spread of English and the growth of the integrated capitalist economy?
- 6. How can indigenous peoples and other language minorities develop educational policies and programmes that serve their social and linguistic needs, in the face of significant pressures exerted by more powerful social and ethno-linguistic groups?

3.3 Categorising Ferguson's conceptual questions and issues

3.3.1 Ferguson's first (F1)

The choice of medium of instruction for various levels of the education system

Of all the models reviewed in Chapter 2, only two advocate the use of L2

as MOI before secondary or senior secondary level: the immersion model (see

Section 2.5) and the language shift model observed by Wiley (2002) in the USA.

It should be noted though that the language shift model has a monolingual

outcome in mind and USA language policy makers have long been criticised for

being politically motivated (McCarthy, 2003).

In the other remaining models, even ones with strong colonial overtones

such as the native-speaker model (e.g. Kirkpatrick, 2006), it is recognised that for

effective pedagogy, the MOI should be the students' L1. The choice of MOI is

therefore seen as primarily educational.

Categorisation: E.

3.3.2 Ferguson's second (F2)

The role of the home language (or mother tongue) in the educational

process

This looks like a straightforward educational issue, especially given the

body of literature on the pedagogical value of mother-tongue education (e.g.

Baker, 2006). However, the very fact that this question needs to be raised by

Ferguson suggests that there might be additional considerations – especially

when F2 is viewed alongside the question raised in Section 2.2: What is the

native language or the L1?

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As some of the examples in Chapter 2 highlighted, the actual L1 of some multilingual societies is not straightforward. For example, in some countries where an original L2 (and for the remainder of this thesis, it can be assumed to be English) has been nativised, it may have become the home language. Additionally, in societies such as Hong Kong or South Africa where the home language(s) have remained, the socioeconomic environment is such that users – students, but more often parents – demand an ever greater proportion of the teaching to be done in L2 in order to promote a competitive advantage for their children. This has left policy makers with a dilemma – a choice between effective pedagogy and social acceptance – and the history of Hong Kong, Singapore and South Africa have shown that the decision has tended to bias towards social acceptance. Given that the thinking behind these decisions does not arise out of a pedagogical concern but is often forced, the social rather than educational elements are considered to be the crux of the matter. The role of the home language in the education process is therefore a political issue.

Categorisation: P.

3.3.3 Ferguson's third (F3)

What second or foreign language(s) should be taught in the curriculum?

In Ferguson's assessment (2006, p.47), once the L1 is protected as the main language of instruction, then what L2 is taught should become a classroom issue that can be managed based on the needs of the students – even if those needs might have socioeconomic (e.g. social integration, future employment, etc.) ramifications.

A challenge to this reasoning might be an environment where a foreign language has been nativised and there is a strong desire to maintain or revitalise the original mother tongue; or, if a foreign language (e.g. English) becomes the L2 of choice over another local (i.e. of closer ethnic relations) language. This study accepted that there could be exceptional situations, but for the sake of consistency it cannot give a double categorisation to the question. The choice of foreign language to be taught is therefore seen as an education issue.

Categorisation: E

3.3.4 Ferguson's fourth (F4)

In the case of English and a few pluri-centric languages, what variety of the language will serve as a model (or norm) for teaching purposes?

As Section 2.5 indicated, the categorisation of this question will depend on resolving the tension between should and could. Two possible scenarios are:

- It should be a native-speaker model, but it could be a nativised or lingua franca model for some, or
- 2. It should be a nativised or lingua franca model, but it could be a native-speaker model for some.

And as illustrated in Section 2.5, the stance of scenario 1 would deem the question a political one while that of scenario 2 would deem it educational.

To resolve this, this study called upon the concept of democratic virtue by Kirkpatrick (2006, p. 76). Simply put, it projects what would become of the system (model) if the language users rather than the planners were to decide. Based on the cases studied in Chapter 2, where the teaching has been nativised (e.g., India), the development of the language is liberated as teachers become

empowered, but where the teaching has not, the development of the language is constrained (e.g., Hong Kong) as teachers are disempowered. Since it is unreasonable to argue that the latter is a more desirable outcome than the former, F4 ought to address scenario 2 rather than scenario 1. In short, upon examining the democratic virtues of the two scenarios, the issue of which model of English to teach is found to be an educational one.

Categorisation: E

3.3.5 Ferguson's fifth (F5)

When should L2 be introduced into the curriculum and how?

The two scenarios that tend to dominate this question are:

- 1. The pedagogical virtues of introducing L2 at a later stage.
- 2. The demand (typically parental) for introducing L2 as early as possible.

The case for the first tend towards introducing L2 at a later stage, when students have already acquired foundational oral and literacy skills in their L1, and even been exposed to other local languages (e.g. Kirkpatrick, 2007; Moon, 2008) - typically beyond the age of 10 or the primary stage. The case for the second (see Chapters 5, 7 and 8 for details of how Hong Kong parents have kept pushing for more English) tends towards favouring an as early as possible approach based on (typically) parental recognition that earlier exposure might result in increased competence (Kan & Adamson, 2010).

The resultant dilemma for LPP decision makers is a tension between the two scenarios' expressed virtue (granting an earlier introduction with little of the sought competence delivered) and intended virtue (insisting on a later introduction, thus delivering on the actual competence sought). As will be shown

in Chapter 8, the expressed virtue often prevails (Kan, Lai, Kirkpatrick & Law,

2011).

Yet even in the face of such pressure, it appears that LPP bodies are quite

prepared to draw the line at some point (usually around age 10-12 or the primary

stage). In Hong Kong, where parental pressure is substantial (enough to

precipitate three policy revisions in 12 years, see Chapter 5), the reasons for such

firm stance on L1 for primary - even if the overall policy position is one of

accommodation - probably arise from the recognition that the primary stage is

when students' basic literacy is developed and it would be too much of a social

liability if policies were to put that at risk. English is therefore only introduced

as a subject at this stage.

As it is apparent that even political agenda would willingly bow to

pedagogical reality on this issue, this study saw the timing of introducing L2 as

an educational issue.

Categorisation: E

3.4 Summarising Ferguson's five conceptual questions and issues

In summary, all but one (F2) of Ferguson's questions are fundamentally

educational. While some questions were difficult to resolve (e.g. F4), others

were quite straightforward (e.g. F3).

Another issue was identified when the framework development exercise

was investigating which model of English should be taught (e.g. in China and

India, see also section 2.5) – that of long-term sustainability. Section 2.5 has

already noted that China has over 200 million English learners who could thus

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easily exhaust every possible teaching resource of the native speaking countries given that Australia, Canada, the UK and USA only have a combined population of about 350 million. Loosely speaking, the native-speaker model is only good for exports in small quantities. When demand becomes across the board, e.g. English is now a core subject in the primary and secondary curriculum of China (Adamson & Feng, 2009), native speaking teachers simply cannot cope with the demand. Long-term sustainability, especially when it pertains to the adoption of the native-speaker model, is a subject that needs more discussion than it is currently receiving.

3.5 Prelude to Tollefson's five conceptual questions

Tollefson's (2002) volume is an edited work – a collection of studies investigating LPP in different contexts – with his series of six questions as the conceptual framework. It is therefore useful to first summarise Tollefson's own conceptualisation of LPP before categorising his six questions.

For Tollefson, understanding language policy is fundamentally two pronged – as far as language is concerned, it should be seen through the lens of critical linguistics; and as for policy, it is a study of power, politics and inequalities. By his own definition (2002),

...critical linguistics, which focuses on the study of language within its social, political and historical context, with a primary concern for (in)equality, linguistics discrimination and language rights...

...language policy, which examines the role of governments and other powerful institutions in shaping language use and language acquisition...

Critical linguistics and language policy come together in the study of language policies in education. How do language policies in schools create inequalities among learners? How do policies marginalise some students while granting privilege to others? How do language policies in education serve the interest of dominant groups within societies? How can linguistics minorities further interest through attempts to change language policies in schools? These questions are at the heart of fundamental debates about the role of schools in society, the links between education and employment, and conflicts between linguistic minorities and "mainstream" populations. (p.3-4)

Tollefson's primary perspective is politics rather than pedagogy and this is reflected in the framing of his series of questions. Some of those who reviewed the book, e.g. Gray (2002) noted that Pennycook's (2002) contribution to Tollefson's work was primarily focused on the effects of colonialism on the language policies of Hong Kong.

Relying upon sources written by British 'old Asian hands', educators, and politicians, in the late 19th and early 20th century, as well as insights he has presented in his recent book, *English and the Discourse of Colonialism*, Pennycook clearly shows that colonial language policies were not only the initial stages of linguistic imperialism, but also

ironically directly connected to "Orientalist views on the need to preserve colonized cultures in a pristine state of pre-colonial innocence, as well as to local conditions of control. Education was seen as a crucial means for more effective governance of the people, and language policy was one mechanism for effectively providing such education" (p.94).

The task of this study, therefore, was not to decide whether each question is educational or political in nature – because Tollefson has more or less framed them as political – but to identify if any are in fact educational. The three that were found to be are discussed in the following sections.

3.6 Categorising Tollefson's issues and questions

3.6.1 Tollefson's fourth (T4)

How do language policies in education help to create, sustain or reduce political conflict among different ethno-linguistic groups?

In framing his questions, Tollefson – the editor – may have had the cases of Malaysia, the Philippines or Singapore in mind, as his other works (2003) had included accounts by Gill, Nical, Smolicz & Secombe (2003) and Pakir (2003). In each of these multilingual and multi-ethnic societies, there was a history of ethnic disharmony and now language policies in education are seen as being conducive to the creation or maintenance of ethnic harmony.

At face value, this must be a political question – all the cases illustrated have language policies that owe their origin to the need for ethnic harmony rather than one for multilingualism. This study, however, viewed policies from two angles – policy statements and legislative provisions (Wesley-Smith, 1993) – and only

when both are political is the policy viewed as political. Before applying the test to T4, this demarcation should first be explained.

The separation of policy statements from legislative provisions is common in the legal context; simply put, it is the difference between intent (policy statements, i.e. objectives) and implementation (legislative provisions, i.e. means).

This study found that in terms of wording, legislation from countries with a disharmonious past (e.g., South Africa; DBE, 1997) is not so different to that of other countries. Little if any of their legislative provisions spell out ethnic or racial harmony, tolerance, etc. per se and are more like the wording of their counterparts in places where there has not been a history of ethnic disharmony. What this suggests is that for countries like South Africa, even when their policies are ideologically political, their legislative provisions remain functionally educational.

Seen from the framework of this study, a functionally educational legislative provision is categorised as educational. Therefore, using language policies to manage ethnic conflict is here classified as a fundamentally educational issue.

Categorisation: E

3.6.2 Tollefson's fifth (T5)

How are local policies and programmes in language education affected by global processes such as colonisation, decolonisation, the spread of English, and the growth of the integrated capitalist economy?

This study qualified T5 by equating the spread of English and the growth of the integrated capitalist economy to globalisation while deemphasising colonisation and decolonisation, deeming the latter to be outside the intended period of investigation. The lone exception, Hong Kong (not decolonised until 1997), will be covered in some detail later as a test case for the FTM. Nevertheless, even for Hong Kong, the current force of globalisation far overwhelms that of colonisation / decolonisation in her policy settings (Kirkpatrick, 2007).

As Section 2.4 illustrated, globalisation is currently the most prominent and influential context in the study of multilingualism – and English has become the unquestioned flag bearing language of this era (e.g. Tollefson, 2003). Thus in many cases the LPP context for T5 is in effect: How are the local policies and programmes dealing with English? Dealing with English as a L2 in this simplified context makes categorisation more straightforward – if acquiring English is the objective then teaching it has to be the means. Therefore, the interaction between globalisation and language policies is an educational issue.

Categorisation: E

3.6.3 Tollefson's sixth (T6)

How can indigenous peoples and other language minorities develop educational policies and programmes that serve their social and linguistic needs, in the face of significant pressures exerted by more powerful social and ethnolinguistic groups?

This question, by its own definition, is about education.

Although the framing of the question could have political undertones as seen from examples such as post-apartheid South Africa (Webb, 2003), Tollefson is not pursuing that particular direction here.

As some cases suggest, a pedagogically focused language policy -

education for its own sake – has been shown to generate socially harmonious

This was witnessed in Wales (Jones & Martin-Jones, 2003) and

Singapore (Pakir, 2008). The case of Singapore is interesting because what is

being introduced, Chinese and Malay, are actually the ethnic language (dialects

notwithstanding) for many of the students. Singapore, once a British colony and

for the last several decades one of the most international cities in the world, is

becoming a nativised English speaking country. Now, the language needs are

being addressed in the opposite direction to re-establish the ethnic languages.

What these cases highlight, besides a clear substantiation for T6 as an

educational issue, is that the language education process is capable of resolving

social issues while providing meaningful learning progress for the learners.

Therefore, using LPP to serve the needs of linguistic minorities is fundamentally

an educational issue.

Categorisation: E

3.6.4 Tollefson's remaining three questions

As Tollefson has made clear, the remaining questions, namely T1 to T3,

are politically oriented.

T1 – What are the major forces affecting language policies in education

and how do these forces constrain policies and the public discussion of policy

alternatives? Categorisation: P

T2 – How do state authorities use educational language policies to

manage access to language rights and language education?

Categorisation: P

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T3 – How do state authorities use language policy for the purposes of political and cultural governance?

Categorisation: P

3.7 Using the 11 categorisations

Two questions, namely T6 (How can indigenous peoples and other language minorities develop educational policies and programmes that serve their social and linguistic needs, in the face of significant pressures exerted by more powerful social and ethno-linguistic groups?), and F2 (The role of the home language (or mother tongue) in the educational process), were in many ways the inspiration behind the formation of the FTM. As these questions suggest, prima facia logic alone is not adequate in identifying the core issues that lie behind the manifested educational or social needs; what Ferguson and Tollefson have sought to do is to explain a possible reason. For both, language policy is a product of planning even though they view planning from different angles. For Ferguson, planning is largely to do with historical recognition and expertise; thus problems arise when either is misplaced. For Tollefson, planning is largely to do with motives, and the power that comes with being a planner has often become corrupted.

What these two independent approaches have resulted in is a system of 30 intersecting questions (each of Ferguson's five questions criss-crossing with each of Tollefson's six questions, equalling 30 intersections) through which to evaluate a language policy's nature or orientation.

To visualise what 30 intersecting questions would look like, some form of graphical representation is necessary – and this is where a matrix (from the

discipline of linear algebra) becomes useful. In crude form, it would be like Table 2.

The assignment of the rows and columns is arbitrary; it does not matter whose questions form which. Each cell is an intersection of two questions, e.g. the darkened cell in Table 2 is a cross-examination between:

- F2 The role of the home language (or mother tongue) in the educational process. And,
- T4 How do language policies in education help to create, sustain or reduce political conflict among different ethno-linguistic groups?

As a combined analysis, F2 and T2 will be asking: how would a policy's definition of the role of the home language in the education process (Ferguson's question) help to create, sustain or reduce political conflict among the different ethno-linguistic groups that it affects (Tollefson's question)? As this example illustrates, the matrix (the FTM) provides an analytical framework with which to evaluate language policies extensively.

To answer the questions contained within only one cell, however, would typically require a thorough investigation – befitting the importance of the issue perhaps but not suitable for the graphical analysis the matrix is seeking to perform. The answer has to be reducible to a form of rationalised data for the graphical representation to be manageable.

The next section addresses this and builds the FTM up to a point where it can perform policy analysis.

3.8 Constructing the Matrix



With Ferguson's and Tollefson's questions categorised, it is now possible to fill in the cells and thus complete the construction for the FTM. Recalling that each of Ferguson and Tollefson's questions can be represented by its categorisation, each cell would then have an F value (the Ferguson's categorisation) and a T value (the Tollefson's categorisation). In the case of the darkened cell (F2T4) in Table 2, it is P/E (matrix convention calls for putting the row value first, column value next). Following the same logic, the entire matrix would thus look like Table 3. It can also be seen from Table 3 that because the matrix cannot accommodate sub-questions, Ferguson's original question 3 had to be separated as shown in Section 3.2.

Replacing the classifications with colours (red = a political / political combination, yellow = a mixed combination, green = an education / education combination), a picture emerges as Table 4.

After reordering the questions while obeying the mathematical rules of matrix manipulations, the same colours can be grouped into the same zones to make it easier to read, as in Table 5. Note that the order of questions (in the first column) has changed as a result.

In diagram form, it can now be seen that there are three kinds of issues.

1. A purely educational issue, e.g. F1T4, where Ferguson's first question "What language(s) should the MOI be and at what level?" is discussed in the context of Tollefson's fourth question "How does language policy in education help to create, reduce or sustain political conflicts among different ethno-linguistics groups?" Given their pedagogical focus, policy statements that are classified in this zone are considered

- potentially impactful, meaning that, upon implementation, they could produce meaningful teaching and/or learning effects.
- 2. A purely political issue, e.g. F2T2, where Ferguson's second question "What role should the home language(s) play in education?" is discussed in the context of Tollefson's second question "How do state authorities use educational language policies to manage access to language rights and language education, and what are the consequences of specific state programmes and policies for language minority communities?" Given their political focus, policy statements that are classified in this zone are considered potentially controversial, meaning that, upon implementation, they could produce unwanted public (parents, schools, etc.) reactions.
- 3. A mixed issue. These form half of the matrix. Given their mixed focus, policy statements that are classified in this zone are considered potentially ineffective, meaning that, upon implementation, they might achieve neither the political nor the educational objective of the policy statement.

3.9 Expert validation

From the final FTM (see Sections 3.7 and 3.8 and Table 5 for details), it can be seen that its zoning is quite different to the three experts' trial matrices from Section 3.1. As this study compared them, the following was noted.

First, no one classified all of the issues into one category. All have identified some as educational and others as political even if their categorisation were different. Without the benefit of the analysis of Section 3.8, this

phenomenon would only be understood as an inherent feature of LPP; with the FTM's classification and zoning, however, it can now be shown that these differences can often work against each other, rendering a policy statement ineffective.

Second, F5 was the only row where all the experts agreed that it was a mixed issue; in every other row or column, they held different views or opinions. This goes to show how subjective LPP can be, at least at face value. It is not unreasonable to assume that in most real-life arenas where these issues are debated – usually the legislative branch of governments – the stakeholders would hold views or opinions with a similar degree of variation to that of the three experts surveyed, especially if they had not investigated the issues in depth or were under compulsion to voice a view held by their constituencies. This could be another reason behind the pattern of discontinuity in LPP as observed in Section 2.4.

Lastly, and most importantly, it can been seen that all the experts classified Tollefson's questions as political and they also considered Ferguson's to be more educational than political (e.g. one expert considered 3 out of 5 to be educational while another considered all five to be educational). This is crucial because for matrix analysis to function, the horizontal issues (in this case Ferguson's) and the vertical issues (in this case Tollefson's) must have differing characteristics – e.g. if all the issues were political a matrix analysis would be moot and traditional analysis would be more suitable. In the FTM's case, in spite of no unanimous agreement among the experts, it can nevertheless be concluded

that Ferguson's series of questions and issues are primarily educational while Tollefson's are primarily political.

3.10 Conclusion to framework development

It is now possible to test the FTM's analytical and predictive capability. In the Methodology section, a theory-in-practice approach will be used to illustrate the actual working of the FTM by putting in a previously introduced (and since revised) language policy of Hong Kong as a test sample for analysis.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

With the construction of the FTM complete, this chapter will illustrate

how the FTM can be used to analyse a language policy. The method involves

plotting a language policy's policy statements into their corresponding cells in

the matrix. The plotted FTM is called the policy distribution which is then

evaluated and predictions are made. In short, the plotting identifies the

characteristics of the policy and the evaluation makes predictions based on them.

Conceptually, this is straightforward. The practice, however, does require

further illustration as the use of the FTM or similarly structured tools is

uncommon in language policy analysis. It is also useful to illustrate the actual

application of the matrix, in particular the assignment of policy statements into

their corresponding cells, given the novelty of the FTM.

This chapter will therefore first outline the method of matrix analysis

before testing its application on a test-sample policy.

4.2 Matrix analysis

The origin of matrices is the mathematical discipline of linear algebra. Its

original application was data representation and manipulation. Given its simple

format (a table of data with a certain number of rows and columns), its use has

become exceedingly widespread. Many everyday documents such as football

league tables or student report cards are in essence matrices and their purpose or

applications have largely remained quantitative. This is to be expected because

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one of the main features of a matrix is its ability to offer data for side-by-side comparison – and quantitative data is a more suitable candidate for this.

In policy analysis, the most prominent example of using matrix analysis is in the field of agricultural policies where policy outcomes often require the representation of large amounts of quantitative data. As Monke and Pearson (1989) explained:

The approach to policy evaluation advanced in this book is built around a simplified analytical framework, the policy analysis matrix (PAM). The method contains a number of theoretical assumptions and empirical simplifications, and a thorough understanding of its underpinnings is essential for useful application. In most situations, the advantages of the method outweigh its shortcomings. Results are comprehensible to policy-makers and yet are theoretically consistent. The method allows measurement of the effects of policy on producer income as well as identification of transfers among key interest groups-producers in agricultural systems, consumers of food, and policy-makers controlling allocations of the government budget. Results can be easily disaggregated to focus on particular regions, types of farms, or technologies. These items represent critical information for any evaluation of agricultural policy. (p.11)

Like Monke & Pearson's PAM, the FTM also has to make use of a number of theoretical assumptions and empirical simplifications, which will be illustrated in the next section. Unlike the PAM, however, the FTM makes use of exclusively qualitative data for analysis, and thus has its own set of requirements.

By nature, qualitative data are not designed for side-by-side comparison, except when a high degree of exactness is not required. An example would be two temperature tables, one composed of figures and the other descriptions ("cold", "very hot"). The latter clearly provides far less specific information. Yet sometimes the use of qualitative data is inevitable and the arbitrariness of the data does not affect the usefulness of the matrix. A prominent example is the Boston Matrix (BM, called Boston after the business consultant Boston Consultant Group). The BM has been broadly applied in business (e.g. Armstrong & Brodie, 1994) and in education. For example Su & Yin (2007) used the BM to evaluate university staffing issues in post-reform China. The following example illustrates how entities can be assigned to the BM in the process of decision-making.

The BM assesses an entity along two tangential attributes: viability (e.g. profitability, market value, etc.) and trend (e.g. growth) with four resultant quadrants (see Figure 2).

Depending on users' needs and circumstances, they would assess then assign their considerations to the corresponding quadrant. For example, a high performance sports development institute looking at expansion into other cities might set their criteria as follows.

- 1. Population > 1 million = high value
- 2. Population < 1 million = low value
- 3. Average age < 25 = high growth
- 4. Average > 25 = low growth

Decisions on whether to open additional institutes (or not) in cities 1, 2,

3... could then be made according to the following self-apparent logic.

1. High value and high growth: must consider

2. High value and low growth: could consider

3. Low value and high growth: might consider

4. Low value and low growth: should not consider

As Monke & Pearson have already pointed out, the process of setting and

assigning values will inevitably involve assumptions and simplifications. In the

previous example, a higher and younger population is assumed to provide a

greater talent pool and 1 million and 25 years old are used to simplify the

population and age criteria respectively. Neither the assumptions nor the

simplifications are meant to be exact, but without them the BM would be

rendered inoperable.

Given that the two axes of the BM represents two progressive scales

(horizontal scale = trend, vertical scale = viability) overlaid tangentially to

construct the four quadrants, it is useful to test to see if the FTM has similar

qualities.

To test this would require investigating whether Ferguson and Tollefson's

questions and issues fall on some form of a progressive scale, i.e. one issue

follows another in a quantitatively or qualitatively relevant way. Upon

examination, it does not appear that Ferguson's do; for example F1 (The choice

of medium of instruction for various levels of the education system) is not on any

form of a scale with F5 (When should L2 be introduced into the curriculum and

how?). The two might feature together in language policy discussions or

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analyses but one does not follow from the other as necessitated by issues on a progressive scale. In mathematical terms, the two are called discrete issues rather than issues on a continuum.

The same lack of a progressive relationship is found after investigating Tollefson's questions; for example T2 (How do state authorities use educational language policies to manage access to language rights and language education?) is not on any form of a scale with T5 (How are local policies and programmes in language education affected by global processes such as colonisation, decolonisation, the spread of English and the growth of the integrated capitalist economy?). Like Ferguson's questions and issues, Tollefson's are also discrete.

The FTM is thus a matrix of discrete issues, i.e. issues that require independent analysis.

The next section will show how the FTM analyses a policy.

4.3 Two stages of analysis

A FTM analysis has two stages. Stage one plots the policy under investigation into the FTM, which then produces a policy distribution based on a method similar to plotting the hypothetical cities 1, 2, 3... into the Boston Matrix. The logic behind how each policy statement is assigned into which cell will also be illustrated.

Stage two analyses the policy based on the policy distribution produced in stage one before making outcome predictions. The prediction will use the FTM as its primary source, to be supplemented by subject knowledge or policy context where necessary.

In short, stage one prepares the FTM and stage two uses it to perform policy analysis and make outcome predictions.

4.4 A test-sample policy

The test-sample policy selected to illustrate the process of FTM analysis is Hong Kong's Medium of Instruction Guidance for Secondary Schools (Guidance) (Education Department, 1997). It was selected both for its contextual suitability and topicality as it was a language policy that directly affected the MOI practice of 500 secondary schools for over a decade. Another advantage is that it created a high volume of public reaction and professional response as it was seen as contentious and controversial at the time (Tsui, Tse, Shum, Ki, Wong & Kwong, 1999). This means that the FTM will be asked to evaluate a highly controversial policy.

Policy tends to be presented in the form of executive memoranda or legal statutes, neither of which facilitates mapping onto the FTM. The original form of the Guidance, as presented to the legislature is as follows; points 1-10 have been excluded as they were background information, not policy statements.

MOI Guidance for Secondary Schools (Legco, 1997)

- 11. In July 1997, after considering views obtained through consultations, ED again consulted SCOLAR, BoE and EC, and the following principles and arrangements were established for the MOI guidance for secondary schools to be issued in September 1997:
 - 11.1. All local public sector secondary schools should, on the basis of the principles in the MOI guidance, examine their

- own conditions to determine the MOI appropriate to the needs and ability of their students.
- 11.2. Starting with the Secondary 1 intake of the 1998/99 school year, Chinese should be the basic MOI for all local public sector secondary schools. If a school should, after careful deliberation, intend to adopt English as MOI, the school must provide sufficient information and justification to the ED to support such choice.
- 11.3. ED will establish a vetting committee, chaired by a non-official, to consider a schools' proposal to use English as MOI. The factors for consideration will be detailed in the MOI guidance. The aim is to ensure that the procedures are open, fair and transparent, with the benefit of impartial input.
- 11.4. Mixed-code teaching should not be used in schools.
- 11.5. At junior secondary school level, individual schools should not operate both Chinese-medium and English-medium classes at the same level.
- 11.6. At senior secondary school level, the MOI policy may be applied with more flexibility. Exceptionally, schools meeting the requirements may, with the ED's agreement, use English as the MOI for some subjects.
- 11.7. At sixth form level, schools may choose the MOI which best meets the needs of their students.

- 11.8. For the subjects of religious studies, and cultural, commercial and technical subjects, individual schools may choose the MOI which best fits their circumstances.
- 11.9. Schools should introduce to students the English-Chinese glossaries for various subjects, reference books and learning materials regardless of the language medium.
- 12. To ensure that individual schools' appropriate MOI is clearly known to parents and the public, from 1998, the ED will publish each secondary school's appropriate MOI in the Secondary School Places Allocation (SSPA) School List. ED will monitor the situation through inspections, parents' feedback and liaison with schools. The ED will remind schools where appropriate.
- 13. Any schools not adopting their appropriate MOI will have to bear the consequences: e.g. face complaints from parents, queries from the public and directions from the Director of Education under the Education Ordinance.
- 14. The ED has been running teacher training programmes to prepare teachers for using Chinese as the MOI for many years. Since 1990, the then Institute of Language in Education (now merged under the Hong Kong Institute of Education), has been running in-service courses for teachers in secondary schools using Chinese as the MOI. The ED Advisory Inspectorate has also over the years conducted numerous training programmes for secondary school teachers other than those teaching Chinese Language and English Language to

facilitate their adoption of Chinese as the MOI. Such training will continue. The ED will expand relevant training programmes and activities as necessary.

- 15. The ED has plans to strengthen support to schools using Chinese as the MOI. There are sufficient sets of Chinese-medium textbooks on the market. Publishers have also responded positively to the ED's call to produce more quality Chinese-medium textbooks to meet the increasing need for implementation of the MOI guidance. At the same time, in accordance with ECR6 recommendations, SCOLAR is studying and implementing various measures to enhance language proficiency.
- 16. Every three years, the ED will review the situation to ensure that the implementation of the MOI guidance meets its aim. We are confident that mother-tongue teaching can lift the language barriers to students' learning and raise the standard of education, as well as sustain our language education policy of biliteracy and trilingualism to maintain Hong Kong's high international standing.

The policy statements need to be classified to facilitate mapping (in mathematical terms, it is called data rationalisation). Only direct instructions are to be plotted because they are the only agents of change. The others, such as informative statements or punitive-consequence statements, would have been implied by the direct instructions and thus need not be plotted. The first step is thus to eliminate statements that do not pertain to actions / responses and 11, 11.3 and 12 are therefore eliminated. Next, informative or suggestive statements are

to be eliminated, i.e. 11.9, 14, 15 and 16. Finally, consequence-related statements (typically punitive consequences) are to be eliminated, i.e. 13. This leaves 11.1, 11.2 and 11.4, 11.5, 11.6, 11.7 and 11.8 to be plotted on the FTM.

The next step is to consider these remaining policy statements against the cells of the FTM to identify how each statement is to be classified and plotted. For example, 11.1 is:

11.1. All local public sector secondary schools should, on the basis of the principles in the MOI guidance, examine their own conditions to determine the MOI appropriate for the needs and ability of their students.

The issue from Ferguson that is relevant is:

F1. The choice of medium of instruction for various levels of the education system

The correlation is direct.

The questions from Tollefson that are relevant are:

- T2. How do state authorities use educational language policies to manage access to language rights and language education? And/or
- T3. How do state authorities use language policy for the purposes of political and cultural governance?

It is worth examining T2 and T3 against 11.1 to see whether one is more applicable than the other, and on what grounds. As the design of the FTM (and matrix analysis in general) does not require one item per cell, 11.1 should single out T2 or T3 only if there are clear reasons for differentiation. In the case of

policy statement 11.1, this study could find no differentiation between T2 and T2 from either a subject or a contextual point of view.

As illustrated in the Boston Matrix example, it is not problematic for an item to occupy two cells – decision makers will just have to make a judgment call accordingly. Likewise, since no clear demarcation can be found for 11.1 against T1 and T2, it will occupy both. Its place on the FTM will thus look like Table 6.

The next section will illustrate how all the relevant policy statements are plotted.

4.5 Plotting the policy statements of the Guidance (the test-sample policy)

4.5.1 The Guidance's statement 11.1

All local public sector secondary schools should, on the basis of the principles in the MOI guidance, examine their own conditions to determine the MOI appropriate for the needs and ability of their students.

As illustrated in the previous section and per Table 6, the FTM position of policy statement 11.1 is F1T1 + F1T2.

4.5.2 The Guidance's statement 11.2

Starting with the Secondary 1 intake of the 1998/99 school year, Chinese should be the basic MOI for all local public sector secondary schools. If a school should, after careful deliberation, intend to adopt English as the MOI, the school must provide sufficient information and justification to the ED to support such choice.

The issue from Ferguson that is relevant is:

F2. The role of the home language (or mother tongue) in the educational process

F2 is pertinent because Chinese is one of the two official languages of Hong Kong, and home language of the Chinese that form 98% of the population. Although Chinese by definition (in Hong Kong's case) could mean either Cantonese, Putonghua or both (OLD, 2008), for the vast majority of schools it would mean Cantonese (Chapter 9 will discuss some policy implications of this vagueness).

For the remainder this thesis any reference to spoken Chinese should be taken to mean Cantonese.

The question from Tollefson that is relevant is:

T2. How do state authorities use educational language policies to manage access to language rights and language education?

The matrix position of policy statement 11.2 is F2T2.

4.5.3 The Guidance's statement 11.4

Mixed-code teaching should not be used in schools.

The issue from Ferguson that is relevant is:

F1. The choice of medium of instruction for various levels of the education system

The question from Tollefson that is relevant is:

T3. How do state authorities use language policy for the purposes of political and cultural governance?

It should be noted here that while some questions can be mapped without further background information, (e.g. 11.1), others would require additional information. In this case, mixed-code teaching (or code-switching) refers to the use of L1 and L2 simultaneously in the teaching process (or speaking in general).

Li (2000) found that, in Hong Kong, code-switching is very much a feature of the bi-lingual landscape and deeply engrained in the local culture. Therefore, its proscription in the classroom runs counter-current to current sociolinguistic practice. This policy statement is therefore related to T3.

The matrix position of policy statement 11.4 is F1T3.

4.5.4 The Guidance's statement 11.5

At junior secondary school level, individual schools should not operate both Chinese-medium and English-medium classes at the same level.

The issue from Ferguson that is relevant is:

F1. The choice of medium of instruction for various levels of the education system

It should be noted that although the policy prohibits schools from running both EMI and CMI classes at the same level, it does not prohibit the teaching of English as a subject at any level. In fact, all of Hong Kong's primary schools teach English as a subject from Primary 1.

The question from Tollefson that is relevant is:

T2. How do state authorities use educational language policies to manage access to language rights and language education?

The matrix position for policy statement 11.5 is F1T2.

4.5.5 The Guidance's statement 11.6

At senior secondary school level, the MOI policy may be applied with more flexibility. Exceptionally, schools meeting the requirements may, with the ED's agreement, use English as the MOI for some subjects.

The issue from Ferguson that is relevant is:

F1. The choice of medium of instruction for various levels of the education system

The questions from Tollefson that are relevant are:

- T2. How do state authorities use educational language policies to manage access to language rights and language education? And/or
- T3. How do state authorities use language policy for the purposes of political and cultural governance?

Contextual information is again required to understand why 11.6 gives senior secondary schools separate guidance. In Hong Kong, education is compulsory up to junior secondary school level (Primary 1 – 6, Secondary 1-3); from Secondary 4 – 5, the government continues to fund education, but students may leave school. Senior secondary schools are also the bridge between junior secondary schools and matriculation (Secondary 6, 7) where EMI is deemed absolutely necessary if university entrance is the goal (Research Grants Council, 2009). This greater flexibility towards secondary schools is thus an acknowledgement of the influence of university entrance and the prevailing demand for more EMI. From 2010, however, the system has been revamped. Under the New Academic Structure for Senior Secondary Education and Higher

Education (Education Bureau, 2010b), commonly called the 334, senior secondary schools and matriculation have been combined to become a new 3-year senior secondary school programme. The main policy investigated by this study, the 2009 Fine-tuning the Medium of Instruction for Secondary Schools (FT or Fine-tuning), was designed to be introduced into the 334 system.

Given its long-term importance and the relatively small percentage of students who will enter Hong Kong's universities (about 18%), the MOI and language policy targeting the senior secondary school level is very much a language rights and cultural governance issue.

The matrix position for policy statement 11.6 is F1T2 + F1T3.

4.5.6 The Guidance's statement 11.7

At sixth form level, schools may choose the MOI which best meets the needs of their students.

11.7 is very similar to 11.6, but allows further flexibility. In Hong Kong, matriculation (Secondary 6, 7) is the preparatory stage for university entrance, where six of the eight government-funded universities are English medium. For many students (and their parents), having a good EMI education at this stage is essential to university entrance, while CMI is seen as a hindrance to this (South China Morning Post, 1997).

The matrix position for policy statement 11.7 is F1T2 + F1T3.

4.5.7 The Guidance's statement 11.8

For subjects such as religious studies, and cultural, commercial and technical subjects, individual schools may choose the MOI which best fits their circumstances.

The issues from Ferguson that are relevant are:

F1. The choice of medium of instruction for various levels of the education system, and/or

F5. When should L2 be introduced into the curriculum and how?

The effect of this particular guidance on commercial and technical subjects is largely moot, as they are minority subjects at junior secondary school level. The core addressee of this guidance is religious studies and cultural subjects – and why these are singled out with greater flexibility is again due to contextual reasons. About one-third of secondary schools in Hong Kong are government-aided, meaning that they are co-funded between the government and various NGOs, with the respective NGOs running the schools. Many of the NGOs are religious or cultural organisations (The Catholic Church, The Confucius Society, etc.) and this allowance is a gesture in light of their circumstances, e.g. Catholic schools may choose in which MOI they want to teach the Bible.

The question from Tollefson that is relevant is:

T4. How do language policies in education help to create, sustain or reduce political conflict among different ethno-linguistic groups?

The matrix position of policy statement 11.8 is F1T4 + F5T4.

4.6 Stage one analysis of the Guidance

Stage one analysis has three steps. The first step is to plot all the policy statements and legislative provisions. The Guidance as plotted in the FTM, or its policy distribution, is illustrated in Table 7.

The second step is to reclassify the issues according to their respective zones. As can be seen, step two is a de facto characterisation analysis of the policy.

1. Purely educational: 11.8

2. Purely political: 11.1

3. Mixed: 11.1, 11.4, 11.5, 11.6, 11.7

The third step is to note the presence, if any, of empty columns and rows.

The following issues and questions were not considered by the Guidance.

1. Ferguson's questions not considered: F2, F4

2. Tollefson's questions not considered: T5, T6

Stage two evaluates the policy and makes predictions based on the three completed steps of stage one and will require background and context. Chapter 5 will thus provide this information by reviewing Hong Kong's education language policies. Chapter 6 will then provide the full analysis and make outcome predictions.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONTEXT

5.1 Introduction

This chapter pursues the context from two angles: the demographic angle,

focusing on aspects such as population, socioeconomic data and the education

budget over the last six decades, and, from the historical angle, focusing on the

evolution of language policies and, in particular, policies regarding medium of

instruction (MOI).

5.2 Demographic background

The data in Table 8 show the key education statistics of Hong Kong over the

last 50 years, captured over intervals of about ten years. It shows the growth of

the school system, the overall economy and the population of Hong Kong since

the end of World War II.

5.2.1 Primary system

a. In terms of schools

In the absence of context, it might be alarming to note that the number of

primary schools has been on the decline since the 1960s (1968: 1,682 schools vs.

2007: 620 schools) even though the population grew some 80% in the same

period (1968: 3.8 million vs. 2007: 6.9 million). These figures have to be

interpreted against two facts: the 1950s and 60s represented periods of high

immigrant influx from China creating a young population; thus even though less

than 100% of appropriate-age children attended primary school, the proportion of

primary students to population was nonetheless high (e.g. 18% in 1968). The

opposite took place in the early 21st century when even though primary

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education is compulsory, a lowered birth rate in the preceding two decades meant that the proportion of the population in primary education is considerably less (e.g. 6% in 2007).

Although data are not available, if a crude assumption was made that the majority of the government's primary education budget is dedicated to primary schools, then the budget per primary school would have grown 156 times (1968: HK\$110k per school vs. 2007: HK\$17 million per school) in 40 years. This rate is considerably above GDP, which only grew 98 times gross and 54 times per capita in the same period.

b. In terms of students and teachers

After World War II when stability returned, the system was given the necessary peace in which to grow. In the subsequent two decades (the 50s and 60s), the number of primary school students went from 300,000 to more than twice that number. Everyone who wanted an education, including adults, was able to enter a primary school. That the school system then was very basic can be readily identified through one statistic: in 1958, only 22% of primary school students progressed to secondary school, with primary school enrolment representing only 9% of the population. After a decade, the primary to secondary school progression rate improved to 31%, and 18% of the population was in primary schools.

From 1971, primary school education became compulsory but the birth rate began to drop, and thus the number of students began to taper off. It is now roughly the same as it was half a century ago.

The number of primary school teachers in the system in the 1960s and today has remained stable, despite the declining number of primary school students.

5.2.2 Secondary school system

a. In terms of schools

Unlike primary schools, the number of secondary schools has been steadily rising since the 1950s; the 2007 figure of 503 is almost 1.6 times the 1958 figure of 310 as the population only grew 2.4 times in the same period. As Table 8 shows, the 1950s and 60s saw a population growth from increased birth-rate and high immigrant influx from China. This led to increased demand for secondary schools, as noted by the jump in students from 61k in 1958 to 213k in 1968 – a growth rate unseen before or after. The next growth came in the 1970s when the 9-year (Primary 1 – 6, Secondary 1 – 3) compulsory education programme was announced in 1974 and became fully implemented by 1978. From the 1980s onward, the number of secondary schools more or less reflects the combined effect of gross population growth moderated by a lowered birth rate (thus an aging population). This became particularly noticeable by the early 21st century when for the first time ever there are more students in the secondary school system than the primary.

Although data are not available, if a crude assumption is made that the majority of the government's secondary school education budget is dedicated to secondary schools, then the budget per secondary school would have grown 250 times (1968: HK\$136k per school vs. 2007: HK\$34 million per school) in 40 years. This rate is considerably above GDP, which only grew 98 times gross and 54 times per capita in the same period.

b. In terms of students and teachers

As with the primary school system, the peace that came with the end of World War II brought the stability that was necessary for growth. In the subsequent two decades (the 50s and 60s), the number of secondary school students went up from 61,000 to over three times that number but obtaining a place in the secondary school system remained a challenge, as the progression rate from primary to secondary school only grew from 22% in 1958 to 31% in 1968. The situation began to change dramatically from 1978 when the 9-year compulsory education (Primary 1-6, Secondary 1-3) programme was fully implemented. By the 1980s, 100% of primary school students would go on to secondary schools.

In 50 years, the number of secondary school students increased nearly eight-fold – not mirroring the cyclical pattern of primary school students. The number of secondary school teachers kept pace with the number of students, also growing by a multiple of 10 in the same period.

5.2.3 The macro-economic view

Relative to per capita GDP, the education budget more or less kept pace with the macro-economic environment. Although each decade from the 50s to the 80s brought an education budget growth in hundreds of percent, its proportion relative to the GDP has remained a relatively stable 1.5%.

In the last two decades, however, different growth rates occurred. The 90s saw the percentile grow from 1.5% to 1.8% (a gross increment of 17%) but in the first decade of the 21st century, as economic growth flattened, the proportion of the education budget also flattened out.

In 50 years, the primary school budget grew about 318 times and the secondary school about 1,430 times. Throughout the 20th century, as a single budgetary item, education was consistently the largest recurring expense of the Hong Kong Government (e.g. Tsang, 2011).

5.2.4 Demographic summary

An overstretched system in the 1950s was marked by a struggling primary school system and a small secondary school one. Much of the population had no education and those who did seldom went beyond the primary school level. It is interesting to note that many of the senior policy makers of today were born in that era – some were able to progress to local universities; others sought higher education overseas. Sending children overseas for further education, usually by parents with the economic means, has long been a feature of Hong Kong education.

A period of growth was seen from the 1960s to the 1990s – every indicator from population and GDP to schools and teachers grew proportionately. A glimpse of a stable system emerged during the 1970s, marked by the introduction of a compulsory primary school system in 1970 and a compulsory 9-year (Primary 1 to Secondary 3) system in 1974.

With stability came the emergence of high ideals in the 1980s, as multiple policy reviews were commissioned – one as early as 1973 (e.g. 1973 Board of Education Green Paper, 1982 Llewellyn Panel Report). It was during this period that serious discussions on language policy and medium of instruction began. The timing was critical because Hong Kong was by then already a prosperous international city, and many perceived that the colonial policies that were set in

the 50s or earlier seemed to have served Hong Kong well. This created the expectation that every policy revision introduced henceforth had to prove its worth against this mountain of perceived success. Chapter 8 will show how this has affected, and continues to affect, parents' attitude towards MOI in secondary schools.

The 90s marked a historic transition, both in sovereignty and language policy. The hotly debated MOI polices introduced then still have strong repercussions today.

The first decade of the 21st century was a period of consolidation, as the system came to terms with the outcome of the strictly enforced language policy. The end of the decade saw signs of change that could set the tone for the next decade. The policy revision investigated by this study, the Fine-tuning the Medium of Instruction for Secondary Schools (Education Bureau, 2009a), was introduced in 2009 for implementation in September 2010.

5.3 Historical background

5.3.1 Introduction

Hong Kong was a fishing port off the south coast of Guangdong province when it was ceded to Britain in 1840 after the Opium Wars; one hundred and fifty seven years later, sovereignty was returned to China. In that time, this land of hardly a thousand square kilometres with a relatively high population has gone through several iterations of language policy revisions – with some generating considerable debate, especially in the last 12 years.

Linguistically, Hong Kong has always been primarily Cantonese speaking. As Dickson and Cumming (1996) observed,

Hong Kong's geography makes it a predominantly Cantonese-speaking society, Cantonese being the dialect spoken by most of the inhabitants of the Pearl River Delta where Canton, the provincial capital of Guangdong, is located. According to the 1991 census, 88.7% of the population speak Cantonese as their usual language; another 10.3% speak as their usual language one of the following Chinese dialects: Chiu Chow, Hakka, Fukienese, Putonghua Shanghainese and Sze Yap. It is of interest to note that only slightly over one per cent of the population speak Putonghua, the national (oral) language of China, as their usual language; altogether only 18.1% claim that they are able to speak it, compared with 95.8% in the case of Cantonese. (p.41)

Since colonisation in 1840, English has been at least one of the official languages. Schools were supposed to teach in English and all socially upward movers (higher education, white-collar employment in public and private sectors) required demonstrable competence in English – in spite of the fact that over 95% of the population are ethnic Chinese and that the society largely operates in Chinese. The main local dialect is Cantonese, but since the handover, the mainland's official dialect, Putonghua, has also gained in prominence.

However, even post-handover, there is a still a strong sentiment that English should remain as the teaching language for secondary schools despite strong evidence from research that mother tongue education is more effective. As Tsui, Shum, Wong, Tse & Ki (1999) observed:

For more than two decades, the choice of the medium of instruction in Hong Kong schools was left to the schools. However, in 1997, the Government announced that starting from September 1998, Chinese would be the default medium of instruction for all schools. Those schools which wanted to use English as a medium of instruction had to apply to the Education Department (the equivalent of the Ministry of Education at national level) for approval...

This new medium of instruction (hereafter MOI) policy has aroused unprecedentedly strong emotional reactions from members in almost every sector in the community. Schools see this policy as taking away their autonomy and as socially divisive. A survey conducted by the Hong Kong Subsidised School Council in 1999 shows that 66% of the principals disagreed with the policy. Many of the CMI schools are resentful that they have become second-class schools and their students, second-class students.... Parents who could not get their children into EMI schools see the policy as denying their children access to higher education and well-paid jobs. In addition the business sector has objected vehemently and warned that this would lead to a decline in English standards. Consequently Hong Kong's competitiveness and its status as an international city would be compromised. (p.196-197)

An understanding of Hong Kong's education system, students and teachers of the last half-century thus helps to make sense of the debates and revisions that have surrounded the various policies.

The following section will begin with a short history of Hong Kong's education system, based primarily on work from Kan and Adamson (2010), Dickson and Cuming (1996), and Choi (2003a). This will be followed by an

overview of the evolution of the language policies and revision since World War II.

5.3.2 Prelude to the colonial period

Historically, language policies for education have changed in Hong Kong as the political, social, economic and educational circumstances have changed. This study considered three main periods, namely colonial elitism (1860s – pre-World War II), tentative vernacularisation (1950s – 1990s) and post-handover experimentation (1997 – present).

5.3.3 Colonial elitism (1860s – pre-World War II)

As a British colony, education initially served the interests of the colonial rulers, creating a buffer class of educated élite from among the local population. This educated élite tended to be fluent in English and an increasing number studied at British universities. It should be noted, however, that in the 1860s, Frederick Stewart, the Inspector of Government Schools and first Headmaster of the Central School in Hong Kong, advocated that equal emphasis should be given to Chinese and English in the curriculum, and that students should not lose their sense of Chinese identity. English was the main language taught in government schools, while Cantonese and written Chinese (with a strong emphasis on classical literature) were learnt in the private schools and missionary schools (Adamson & Auyeung Lai, 1997) for those who were able to attend – recalling that most of the population had little or no schooling. English had a utilitarian function, being the key to finding a post in the civil service or in a trading company – the upwardly mobile employment prospects of the era.

It was clear by the 1930s that the government's provision of schooling was not keeping up with Hong Kong's development. Great changes took place after the Second World War, when the decline of the British Empire meant that Hong Kong had to strengthen its own economic base while, at the same time, cope with a huge number of Chinese speaking refugees fleeing the civil war and its aftermath in China.

5.3.4 Tentative vernacularisation (1950s – 1990s)

In the 1950s, the government permitted the establishment of primary and secondary schools using Chinese as the medium of instruction (CMI) to cater for the burgeoning population, while maintaining a large proportion of Englishmedium (EMI) schools. A report by the Education Commission (1963) recommended that more CMI schools should be set up to enhance the learning of Cantonese-speaking students. The government's response was that English was valuable as an international language and was prized by parents in terms of the career prospects that students would have. A decade later, a Green Paper (Board of Education, 1973) called for a strengthening and expansion of CMI in schools, stating that CMI should be the standard, with English taught as a second language.

As one study noted (Kan, Lai, Kirkpatrick & Law, 2011),

A long-standing controversy in education in Hong Kong concerns the languages to be taught in schools and the language to be used as the medium to teach subjects across the curriculum (SCOLAR, 2003). In terms of official recognition, Chinese and English enjoy equal status as co-official languages (although Chinese gained official status only in 1974). Despite several studies (1963 Report of Education Commission, 1973 Board of Education Green Paper, 1982 Llewellyn Panel Report)

highlighting the need to strengthen mother tongue education, before the 1997 handover the Government allowed the choice of medium of instruction (MOI) to be left to secondary schools (primary schools were and are predominantly Chinese medium) and by 1990, more than 90% of secondary schools used English as a medium of instruction (EMI). (p.1)

Yet it appears that the government was very reluctant to bear the risks of a whole-hearted commitment to CMI. Morris and Scott (2003) speculated that the government did not press for the policy to be implemented in case the policy (and therefore the government) was viewed as a failure. Thus, even by 1990, more than 90% of secondary schools had remained EMI. All government primary schools were CMI, but many parents favoured those that had a reputation for achieving good results in English (and therefore, potential access to the more prestigious secondary schools).

In the 1990s, with the handover in sight, a number of policies did address concerns arising in EMI schools, such as the many students struggling to learn through a foreign language and teachers struggling to teach, given their own limited competence in English. Bridge programmes were established to help students move from CMI to EMI education at appropriate points. However, despite the government's encouragement to adopt CMI by providing various incentives (such as extra native-speaking teachers of English), most secondary schools still chose to be EMI schools, responding to and reflecting market forces.

5.3.5 The post-handover experimentation (1997 – 2010)

After the handover, the government identified knowledge-intensive economic activities as a priority, as advocated in a policy speech by the new Chief

Executive Tung Chee Hwa (Tung, 1999). He stated that education reform to improve learning and language policies was the priority to help to achieve the government's objectives. The interplay between Cantonese, English and Putonghua was addressed in the government's goal of establishing a "biliterate and trilingual" (BT) society – biliteracy in English and Modern Standard Written Chinese; trilingualism in spoken Cantonese, Putonghua and English. Cantonese, despite being recommended since the 1982 Llewellyn Panel Report, was only then recognised for the first time in legislation as enhancing student learning.

In 1997, the Education Department issued the "Medium of Instruction Guidance for Secondary Schools" (the Guidance). Despite being drafted in the form of a guidance (a form of official communication usually reserved for everyday civil matters, such as public health), the policy was deemed compulsory and thus binding for all government and government funded secondary schools. The weight of enforcement of the policy was a major departure from the laissez-faire approach that had characterized language in education policies before the handover.

The intent of the Guidance issued in 1997 was detailed in the form of several Policy Objectives (Education Department, 1997):

- 1. To enable students to learn effectively, to be biliterate and trilingual.
- 2. To commit to promoting mother-tongue teaching.
- 3. To introduce measures under the Guidance, to enable schools and parents to see for themselves the benefits of mother-tongue teaching.
- 4. To strengthen the teaching and learning of English in schools using Chinese as the MOI.

5. To monitor progress to see how best to achieve the ultimate objective of the language policy.

The impact of the new policy was substantial. In 1997, prior to the Guidance, less than 80 of the 400+ schools were CMI; by 1998, some 300 schools had to be. Only 100 secondary schools were designated by the Education Department as EMI schools – those that could demonstrate that the teachers and students had the ability to cope with EMI. Upon parental outcry, this was subsequently revised to 114 (see Tsui's quote in Section 5.3.1).

The actual outcomes of this policy can be gauged through two later developments: the Education Commission Report reviewing the MOI for secondary schools and the Secondary School Places Allocation (2005); and the Fine-tuning the Medium of Instruction (Education Bureau, 2009a). In 2003, the Education Commission (the Hong Kong Government's highest advisory body on education) commissioned a workgroup to conduct public consultation to review the implementation of the Guidance and to make recommendations on changes to the policy on MOI. This Education Commission Report, because of the consultation exercise, was not released until December 2005. The substantive recommendations were (Education Commission, 2005):

- 1. Uphold the existing policy on CMI for S1 S3
- 2. Modify the criteria for schools wishing to adopt EMI
- 3. Enhance English proficiency in schools by
 - a. Extending learning activities
 - b. Increasing learning resources
 - c. Providing English enhancement schemes



- d. Enriching the language environment
- e. Increasing teachers' professional development.

While the entire report's major focus is on the Guidance's Objective 5, its recommendations were in fact a series of responses to the other Objectives. Recommendation 2 was presented as a moderately relaxed implementation for the Guidance's Objectives 1 and 2; Recommendation 3 sought to further enhance the Guidance's Objective 4. According to the report, the English enhancement recommendations were measures to reassure parents and students that their aspirations had been heard and responded to – while reinforcing the underlying premise of the Guidance that the mother tongue policy was in fact best for the students. Thus the government recognised that parents are indeed substantial stakeholders in language policy making and that their aspirations may well be in opposition to policy.

Two years after the report's publication, and nine years after the original Guidance, the government embarked on another round of consultations in an attempt to put forward a language policy that would gain wide acceptance. Termed Fine-tuning the Medium of Instruction for Secondary Schools (FT) (Education Bureau, 2009b), this was designed with a two-year consultation period before the announcement of the revisions to the policy in May 2009, and a further one year of planning before implementation in September 2010.

The FT reiterates the government's conviction of the virtues of the original intent of the Guidance. The pronounced objectives of the proposal do not deviate from those of the Guidance or the Education Commission Report. The substance of the FT was outlined in three sub-objectives (Education Bureau, 2009a):

- 1 To increase exposure to English for Secondary 1 to Secondary 3 students
- 2 To allow greater school-based autonomy on the choice of MOI
- 3 To remove the differentiation between CMI and EMI schools

Sub-objectives 2 and 3 can be seen as extensions of Recommendations 2 and 3 of the Education Commission Report. As school-based autonomy increases, a natural consequence is that the CMI / EMI bifurcation is removed.

Sub-objective 1, however, is far more significant – both in form and substance. Since the handover, the one bedrock conviction of the policy makers has been that mother-tongue education is best, especially for junior secondary school students – it was enforced by the Guidance and defended by the Education Commission Report. Every English-related initiative had been qualitative (e.g. enhanced proficiency, enriched environment and so on) in nature up to this point, but what FT terms greater exposure is defined as being an increased allocation of teaching time, and thus represented for the first time since 1997 an increase in the official curriculum.

5.4 Conclusion to context

Since the end of World War II, Hong Kong has been through three distinct phases vis-à-vis language policy and MOI policy. The first phase was when the city was recovering from the war and the system could do little more than build schools and train teachers, which at least in numerical terms was done successfully. The second phase was in the subsequent two decades (1970s, 1980s), when it was concerned with identifying and training the elite while providing an acceptable level of education for the masses – the nine-year

compulsory system and the existence of only two universities for the then 5+ million population are two cases in point. Hong Kong did not expand her base of higher education until the 1990s, when one additional university was established and another five tertiary institutes were upgraded to university status. The 2000s saw university status granted to a private liberal arts institute and self-accreditation status (usually a prelude to university status) to an education institute.

The last phase (1990s to now) saw Hong Kong flourishing as one of the world's most prosperous cities while managing a change of sovereignty. It was during this period that Hong Kong began to closely consider the implications of the previous 40 years of language policymaking. With hindsight, it can be seen that the colonial system built an accessible (for primary and secondary schools), efficient, and somewhat elitist (for tertiary) system with English strongly positioned as the core medium of instruction. As Choi (2003a) observed:

One of the longstanding educational problems in Hong Kong was (and still is) that of the medium of teaching. As I describe in my paper, the medium of education was enmeshed in an intricate web of overlapping issues which included the hegemony of English, parents' preference as shaped by this hegemony, and the pedagogical ineffectiveness and cultural alienation resulting from the use of a foreign medium of instruction in schools. With 1997 looming, foreign (particularly UKowned) corporations launched a high-profile 'Language Campaign', which further narrowed the educational agenda to a purely utilitarian one of training English skills in the most cost-effective way, i.e. by selecting

the best students to learn English by learning in English. The rest, i.e. the majority, would be relegated to a strictly enforced, second-class mother-tongue education, an ironic euphemism for this socially divisive and narrowly utilitarian language selection policy. (p.637)

Putting colonialism aside, however, one could nonetheless conclude that, on the strength of the economic growth, Hong Kong's people see English as the language of success. Chinese parents (i.e. over 90% of the population) in particular want their children to receive an EMI education.

In the following chapters, this context will be used to facilitate the analyses of the test-sample policy and the current policy, and to offer outcome predictions. CHAPTER SIX: ANALYSING THE GUIDANCE

6.1 Introduction

With the context of the language education policy of Hong Kong laid out

in Chapter 5, it is now possible to perform a stage 2 analysis of the test-sample

policy, the 1997 Medium of Instruction Guidance for Secondary Schools

(Guidance). Before undertaking the analysis, however, it is necessary to

highlight two important aspects of the approach.

First, it is necessary to reiterate that the primary purpose of the analysis is to

test the FTM's predictions, and the FTM's major concern is to examine the extent

to which the desired policy outcomes are likely, rather than to identify the

inherent virtues (or lack thereof) of the policy. This study adopted Koenig's

(2009) work on using case studies to perform evaluative analysis. In his own

words:

Evaluation work has to reconcile contradictory demands. On one

hand, it is important for it to provide practitioners with rapid responses to

their questions and on the other hand, it is essential that the procedures

employed guarantee, as far as possible, the validity of the knowledge

produced... To achieve this, the ideal solution consists of setting up

genuine experiments, but the situation rarely presents itself in such a

favourable manner. Among the alternative solutions, the theory-infirming

type of case study, despite long-standing recognition (Campbell, 1975),

remains consistently ignored... In this instance, the evaluation carried out

using case studies enabled us not only to refute the premise on which the

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institution had founded its policy, but also to generate the elements of a theory of operational flexibility allowing us to explain the amplitude..."
(p.28)

While this study did not seek to generate theories from the case studies per se, its intent to test the predictability of language policy outcomes is comparable to Koenig's evaluative approach.

The second important point to note is that this test-sample policy is being analysed for predictions after the fact, that is, outcomes of the Guidance are already known. This feature is inherent in the setup of the study and should not be considered a limitation; the study will also be analysing the current policy, testing predictions against a separate case study where outcomes are, as yet, unknown.

6.2 Stage two analysis of the Guidance

The stage one analysis of the Guidance was completed in Section 4.6; and in the context of the information presented in Chapter 5, it is now possible to perform the stage two analysis. A stage two analysis consists of three parts: the zoning analysis, the omission analysis and the predictions.

6.2.1 The Guidance's policy distribution

Recalling Section 4.6, the FTM produced the Guidance's policy distribution (Table 7) after plotting its policy statements into their respective cells, and the policy statements were grouped as:

- 1. Purely educational (the Green zone): 11.8
- 2. Purely political (the Yellow zone): 11.1
- 3. Mixed (the Red zone): 11.1, 11.4, 11.5, 11.6, 11.7



It will also be remembered that the following issues and questions were not considered by the Guidance (as reflected in the empty rows or empty columns in the FTM).

Ferguson's issues and questions not considered:

- F3. What second or foreign language(s) should be taught in the curriculum?
- F4. In the case of English and a few pluri-centric languages, what variety of the language will serve as a model (or norm) for teaching purposes?

Tollefson's questions not considered:

- T5 How are local policies and programmes in language education affected by global processes such as colonisation, decolonisation, the spread of English and the growth of the integrated capitalist economy?
- How can indigenous peoples and other language minorities develop educational policies and programmes that serve their social and linguistic needs, in the face of significant pressures exerted by more powerful social and ethno-linguistic groups?

6.2.2 The zoning analysis of the Guidance

The first step of the analysis is to look at how the policy statements are grouped. As Table 7 shows, all except two of the Guidance's statements were classified under the FTM's methodology as mixed issues, that is, these policy statements are addressing both educational and political issues (see Section 4.5)

for how these classifications were derived). The policy statements classified as addressing mixed issues are:

- 11.1. All local public sector secondary schools should, on the basis of the principles in the MOI guidance, examine their own conditions to determine the MOI appropriate for the needs and ability of their students.
- 11.4. Mixed-code teaching should not be used in schools.
- 11.5. At junior secondary school level, individual schools should not operate both Chinese-medium and English-medium classes at the same level.
- 11.6. At senior secondary school level, the MOI policy may be applied with more flexibility. Exceptionally, schools meeting the requirements may, with the ED's agreement, use English as the MOI for some subjects.
- 11.7. At sixth form level, schools may choose the MOI which best meets the needs of their students.

These are the technical aspects of the policy: statement 11.1 sets a standard for EMI thus essentially reclassifying 75% of local secondary schools as having CMI status; statements 11.4 and 11.5 prohibit the use of mixed-code in the classrooms and disallow schools from conducting separate EMI and CMI classes at the same level; statements 11.6 and 11.7 grant MOI flexibility to classes of senior secondary school and matriculation levels.

Recalling Section 3.8, the FTM considers policy statements classified as addressing mixed issues to be potentially ineffective, meaning that, upon

implementation, they might achieve neither the political nor the educational objective of the policy statement.

In the case of the Guidance, an ineffective outcome would be something opposite to the intent of policy statements 11.1, 11.4, 11.5, 11.6, 11.7. For example, it could mean that rather than accepting their CMI practice (the intent of statement 11.1), schools would continue to explore ways to teach through English – which indeed turned out to be the case. As Tsui et al. (1999) noted:

All schools, especially CMI schools, are putting a great deal of resources into English language teaching. According to our survey of CMI schools, 86.5% of the schools have made use of extra-curricular activities to provide more opportunities to learn English. In addition, 78.2% are strengthening their English curriculum by measures such as reducing the student-teacher ratio particularly for English classes, and 78.9% are enriching their library resources for English learning. (p.211)

This study showed that, less than 2 years into the Guidance, the majority of schools were actually devoting the larger part of their attention to strengthening their English programme. This type of response suggests that contrary to the Guidance's intent, schools were acting to enhance EMI rather than to embrace CMI – the complete opposite of the policy's intent.

This finding enables the study to make its first prediction (acknowledging that this, and others to follow, is an after the fact prediction).

Prediction 1 on Guidance: the roll out of the Guidance will be found ineffective, possibly impairing implementation.

Next, the zoning analysis evaluates statement 11.2 in the Political (Red) zone.

11.2. Starting with the Secondary 1 intake of the 1998/99 school year, Chinese should be the basic MOI for all local public sector secondary schools. If a school should, after careful deliberation, intend to adopt English as MOI, the school must provide sufficient information and justification to the ED to support such choice.

This is the pivotal statement of the Guidance on which all other statements rest. It sets the basic rule (Chinese, in effect Cantonese, shall be the default MOI), says when the policy will start, defines those affected (Secondary 1 intake) and outlines the process for making exceptions (schools pursuing EMI).

Recalling Section 3.8, the FTM considers policy statements classified as addressing political issues to be potentially controversial, meaning that, upon implementation, they could produce unwanted public (parents, schools, etc.) reactions.

Prediction 2 on Guidance: enforcing Cantonese as the default MOI could generate a lot of attention, possibly controversy.

The final step of the zoning analysis evaluates statement 11.8 in the Educational (Green) zone.

11.8. For the subjects of religious studies, and cultural, commercial and technical subjects, individual schools may choose the MOI which best fits their circumstances.

This is an exceptional aspect of the policy, granting MOI latitude (see Section 4.5.7) to NGO operated schools that might have special language needs.

Recalling Section 3.8, the FTM considers policy statements classified as addressing educational issues to be potentially impactful, meaning that, upon implementation, they could produce meaningful teaching and/or learning effects.

It is thus unfortunate that the one policy statement that is positioned to generate some meaningful impact is itself merely a supplementary statement to the overall policy. For however much the statement itself could do for technical and/or religious subjects, the overall effect on schools and students will nonetheless be limited given the small scope of these subjects. It is therefore unrealistic to expect from policy statement 11.8 alone any significant contribution to the overall educational impact of the Guidance.

Prediction 3 on Guidance: By having only one policy statement in the Education (Green) zone and that being one which only applies to minority subjects, the Guidance might not create any sizable educational impact.

6.2.3 Omission analysis

As Table 7 shows, the Guidance has not directly considered any of the following conceptual questions and issues,

- F3 What second or foreign language(s) should be taught in the curriculum?
- F4 In the case of English and a few pluri-centric languages, what variety of the language will serve as a model (or norm) for teaching purposes?

T5 How are local policies and programmes in language education affected by global processes such as colonisation, decolonisation, the spread of English and the growth of the integrated capitalist economy?

T6 How can indigenous peoples and other language minorities develop educational policies and programmes that serve their social and linguistic needs, in the face of significant pressures exerted by more powerful social and ethno-linguistic groups?

However, as identified in Chapter 5, although Hong Kong never confronted these issues (F3, F4, T5 and T6) as a whole, many of her policies or practices, especially from the colonial (early post-war) era, in fact used the English programme in the education system as the answer to issues such as language needs for international commerce. Simply put, colonial practices made English the second language of choice (F3), and similarly the native-speaker model became the teaching model (F4). As Kirkpatrick (2007) observed:

While there has been an earlier attempt in Hong Kong to introduce linguistic benchmarks based on an 'educated Hong Kong speaker' of English (Coniam & Falvey 2002), in effect, however, these benchmarks remain measured against idealised native-speaker norms (Bunton & Tsui 2002). (p.380)

As for T5, which essentially asks what LP changes were made in the face of globalisation – Hong Kong has again used the English programme of the education system as the answer – as both the Guidance and the FT contain

statements highlighting themselves as the policy makers' rightful responses to globalisation.

An inevitable consequence of this approach towards F3, F4 and T5 is that English will continue to gain prominence. Had this been in line with the overall policy position, the outcome would have been one of reinforcement. For the Guidance, however, it became an opposing force. Crudely speaking, as the Guidance sought to promote mother tongue (Cantonese) as the main MOI for junior secondary school level, the overall policy was in fact promoting the L2 (English) – a potentially detrimental contradiction. With this observation, the FTM is able to make its final prediction.

Prediction 4 on Guidance: the Guidance might struggle to establish its intended role for Cantonese given that it has not considered issues pertaining to the privileged status of English.

6.3 Summarising the predictions

Based on the zoning analysis, the FTM predicts that the roll out of the Guidance will be ineffective. The FTM also predicts that enforcing Cantonese as the default MOI could generate controversy, be lacking in educational impact and would fail to establish its intended role for Cantonese versus English.

The logic behind predictions three and four enables the study to have confidence in their reliability. It is almost self-evident that granting MOI flexibility to minority subjects alone is unlikely to create any substantial educational impact. Similarly, in identifying the underlying contradiction between promoting Cantonese at junior secondary school level but English

overall, the prediction that the Guidance might struggle to promote the intended roles of each language should prove to be reasonably accurate.

6.4 Validating the FTM's predictions on the Guidance

6.4.1 Methodology

As mentioned in Section 4.4, the 1997 Guidance generated considerable public response since its introduction and many studies have since been conducted to evaluate its outcome, performance and impact. Some of the research reviewed by this study included Tsui et al. (1999), the Chinese University (2002) and Poon (2004). The Education Commission of Hong Kong (EC), the highest advisory body on education policies, also conducted a review (Education Commission, 2005) which presented its own findings and included the results from nine other independent studies. In terms of scale, the EC Report is more significant than the other studies cited. From consultation to publication, it took more than two years; its working group included senior officials, prominent academics, community leaders and school administrators. The report is 158 pages long and made 20 major recommendations.

Given its substantial scope and scale, this study used the EC Report as the primary source for evaluating the four Predictions made on the Guidance.

The following sections will examine the EC Report from both a macro (its structure) and micro (specific recommendations) view to identify the Education Commission's own evaluation of the Guidance. As a matter of information, it should be noted that the EC Report sees itself as part of a long-term development exercise for the overall education policy of Hong Kong. The language of the report made little reference to its de facto role as a 5-year

evaluation exercise (the period between the Guidance's implementation and the commencement of the EC Report's consultation) even though that was its function.

The findings of the macro and micro examinations will be compared against the FTM's prediction for an evaluation of reliability.

6.4.2 The structure of the EC Report

The Foreword of the EC Report has arguably all the information required to determine the substantial direction of its many findings and recommendations – and therefore the Education Commission's evaluation of the Guidance's effectiveness and consequences. An excerpt (Education Commission, 2005) shows that:

The recommendations made in this Report may not be "ideal" to some people. However, we have tried our best to strike a balance between educational considerations and practical realities, while ensuring the feasibility of implementation in arriving at our proposals. The overall direction for the MOI policy for secondary schools is "to uphold mother-tongue teaching and enhance English proficiency concurrently". (p.6)

The EC Report has seven chapters. Chapters 1 and 2 are essentially informative, reviewing events leading up to the implementation of the Guidance, as well as citing findings from its own review of other studies that confirmed the pedagogical merits of mother-tongue education. The only hesitation was shown in point 2.14, when the reported noted that:

Some parents have the perception that good English proficiency would guarantee better career prospect. While this view of the parents is understandable, we wish to point out that employers in Hong Kong tend to attach greater importance to work attitude and interpersonal skills though English proficiency is also considered an important attribute. (p.13)

From Chapter 3 onwards, the EC Report put forward proposals. It first identified some 50+ ideas as The Way Forward in Chapters 3 to 6 before consolidating them into the aforementioned 20 recommendations – from classroom practice and teachers support to school classification and review mechanism. The following is an overview of the major recommendations (p.106-117).

- The MOI Policy for Secondary Schools Upholding Mother-tongue
 Teaching and Enhancing English Proficiency Concurrently one recommendation
- 2. Prescribed Criteria for EMI Teaching one recommendation
- MOI Arrangements at School Level three recommendations for Junior Secondary School Level; two recommendations for Senior Secondary School Level
- 4. MOI Arrangements for DSS Schools one recommendation
- 5. Enhancing Students' English Proficiency eight recommendations
- 6. The SSPA Mechanism two recommendations
- 7. Implementation Timetable two recommendations

In the 20 recommendations, each that pertained to language teaching or MOI was made with a view to accommodating more English in the teaching without affecting the fundamentally mother tongue-based policy. Not one review

item or recommendation was related to improving the teaching of Chinese (be it written Chinese or spoken Cantonese / Putonghua) or enhancing the process of mother-tongue teaching itself.

The one-sidedness of this report is a confirmation that Prediction 4 has eventuated: the Guidance did in fact struggle to establish its intended role for Cantonese versus English. While it purportedly strove to promote mother-tongue education, it all but re-promoted English.

Prediction 4: confirmed.

6.4.3 The content of the EC Report

Befitting its role as a consultation report, the EC Report examined each issue by revisiting the Guidance (termed "Original Proposal" in the report), followed by reviewing public responses (termed "Public Concerns" in the report) before putting forward its suggestions (termed "The Way Forward" in the report). As mentioned earlier, "The Way Forward" is not the report's final recommendations but represents the broad ideas behind them.

The "Public Concerns" reported by the EC Report is a really useful section for this evaluation, as it represents what has been officially acknowledged by the Education Commission as to what schools and parents were concerned with, an equivalent of the government's assessment of the Guidance's implementation and outcomes.

When the FTM first identified the Guidance as ineffective, to the point of possibly impairing implementation (Prediction 1), the study was concerned that this somewhat arbitrary observation might be difficult to prove (or disprove).

Therefore, it was a surprise to find that the very first public concern identified (point 3.4) in the EC Report was:

Some respondents consider that since the Government has affirmed the benefits of mother-tongue teaching, it should require all secondary schools to adopt mother-tongue teaching at junior secondary levels... we note the criticisms but would like to point out that in designing any new policy, we must not ignore the present circumstances and historical development at the risk of triggering off adverse ramifications across the society. (p.14)

This succinctly highlights the troublesome nature of having a policy statement in the Mixed (Yellow) zone – on the one hand the government wished to promote what is pedagogically sound, and on the other it has to restrain its own promotion for fear of "triggering off adverse ramifications". It would be akin to setting a standard based on good theoretical grounds only to then deliberately lower it because it is unpopular.

A further example of this kind of ineffectiveness is found when the EC Report evaluated the goal of "Enhancing English Proficiency while Capitalizing on Mother-tongue Teaching" (p.63).

The direction proposed by the Working Group has received general support from the community and the education sector. There is also a strong consensus in the community that more resources should be made available for schools adopting mother-tongue teaching to strengthen their efforts in "upholding mother-tongue teaching and enhancing English proficiency concurrently". Furthermore, the school sector and many of

the students we have met during consultation wish that the time allocated for English-medium extended learning should increase incrementally as students progress to a higher grade level so as to increase students' exposure to English and to better prepare for possible transition to EMI learning at senior secondary or tertiary levels. (p.67)

This essentially argued that the community supports the objective of mother-tongue education (i.e. the enforcement of CMI in the majority of schools) – therefore more resources should be given to these CMI schools to improve the English standard of their students so that they would be better prepared for their eventual promotion to senior secondary school or tertiary level, where they would be taught in English.

This seems illogical. If the goal is pedagogical soundness, mother-tongue education should be the focus – and it is not. If the goal is transition from Chinese to English education through the upper levels of secondary schools, then an appropriate theory and approach (see the many examples in Section 2.5) should be applied – and none have been. In short, the policy lacks coherence.

Based on the observation that the public supported CMI but would prefer a greater proportion of EMI, the EC Report recommended the following (point 4.9):

- a. Facilitate schools to conduct EMI extended learning activities;
- Encourage schools to maximise the use of Chinese and English teaching resources;
- c. Provide additional resources;
- d. Encourage the creation of an English-rich environment; and



e. Help schools enhance the teaching effectiveness of English Language.

(p.68)

Points a., d. and e. are overtly about promoting English, and the details of

the EC Report also show that point b. (encourages the use of English material to

teach other non-language subjects) and point c. (additional resources means

additional English teachers) are again about English.

In essence, schools were being told that as the policy obliged them

(recalling from Section 5.3.5 that the Guidance was strictly enforced) to teach in

Chinese, it also encouraged and supported them to teach more English. The

report's wording, to create "an English-rich environment" where that same

environment (the school) is being strictly required to teach all non-language

subjects in Chinese epitomises the fundamentally ineffective nature of the policy.

Prediction 1: confirmed

6.4.4 Other predictions

This study deliberately limited its scope to evaluating the Guidance using

the EC Report as the key document for methodological concerns. As the FTM is

making predictions on a policy that was introduced more than ten years ago, it

can be argued that the FTM could make any number of predictions and as long as

it goes on searching, there is bound to be a study that would confirm it. Using

just one official report should reduce this concern.

With this limited scope, it can neither confirm Prediction 2 (the Guidance

would create controversy) nor Prediction 4 (allowing MOI flexibility for minority

subjects will have little educational impact).

Prediction 2: cannot be confirmed

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Prediction 4: cannot be confirmed

6.5 Conclusion to analysing the Guidance

This chapter has shown that the FTM has the ability to reveal many underlying features of the Guidance by means of its zoning and omission analysis. This is encouraging.

As a prediction tool, it generated four mutually exclusive (i.e. one could not have been derived from another) predictions. Although methodological concerns limited the scope of validation available for confirming the predictions, two out of the four predictions were nonetheless confirmed. This thesis makes no assertive claim based on the two (out of four) confirmed predictions; it does, however, treat them as encouraging signs for the FTM and thus ground to proceed with further tests.

This study then moved on to test if the FTM can make accurate predictions on a genuinely new policy, the Fine-tuning the Medium of Instruction for Secondary Schools (FT or Fine-tuning) (Education Bureau, 2009a). It was a policy conceived around the same time as this study, but was not implemented until September 2010, thus presenting the study with a rare opportunity to test the FTM's predictive power in a real-time environment. The next chapter will review the FT, plot it onto the FTM to produce a policy distribution and then make predictions. The process of testing the predictions will be quite different to the process followed for the Guidance, as the newness of the FT means that few studies have been done to evaluate it. This study thus conducted its own survey (see Chapter 8 for details) to survey and elicit possible outcomes. The survey results will be used as a proxy outcome with which to test the FTM's predictions.

CHAPTER SEVEN: ANALYSING THE FINE-TUNING

7.1 Introduction

Having established the predictive validity of the FTM in the previous chapter,

via plotting a ten-year old policy and putting it through the FTM's two-stage

analysis, the study will now test the predictive validity of the FTM on a current

policy.

The current policy is the revision of the previous policy. The 1997 Medium of

Instruction Guidance for Secondary Schools (Guidance) (Education Department,

1997) is still the basic policy. What has been implemented since September 2010,

the 2009 Fine-tuning the Medium of Instruction for Secondary Schools (FT or

Fine-tuning) (Education Bureau, 2009a), is in both form and function a series of

amendments to the Guidance rather than a new policy.

For contextual clarity, it is useful to review the circumstances that led to the

FT. A more detailed description is found in Chapter 5.

Hong Kong's geographical location and political history have endowed

the territory with a rich linguistic culture, which has led the government to

promote a linguistic vision known as the biliterate-trilingual policy (BTP) (兩文

三語). This is the de facto language policy for schools and the Civil Service

(Education Department, 1997; Tung, 1999).

A long-standing controversy in education in Hong Kong concerns the

languages to be taught in schools and the languages to be used as the media to

teach subjects across the curriculum (SCOLAR, 2003). Before the 1997

handover the government allowed the choice of medium of instruction (MOI) to

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be left to secondary schools but in 1997, the then Education Department issued the Guidance (Education Department, 1997) requiring all local public sector secondary schools, starting with the Secondary 1 intake of the 1998/99 school year, to use Chinese as the basic MOI. Predictably (e.g. see Section 5.3.1), this was unpopular with many schools and parents. The government relented to a certain extent and finally allowed 114 secondary schools to remain EMI schools (Tsui et al., 1999). Nevertheless, about 75% of secondary schools were subsequently classified as CMI.

The actual outcomes of this policy can be gauged through two later developments: the Education Commission (2005) Report on the Review of Medium of Instruction for Secondary Schools and Secondary School Places Allocation (the EC Report); and the FT – the subject of this study. The EC Report was an official review by the highest advisory body on education in Hong Kong and was meant to be a recommendation for a long-term final policy. The government accepted the recommendations of the EC Report at that time and agreed that the revised MOI arrangements for secondary schools should be implemented with effect from September 2010. The subsequent FT represented a decision to fine-tune the EC recommendations on MOI arrangements in response to public demands.

The substantive recommendations of the 2005 EC Report were:

- 1. Uphold the existing policy on CMI for S1–S3, i.e. mother tongue is the most effective MOI for all students;
- 2. Modify the prescribed criteria for schools wishing to adopt EMI;
- 3. Enhance English proficiency in schools by:

- a. Extending learning activities,
- b. Increasing learning resources,
- c. Providing English enhancement schemes,
- d. Enriching the language environment,
- e. Increasing teachers' professional development.

As noted in Section 6.4.3, the EC Report's recommendations prioritised the enhancement of students' English while the overall objective was supposed to foster bi-literacy and trilingualism with an emphasis on mother-tongue education. The Report also recognised the underlying tension created by the Guidance and accepted that English proficiency is often perceived by parents as being crucial for their children's tertiary education and career prospects.

In 2007, the government embarked on a second round of consultation, resulting in the language policy revision termed Fine-tuning the Medium of Instruction for Secondary Schools (Education Bureau, 2009a) and announced the details in May 2009 for implementation in September 2010 at Secondary 1 (S1) level, and progressing each year to Secondary 2 and Secondary 3. As a result of the FT, the Guidance's division of schools into CMI and EMI will cease to exist (Education Bureau, 2009b).

This very short review also paints the backdrop against which this study was undertaken.

7.2 The Fine-tuning

The FT was promulgated by the government as a circular (Education Bureau, 2009d). Of its 22 statements, only statement 4 pertained to the actual fine-tuning, the rest being summary and background (statements 1 - 3), elaborations

(statements 5 - 16) and supplementary information (statements 17 - 22). Statement 4 of the core of the fine-turning, says:

- 4.a. Schools may choose to adopt CMI for teaching non-language subjects. To enhance the English learning environment of students, we will increase the percentage of the total lesson time (excluding the lesson time for the English Language) allowed for extended learning activities (ELA) in English from the original 15%, 20% and 25% for S1, S2 and S3 respectively as recommended in the Report to a uniform proportion of 25% for each of these levels. With this increase in ELA time, schools should give due regard to teachers' capability and readiness to teach through English in devising the teaching modes of ELA.
- 4.b. To enhance students' motivation to learn English and to facilitate their transition to senior secondary levels at which EMI may be adopted in subject teaching, schools may choose to transform the ELA time into the adoption of EMI in individual non-language subjects up to a maximum of two subjects. However, schools should take into consideration the guiding principles set out in paragraph 9 below so as not to compromise students' learning effectiveness.
- 4.c.1 For schools fulfilling the "student ability" criterion, i.e. the average proportion of S1 intake of a school admitted to a class belonging to the "top 40%" group in the previous two years under a six-year review cycle reaches 85% of the size of a class (with

regard to the allocation class size in 2010, 85% means 29 students), they will be given professional discretion to determine the MOI arrangements in the classes/groups concerned, with regard to other prescribed criteria (including teachers' capability and readiness in EMI teaching and school support measures).

4.c.2 We will adhere to the six-year review cycle as set out in the Report to facilitate schools to develop teaching and learning under a more stable environment. Based on the S1 allocation results of 2008 and 2009, we will provide schools in early July this year with information of the average proportion of their S1 intake belonging to the "top 40%" group in the 2008 and 2009 years for devising school-based MOI arrangements for the first six-year cycle starting from September 2010 (i.e. 2010/11 to 2015/16 school years). In the sixth year of the first review cycle (i.e. 2015/16 school year), we will provide schools with relevant information of their S1 student profile, based on the S1 allocation results of 2014 and 2015, for devising school-based MOI arrangements for the second six-year cycle, starting from 2016/17 school year, as part of the S1 school places application process. Should schools wish to make any changes to their MOI arrangements, they have to announce the changes one year prior to implementation, starting from S1 and progressing each year to a higher level, to safeguard students' learning effectiveness. (p.2-4)

As mentioned in the previous section, the FT is an amendment to the Guidance; thus all its statements have the context of the Guidance embedded therein. To facilitate analysis, it is necessary to rephrase them so that they are context independent. This study rephrased statements 4.a to 4.c.2 as:

- 4.a' All current CMI schools may deploy up to 25% of total teaching time (excluding lesson time for the English Language) for Secondary 1 3 (S1 to S3) to teach in English in the form of extended learning activities (ELA);
- 4.b' The deployment of 4.a' may be wholly dedicated to the teaching in English of two non-language subjects;
- 4.c.1' All current EMI schools may continue to exercise school-based autonomy with regard to the choice of MOI for non-language subjects;
- 4.c.2' Current CMI schools will not be further reviewed for MOI status until 2015/16 while changes, if any, will be made in 2016/17.

7.2.1 Comments on the FT's drafting

The first observation of the FT drafting is that it went to great lengths to avoid references to the CMI/EMI schools bifurcation (the most controversial statement of the Guidance), preferring to distinguish them via "students' ability" (statement 4.c.1). While this could just be a bureaucratic euphemism, using wordiness to avoid controversial references is futile given the long history of the Guidance. Similarly, the division of statements 4.a and 4.b into separate clauses adds unnecessary complications. A simple statement such as "For non-language subjects, current CMI schools may teach in English for up to two subjects, or up

to 25% of total teaching time via extended learning activities (ELA)" would be much clearer.

7.3 Stage one analysis of the FT

Like the Guidance, the FT has to go through the FTM's two-stage analysis. Stage one plots the FT into the FTM, which produces a policy distribution similar to the Guidance's distribution in Section 4.6. Stage two performs the zoning analysis, the omission analysis before making outcome predictions. The predictions will use the FTM as its primary source, to be supplemented by subject knowledge or policy context where necessary.

7.3.1 The retained policy statements from the Guidance

Unlike the Guidance, the FT is not a standalone policy; thus it has to be understood alongside the retained policy statements of the Guidance. Retained statements refer to statements of the Guidance that were not replaced by the FT. Specifically, the FT's four statements changed the Guidance in the following way.

- a. The Guidance's original policy statements 11.1 and 11.2
 - 11.1. All local public sector secondary schools should, on the basis of the principles in the MOI guidance, examine their own conditions to determine the MOI appropriate for the needs and ability of their students.
 - 11.2. Starting with the Secondary 1 intake of the 1998/99 school year, Chinese should be the basic MOI for all local public sector secondary schools. If a school should, after careful deliberation, intend to adopt English as MOI, the school must provide sufficient information and justification to the ED to support such choice.

Changes: a greater degree of MOI autonomy is allowed as stated in the FT's 4.a' and 4.c.1'.

- 4.a' All current CMI schools may deploy up to 25% of total teaching time (excluding lesson time for the English Language) for Secondary 1 3 (S1 to S3) to teaching in English in the form of extended learning activities (ELA).
- 4.c.1' All current EMI schools may continue to exercise school-based autonomy in the choice of MOI for non-language subjects.
- b. The Guidance's original policy statement 11.4
 - 11.4. Mixed-code teaching should not be used in schools.

Changes: none

- c. The Guidance's original policy statement 11.5
 - 11.5. At junior secondary school level, individual schools should not operate both Chinese-medium and English-medium classes at the same level.

Changes: schools are allowed to offer up to two non-language subjects in both CMI and EMI as stated in the FT's 4.b'.

- 4.b' The deployment of 4.1 may be wholly dedicated to the teaching in English of two non-language subjects
- d. The Guidance's original policy statements 11.6, 11.7 and 11.8
 - 11.6. At senior secondary school level, the MOI policy may be applied with more flexibility. Exceptionally, schools meeting the requirements may, with the ED's agreement, use English as the MOI for some subjects.

11.7. At sixth form level, schools may choose the MOI which best meets the needs of their students.

11.8. For the subjects of religious studies, and cultural, commercial and technical subjects, individual schools may choose the MOI which best fits their circumstances.

Changes: none

nanges, none

e. The statements of the Guidance that are retained post-FT

11.4. Mixed-code teaching should not be used in schools.

11.6. At senior secondary levels, the MOI policy may be applied with more flexibility. Exceptionally, schools meeting the requirements may, with the ED's agreement, use English as the MOI for some subjects.

11.7. At sixth form level, schools may choose the MOI which best meets the needs of their students.

11.8. For the subjects of religious studies, and cultural, commercial and technical subjects, individual schools may choose the MOI which best fits their circumstances.

Recalling Table 7, retained statements 11.4, 11.6, 11.7 and 11.8 are plotted in the FTM as Table 9.

7.3.2 The FT's policy distribution

This section will plot each of the four FT statements (4.a', 4.b', 4.c.1', 4.c.2') using the simplified versions of the statements prepared for this study. As illustrated in Section 4.6, the plotting exercise puts each policy statement against the FTM's 11 questions, and the point where they intersect identifies the

appropriate cell for each statement. Just to recapitulate, the series of conceptual questions and issues from Ferguson and Tollefson are:

For Ferguson's,

- F1 The choice of medium of instruction for various levels of the education system
- F2 The role of the home language (or mother tongue) in the educational process
- F3 What second or foreign language(s) should be taught in the curriculum?
- F4 In the case of English and a few pluri-centric languages, what variety of the language will serve as a model (or norm) for teaching purposes?
- F5 When should L2 be introduced into the curriculum and how? And for Tollefson's,
- T1 What are the major forces affecting language policies in education and how do these forces constrain policies and the public discussion of policy alternatives?
- T2 How do state authorities use educational language policies to manage access to language rights and language education?
- T3 How do state authorities use language policy for the purposes of political and cultural governance?
- T4 How do language policies in education help to create, sustain or reduce political conflict among different ethno-linguistic groups?

T5 How are local policies and programmes in language education affected by global processes such as colonisation, decolonisation, the spread of English, and the growth of the integrated capitalist economy?

T6 How can indigenous peoples and other language minorities develop educational policies and programmes that serve their social and linguistic needs, in the face of significant pressures exerted by more powerful social and ethno-linguistic groups?

7.3.3 The FT's statement 4.a'

All current CMI schools may deploy up to 25% of total teaching time (excluding lesson time for the English Language) to teach in English in the form of extended learning activities (ELA).

The issue from Ferguson that is relevant is:

F5 The choice of medium of instruction for various levels of the education system

The correlation is direct and intuitive.

The questions from Tollefson that are relevant are:

- T1 What are the major forces affecting language policies in education and how do these forces constrain policies and the public discussion of policy alternatives?
- T2 How do state authorities use educational language policies to manage access to language rights and language education?

For T1, the primary force behind statement 4.a' seems to be parental demands. Similarly for T2, the government seems to favour those who already

have good access to English (students in the former EMI schools) to continue to have greater access, while those who do not (students in the former CMI schools) will continue to have less access even though the FT is meant to increase it.

Through the viewpoints of T1 and T2, this study noted that although the FT's overall policy objective is still based on the superior pedagogical soundness of mother-tongue education, upon implementation it will in fact extend an already uneven language access arrangement, that is, those who already have greater access to English are likely to continue to have greater access, which is an inequitable arrangement.

The matrix position for 4.a' is F5T1 + F5T2.

7.3.4 The FT's statement 4.b'

The deployment of 4.1 may be wholly dedicated to the teaching in English of two non-language subjects.

As alluded to in Section 7.2.1, statement 4.b' provides administrative detail.

On the FTM, it would be plotted alongside statement 4.a'

The matrix position for 4.b' is F5T1 + F5T2.

7.3.5 The FT's statement 4.c.1'

All current EMI schools may continue to exercise school-based autonomy in the choice of MOI for non-language subjects.

The issue from Ferguson that is relevant is:

F2 The role of the home language (or mother tongue) in the educational process

Although this statement is largely similar to 4.a', being its counterpart for EMI schools, the fact that it grants autonomy to use English for all non-language

subjects gives it a fundamentally different orientation. Like the laissez-faire policy of the pre-handover era (see for example Section 5.3.4), school-based autonomy is likely to result in unrestricted EMI; pedagogical effectiveness aside, this runs contrary to the overall objective of promoting mother-tongue education – again relegating the home language to a taken-for-granted status, as opposed to the main role as defined by the policy.

The questions from Tollefson that are relevant are:

T1 What are the major forces affecting language policies in education and how do these forces constrain policies and the public discussion of policy alternatives?

T2 How do state authorities use educational language policies to manage access to language rights and language education?

These are the same questions that targeted 4.a', which is to be expected given their similar nature; likewise, comments already stated in section 7.3.3 also apply here.

The matrix position for 4.c.1' is F2T1 + F2T2.

7.3.6 The FT's statement 4.c.2'

Current CMI schools will not be further reviewed for MOI status until 2015/16 while changes, if any, will be made in 2016/17.

The question and issues from Ferguson that are relevant are:

F1 The choice of medium of instruction for various levels of the education system

F2 The role of the home language (or mother tongue) in the educational process

Although this statement appears to be largely administrative, that it effectively limits schools from changing their MOI arrangement for another six years implies one of two possible scenarios. One is that mother-tongue education will enjoy a period of stability to demonstrate its pedagogical soundness; the other is that 2015 could become the next target for appeal, and schools and parents will dedicate all their efforts to pushing for changes (i.e. for more EMI) then.

The question from Tollefson that is relevant is:

T2 How do state authorities use educational language policies to manage access to language rights and language education?

T2 shows that schools will continue to face restrictions in their choice of MOI, and that under this restriction, different schools (and their students) will enjoy different degrees of MOI autonomy. This is part of that inequity alluded to in Section 7.3.3.

The matrix position of statement 4.c.2' is F1T2 and F2T2.

7.3.7 The FT's policy distribution

Table 10 shows the pertinent statements of the combined Guidance and FT, and like Section 6.2.1, this study will first note the zoning of the policy statements:

- 1. Purely educational (the Green zone): 11.8
- 2. Purely political (the Red zone): 4.c.1', 4.c.2'
- 3. Mixed (the Yellow zone): 11.6, 11.7, 4.a'

It is also noted that row F3, F4 and columns T5 and T6 are empty, indicating that the following conceptual questions have not been considered.

Ferguson's questions not considered:

- F3. What second or foreign language(s) should be taught in the curriculum?
- F4. In the case of English and a few pluri-centric languages, what variety of the language will serve as a model (or norm) for teaching purposes?

Tollefson's questions not considered:

- T5 How are local policies and programmes in language education affected by global processes such as colonisation, decolonisation, the spread of English and the growth of the integrated capitalist economy?
- T6 How can indigenous peoples and other language minorities develop educational policies and programmes that serve their social and linguistic needs, in the face of significant pressures exerted by more powerful social and ethno-linguistic groups?

7.4 Stage two analysis of the Fine-tuning

As Tables 10 demonstrates, the FT alone is not a complete policy per se, but is an amendment to the Guidance with a proportion of its statements still pertinent. As such, a complete analysis and predictions would largely be a repeat of the exercise of Chapter 6 – and the already highlighted characteristics of the Guidance could mask the new ones of the FT. A different approach is required to make the FT the sole focus.

To highlight the differences between the Guidance and the FT, this study first compared the distribution (both the zoning and the omission) of the two policies, noting their differences. The subsequent analysis then focused solely on the FT's remaining characteristics.

7.4.1 Comparing the omissions of the Guidance and the FT

The omission is easy to compare, as the FT does not differ from the Guidance in any area. The original Guidance had omitted to consider issues or questions raised by F3, F4, T5 and T6, and the FT does not consider any of them either. In Section 6.2.3, it was predicted that such an omission would hamper the development of Cantonese as the main language for education because any failure to target the four issues and questions would in essence continue the privileged status of English, and Section 6.4.2 has shown this to be confirmed. Given that no changes have been made since the Guidance, it can also be extrapolated that the relative status between Cantonese and English has not changed. Moreover, it now seems that this relative status (or status quo) will continue at least until the next review, suggested to be 2015/16 by the FT's statement 4.c.2'.

From observing no changes in the omission analysis, the study was able to make a straightforward first prediction on the FT that it will not lead to any status change between Cantonese and English.

Prediction 1 on FT: The FT will continue to struggle to establish

Cantonese (the mother tongue) as the main education language in secondary schools.

7.4.2 Comparing the zoning of the Guidance and the FT

In terms of zoning, there is no difference between the Guidance and FT; each has one statement in the Political (Red) zone, one statement in the Educational (Green) and multiple statements in the Mixed (Yellow) zone.

As noted in Section 7.3.1, the FT has replaced the Guidance's statements 11.1 and 11.2 with its 4.a' and 4.c.1' and the Guidance's 11.5 with its 4.b'. It has also added 4.c.2', setting the time for the next review of MOI arrangements. As such, the true changes brought about by the FT are contained in statements 4.a' and 4.b', or as summarised in Section 7.2.1: for non-language subjects, current CMI schools may teach in English for up to two subjects, or up to 25% of total teaching time via extended learning activities (ELA).

The simplicity of this statement should make for straightforward analysis and prediction – a policy that allows more EMI in an environment that consistently believes that more English will lead to more EMI subjects in schools, at whatever pedagogical consequences to mother-tongue education. The next section will consider whether this can be confirmed.

7.5 Analysing the policy statements of the FT

Table 11 shows a FTM with only the FT's statements.

Recalling Section 3.8, each zone has its corresponding outcome: the Mixed (Yellow) zone is likely to produce potentially ineffective outcomes, the Political (Red) is likely to produce potentially controversial outcomes and the Educational (Green) zone is likely to produce outcomes with potential impact.

Looking at the Political (Red) zone, the most noticeable feature is that the previously controversial statement 11.2 of the Guidance has been replaced. The replacement, 4.c.1' and 4.c.2', concerns the MOI arrangement for former EMI schools and the status review schedule for former CMI schools. Although 4.c.1' and 4.c.2' continue to control the language rights of students, neither of them impose restrictions in the way that 11.2 did. Given the background that has led to the FT, this is probably intentional.

In removing the most controversial statement of the Guidance, and replacing it with milder, if nonetheless restrictive ones, the FT should be better received than the Guidance – particularly by parents and CMI schools' stakeholders who had opposed the Guidance strongly (see e.g. Section 5.3.5).

Prediction 2 on FT: the FT is less controversial than the Guidance and thus should be better received by parents and schools.

The analysis also observed that the FT, like the Guidance, has its main policy statements in the Mixed (Yellow) zone, rendering it a potentially ineffective policy. This is understandable when the FT is viewed as an amendment to the Guidance – as the FT must adhere to many of the Guidance's original principles in order to perform its amending role. This approach, however, has all but ensured that the FT would be loaded with the burden of having its policy statements locked in the Mixed (Yellow) zone, possibly hampering its implementation. To the FT's credit, however, it has at least sought to be quantitatively specific. Its allowances, in terms of the number of classes and total teaching time, are both very clear. This aspect, when viewed in parallel

with the fact that 4.a' provides at least some of what the public demands, enabled this study to make its third prediction.

Prediction 3 on FT: the FT will be readily adopted by the former CMI schools, and likely to the maximum degree allowed (additional EMI by 25% or two subjects).

The empty Educational (Green) zone must be seen as a disappointment. It highlights that the FT is mostly reactive, set on making amendments to make the Guidance more popular rather than addressing any pedagogical issues.

7.6 Summarising the predictions

From the omission analysis, the FTM predicts that the FT will not be able to establish Cantonese as the main language for education, because it has not considered any of the issues that are acting to elevate English as the preferred language. From the zoning analysis, the FTM predicts that the FT should be less controversial than the Guidance as it has replaced statements that used to strongly enforce CMI with milder ones. Similarly, in allowing schools to use English for a greater proportion of teaching time, the FTM also predicts that the FT should receive high adoption, even up to the maximum rate.

Having made these three predictions, the next task for this study was to test them. Unlike the Guidance, however, there is no historical or empirical data with which to do so – the FT is brand-new, a mere six months into implementation at the time of this study. To facilitate testing, this study had to generate a set of proxy outcomes via a survey against which to test the predictions. The next chapter will describe the design, execution and results of the survey. More

importantly, the survey tested whether the results would confirm the predictions of the FTM or not.

CHAPTER EIGHT: TESTING THE FTM'S REAL-TIME PREDICTIONS

8.1 Introduction

This chapter details the results and subsequent analysis of a survey conducted

between May and August 2010 in Hong Kong. All 498 local (i.e. both CMI and

EMI schools, but excluding international and special schools) secondary schools

were invited to participate and 127 (approximately one quarter of all invited)

returned the survey. Appendix 1 is a sample of the survey and Appendix 2 is the

tabulated data from the survey.

The survey sought to understand the then planned changes of these 127

secondary schools as they anticipated the change in language policy brought

about by the implementation of the FT. As designed, the survey was the heart of

the entire study; with the survey, and its timing vis-à-vis the FT's introduction, it

could project policy outcomes in real time to test the predictions made in Chapter

7.

After plotting the FT into the FTM, the study predicted that:

1. The FT will continue to struggle to establish Cantonese (the mother

tongue) as the main education language in secondary schools.

2. The FT is less controversial than the Guidance and thus should be

better received by parents and schools.

3. The FT will be readily adopted by the former CMI schools, and likely

to the maximum degree allowed (additional EMI by 25% or two

subjects).

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Although the predictions are straightforward statements, testing them will require more than three similarly direct questions: e.g. to test prediction 3, this study could not merely ask a school: Will you be using the FT's maximum allowance for EMI in 2010? Rather, it had to test this by surveying the MOI arrangement of individual schools across all non-language subjects before drawing a data derived conclusion.

The study also took advantage of the breadth of data collected to make a fuller analysis than required to test the three predictions. This should give better insight into how schools perceive the FT, and might provide a useful piece of contextual information for future studies.

8.2 Method

Questionnaires were sent to all 498 public secondary schools in Hong Kong in May 2010. Altogether 127 schools responded to the survey, representing a response rate of approximately 25%.

The Principal or a key administrator (hereafter referred to as management) of each surveyed school was invited to complete the questionnaire. This narrow range of respondents (principals and administrator instead of principals, administrators, teachers and parents) was a methodological choice made for the following reasons. First, management was deemed the more suitable respondents given their roles in making decisions on FT-related changes. Second, as the survey scope spanned all subjects, management was deemed more likely to have access to this information. Last, because of time constraints, management was deemed to have the means required to assemble the data required more expediently. These reasons notwithstanding, such a choice did create limitations.

First, the projection of parental attitudes and / or expectations had to be made from data that were collected twice-remote from source instead of directly (if parents were surveyed) or once-remote (if teachers were surveyed). Second, it inhibited the survey from understanding implementation issues (classroom practices and professional development needs) from the practitioners' (teachers) standpoint and instead had to rely on input from management alone. Last, and similar to the first limitation, the survey could only understand student-related issues (subject, MOI or learning matters) indirectly from management rather than from the frontline teachers or even the students themselves, although this third limitation might be somewhat mitigated if the respective schools' management are closely connected to their student body. These limitations notwithstanding, this study nonetheless deemed the survey a valuable means through which to estimate the eventual outcomes of FT thus considering such limitations acceptable.

Both EMI and CMI schools were surveyed to elicit how they would respond to the FT in 2010/11. The change was expected to be more significant for the CMI schools, as previously they were not allowed, at least theoretically, to teach non-language subjects in English.

Demographics and historical information were also gathered for both CMI and EMI schools.

8.3 Survey results and analysis

This section is organised into four subsections.

Sections 8.3.1 and 8.3.2 detail the types of schools surveyed, how their classes were and will be organised, and how key non-language subjects were and

will be distributed across MOIs. The survey also looked at the organisation of the senior (S4 and above) classes, and whether corresponding changes would take place as a result of the FT.

Section 8.3.3 gives a macro view of how the stated language policy objectives of the Education Bureau (EDB) are perceived by the schools' administration; and, how the stated benefits of the FT are perceived.

Section 8.3.4 highlights the level of resources needed for implementing the FT, both for students and for teachers. On the students' side, the survey looked at how the schools intend to communicate the changes to prospective S1 students and parents, what their priorities are for student recruitment, and what additional initiatives will be taken to help improve students' English standards. On the teachers' side, the survey looked at the schools' priorities in teacher recruitment, how the government's support measures will be adopted and their preferences for the different forms of further professional development (PD) programmes.

8.3.1 Demographics of schools surveyed

Of the 127 schools surveyed (Table 12), 116 (93%) were either government or government aided schools. All these schools are required to abide by the language policy of the day and more than 100 have been in operation for over 15 years. In fact 79 (63%) have a history of over 30 years, meaning they have been through the language policy (LP) iterations of the last 12 years, and have also lived through the pre-handover language policies.

In terms of their MOI before the implementation of the Guidance in 1998, 75 (60.5%) (Table 13) were EMI schools. This is both consistent with the era

and interesting because 34 of the 75 had to be re-categorised as CMI schools post-1998 (Table 14) as a result of the Guidance. How these schools will respond to the opportunities offered by the FT will be a reflection of how effective and popular mother-tongue education has been after 12 years of implementation. It will also show if or how the demand for English has changed as a result.

Table 15 shows the reported MOI change to be expected from these schools. Among the respondents, two EMI schools indicated that they would use both EMI and CMI in 2010/11, while three CMI schools would use only EMI in 2010/11.

8.3.2 MOI breakdown by classes and subject

The survey also elicited a detailed breakdown concerning the distribution of MOI per S1 class per subject. For the sake of illustration, only five subjects, namely Mathematics, Science, Integrated Humanities, Geography and History were considered.

Table 16 shows that, of all the EMI schools surveyed, there would only be a fractional change (<= 1%) in MOI for Mathematics, Integrated Humanities and Science, and no change for Geography and History, suggesting that no move towards a greater use of Chinese was planned. It must be recognised that an EMI classification in the pre-FT era implies two noteworthy factors – the assessed performance of the school is higher (see Section 7.2, statement 4.c.1 of the FT) and their students have done better in public examinations; so any change towards CMI would be akin to changing a winning team, an understandably unlikely development.

Similarly, as a direct consequence of their performance in public examinations, EMI students stand in better stead to enter local universities where the majority of programmes are taught in EMI (Research Grants Council, 2009). Any switch toward CMI might be construed as jeopardising this advantage for their students, again an unlikely development. These two factors also help explain why parents and other stakeholders have lobbied the government so strenuously in the past to let CMI schools have increased flexibility to teach more classes in English, despite all pedagogical evidence suggesting the efficacy of teaching in the students' first language (e.g. Benson, 2008).

Across the current CMI schools, on the other hand, it was predicted that there would be significant changes in the MOI to be used as a result of the FT; indeed, changes were noted as shown in Table 17.

a. Mathematics and science

Mathematics and Science are grouped together as they represent the traditional subjects required for students who wish to pursue the science stream at senior secondary school level.

For Mathematics – a longstanding core subject – there will be a 32% increase in new EMI classes, with a corresponding decrease of 29% in CMI classes. As the key non-language core subject, mathematics has long been seen as extremely important in every school's curriculum. To be able to offer Mathematics through EMI is probably deemed to enhance the school's competitiveness as well as better meet parents' expectations. (The four EMI Mathematics and Science classes reported here for 2009/10 were theoretically illegal and counter to the official policy.)

For Science, there will be a 27% increase in new EMI classes with a corresponding decrease of 25% in CMI classes. That the trend for Science is similar to that of Mathematics is not difficult to understand – the two have always been perceived as companion subjects.

b. Integrated Humanities

For Integrated Humanities – an umbrella subject area encompassing the subjects of Civic Education, Economic and Public Affairs, Life and Society, Liberal Studies and, Social Studies – there will be a 15% increase in new EMI classes with a corresponding decrease of 15% in CMI classes. This increment is about half of that seen for Mathematics.

The lower percentage of change towards EMI for Integrated Humanities probably has more to do with the lack of time for schools and teachers to prepare EMI teaching material than the subject being deemed better suited for CMI. Since the circulation of the early draft of the FT in 2009, voices of objection have been raised that there is neither enough bilingual material nor a large enough pool of bilingual subject teachers to teach Integrated Humanities in both CMI and EMI (HKPTU, 2009; Oriental News, 2010a).

c. History and Geography

History and Geography are grouped together as they represent the traditional subjects required for students who wish to pursue the arts or commerce stream at senior secondary school level.

For History, there will be a 17% increase in new EMI classes with a corresponding decrease of 17% in CMI classes. For Geography, there will be a

26% increase in new EMI classes with a corresponding decrease of 26% in CMI classes.

Geography is sometimes perceived as a subject bridging the Humanities and the Sciences. It is thus predictable that its level of increase would be comparable with Mathematics or Science.

d. Other Subjects

For schools classified as CMI in 2009/10, the findings revealed that the percentage increases in the number of classes using EMI in 2010/11 were between 5% and 10% for Music, Visual Arts and Physical Education, and below 5% for Design & Technology and Religious Education. The remaining subjects which will have a relatively high increase in the number of EMI classes are Home Economics (13.3%) and Computer Literacy (16%).

e. The situation at senior secondary schools

To investigate the assumption that EMI is considered even more important for senior secondary schools because of its influence on university entrance, the survey elicited information about the schools' senior secondary arrangements, even though this area is not directly related to the FT.

As Table 18 shows, almost 60% of the 70 respondents indicated that, in 2009/10, they taught more subjects through EMI at senior secondary school level than at junior secondary school level, where the current language policy imposes stricter limits (see Section 4.5, statements 11.5 and 11.6 of the Guidance). This suggests that schools have long felt the need for more EMI at senior level and the current FT is thus responding to the trend rather than taking the lead. Nevertheless, Table 19 shows that only 20% of the responding schools planned

to increase their EMI teaching at senior secondary school level in 2010/11, which might suggest that schools are reluctant to commit their students to additional public examination papers in English.

8.3.3 Respondents' objectives versus government objectives with regard to the

FT

The survey asked for the schools' own objectives in implementing the FT. To clarify these responses, it is useful to first recap what the government's stated objectives are: (Education Bureau, 2010a).

- 1. At macro policy level:
 - a. Enhance students' biliterate and trilingual abilities.

2. At MOI level:

- a. Commit to promoting mother-tongue teaching;
- Introduce measures under the Medium of Instruction Guidance, to enable schools and parents to see for themselves the benefits of mother-tongue teaching;
- c. Take enhanced measures to help CMI schools strengthen their teaching and learning of English.

3. At FT level:

- a. Uphold mother-tongue teaching while enhancing students'
 proficiency in both Chinese and English;
- b. Enhance students' exposure to English and its use at junior secondary school levels;
- c. Prepare students to embrace new challenges and enhance Hong Kong's status as an international city.

The survey also asked the schools, to rate on a 5-point Likert-type scale, a number of possible reasons why they were planning to alter the MOI. Table 20 lists and ranks the reasons they gave. The survey results revealed that the three highest ranked objectives of MOI change as listed by these schools were:

- 1. To enhance the English learning environment of the students (mean = 4.49);
- 2. To better meet parents' expectations (mean = 4.22);
- 3. To enhance the school's competitiveness (mean = 4.1).

The first two are very much in line with the policy in general, which should be encouraging for the government. Perhaps more interesting is the third-ranked objective, namely to enhance the school's competitiveness.

As already highlighted in Section 8.3.2, the survey indicates that the FT will create a unidirectional move towards more EMI in schools – and this move is seen by many schools as enhancing competitiveness. Why this is so, despite the stated advantages of mother-tongue education, is a question of great interest and will be discussed later in this chapter and in Chapter 9.

The weighting given to the first three ranked answers should help to better understand just how important these objectives are considered to be by schools. Among the top three objectives, the percentages of respondents who considered them "Most Important" or "Very Important" were 99% for "To enhance the English learning environment of the students", 92% for "To better meet parents' expectations" and 78% for "To enhance the school's competitiveness". The provision of EMI classes and parents' approval are clearly the overwhelming factors. It is therefore not surprising that, upon the

announcement of the FT, the Secretary for Education felt that he could safely write an open letter aimed at parents to highlight the areas that the FT will address in direct response to their concerns (Education Bureau, 2009c).

The survey then asked for a one-line comment in response to the question of whether the FT is deemed a "welcome step forward", an "unwelcome step backward" or neither. Some 51.2% judged the FT to be a "welcome step forward", but a considerable 25.6% felt the opposite. This finding is supported by the type of negative comments received, with most being concerned with the timing or the technicalities of the policy, not its appropriateness. Examples include "it is a rushed step forward" and "it would be better if some modifications are made". The survey did not find any significant relationship between the attitude of the responding schools and their MOI in 2008/09, i.e. their pre-FT MOI arrangements.

The survey also asked the schools to rank their most preferred version of language policies of the last 15 years. Despite coming a clear second to the pre-1998 laissez-faire policies (between 55.3% and 58.4% preferred), the FT (between 20.8% and 25.2% preferred) is nevertheless much preferred over the EC Report's proposals (between 6.3% and 7.1% preferred) or the Guidance (between 4.9% and 7.9% preferred). This is further reinforced by the results from the one-line comment, where "a welcome step forward" response outnumbered "an unwelcome step backward" response by two to one. The FT seemed well received by schools.

8.3.4 Resource implications arising from the FT

a. Resource for managing parents' expectations

The most vocal critics of pre-FT policies were parents and therefore one of the prime objectives of the FT is to address their concerns. In practice, this will result in school recruitment drives for 2010/11 being influenced by the FT. The survey thus asked the schools how they intend to communicate their plans for implementing the FT to stakeholders. The most common approach (64.7%) is to communicate the number of subjects to be taught in English. This is followed by the percentage of teaching hours in English (42.6%) and the number of classes to be taught in English (19%).

The schools were also asked if they expected an increased number of student applications due to their implementation of FT, and over 75% responded by saying that they expected both the number and quality of students to improve as a result. One important criterion specified in the FT concerning implementation is that additional classroom hours should be complemented by additional out-of-class learning activities and 90% of the schools indicated that they would provide these activities. The possible resource constraints will be considered later.

As can be seen from Table 21, in terms of actual activities, 87.3% opted for supplementary classes, to be followed by English Corners (74.6%) and English Clubs (60.3%). More extensive out-of-school activities such as school excursions or study tours were listed, but in far lower numbers. This is understandable, especially in administrative terms, as in-school-classroom-like

activities such as an English Corner are far easier to organise and manage than out-of-school ones.

b. Resource impact on teachers

It is worth reiterating that the primary targets of the FT are content subjects, such as Mathematics or History, so the teachers concerned are not English teachers, but subject teachers who can teach (or will be asked to teach) in English.

In spite of the projected increase in the number of EMI classes highlighted in Section 8.3.2, less than 19% of the respondents indicated that their school planned to recruit additional EMI subject teachers for 2010/11. Whether this reflects an already adequate level of staff or a lack of resources for the hiring of extra staff will be considered later.

The survey then asked the schools for their criteria for recruiting EMI subject teachers. Some 48% of the respondents listed academic qualifications as the top priority, while teaching experience ranked very low, at a mere 3.6%. Linguistic proficiency, however, was ranked second at 39%. This indicates that linguistic competence and academic qualifications are deemed more important than teaching skills or experience.

Recognising that change brings with it corresponding needs, the government has made support measures available to schools and teachers to help with the introduction of the FT. Nearly 80% of the respondents intended to apply for these, suggesting that they feel the need for this extra help. Table 22 indicates that about half of the respondents planned to send their teachers for professional development (PD) courses, while only one quarter preferred more

school-based support in the form of whole-school language policy planning or language across curriculum support.

In terms of actual PD programmes, schools providing these for their teachers out-numbered schools that were not by three to one.

Among the forms of PD already taken, workshops and courses provided by the government were the most preferred (57%), closely followed by school-based support (51%). In terms of future PD, schools indicated that they planned to encourage teachers to take courses conducted by local tertiary institutes over the other alternatives.

Earlier comments have already alluded to the possible lack of resources and this issue was directly addressed by the survey. Some 80% of the respondents claimed that they would face resource constraints as a direct result of the FT. This is a very high percentage, enough to question whether implementation can be successful. In Table 23, it can be seen that the most frequently cited constraint was "Lack of time in preparing material in English" (75%), followed by "Lack of financial resources" (48%) and "Shortage of (EMI) non-language teachers" (45%).

8.3.5 Analysis summary

In summary, it can be seen that among the schools surveyed, the FT will result in a unidirectional move towards more classes and subjects being taught in English. However, the increase is not uniform across all subjects, with the major increases being seen in Mathematics and Science, and to a lesser extent, in Geography.

With regard to the objectives of the FT, the schools' priorities were found to be largely in line with the government's – which must be seen as encouraging for the policy makers. This was further reinforced by slightly over half of the respondents classifying the FT as a "welcome step forward". As a revision aimed at appearing opposition to an unpopular policy, the government will probably see this as an endorsement and thus a success, although it should be noted that one quarter of the schools surveyed considered the new policy to represent a step backward and more than 15% said that it represented no change. This would suggest that the controversy over the appropriate MOI remains deeprooted.

Finally, the survey shows that, although most support for students will come from in-school initiatives, support for teachers will be more across the board. Exactly how support will reach teachers remains to be seen, as some of the schools have pointed to time and financial constraints especially in the area of further PD. The most preferred form of PD seems to be training programmes or courses, especially those offered by local tertiary institutions. While this may be understandable from an administrative point of view, the frontline view from teachers could well be different. Just where additional time for PD can be found remains to be seen. Unless a creative solution is available, it seems that many teachers will again have to spend additional off-work hours on PD or other FT-related initiatives.

8.4 Predictions testing

In Section 8.3, the survey results were presented with schools and classes as the foci – as they should be given the framework of the FT. In this section,

however, they will be presented with the three predictions as foci to test for reliability.

8.4.1 The FTM's prediction 3 of the FT

The FT will be readily adopted by the former CMI schools, and likely to the maximum degree (additional EMI by 25% or two subjects) allowed.

Prediction 3 has to be tested first (and prediction 1 last) for reasons that will become clear later.

As presented in Table 17, the projected increment for EMI teaching of former CMI schools is considerable. For Mathematics (the key non-language subject), the number of EMI classes went from 1.1% of total classes in 2009/10 (by law, it should have been 0%) to 32.9% projected for 2010/11. This means that one out of three Mathematics classes will be in EMI, or just about every former CMI school will have one EMI Mathematics class. Subjects with comparable increments include Science and Geography – thus it appears that a high demand for EMI will be seen across the arts, science and humanities subjects.

Even the low end of the numbers presents a similar picture. Not counting supplementary subjects such as Physical Education or Religious Education, a typical low increment will be in the region of 15% (e.g. Integrated Humanities, History) or in actual terms about one out of seven classes.

In short, there is not one subject surveyed that did not embrace the FT's allowance for increased EMI classes in a big way, and not even once was there a planned increase in CMI classes.

Prediction 3: confirmed

8.4.2 The FTM's prediction 2 of the FT



The FT is less controversial than the Guidance and thus should be better

received by parents and schools.

Given the design of the FTM, it was not possible for it to specify by whom the

FT would be better received when the FT has at least two target recipients:

schools and parents. In testing therefore, it was necessary to validate each

reception before arriving at any conclusion.

In terms of reception by schools, Section 8.3.3 has already shown that the FT

is better perceived than any other version of language policies of the post-

handover years – despite coming a clear second to the pre-1998 laissez-faire

policies.

In terms of parental reception, as the survey was not directed at parents, this

study has to gauge parents' perception from the schools' perspective, which is an

inherent limitation. This limitation notwithstanding, the schools were seemingly

unanimous about their views of parental expectations. From Section 8.3.3 and

Table 20, it can be seen that utilising the FT's allowance to meet parents'

expectations was the number two priority for the schools surveyed (mean = 4.22).

Only "Enhancing the English learning environment of the students" was deemed

more important (mean = 4.49). A closer look at the data has also revealed that an

overwhelming 92% of the schools' respondents considered the opportunity

offered by the FT to "Better meet parents' expectations" to be "Very important".

Based on data from the schools' perspective, the FT should be well received (or

better received than its predecessors) by parents as well.

Prediction 2: confirmed

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8.4.3 The FTM's prediction 1 of the FT

The FT will continue to struggle to establish Cantonese (the mother

tongue) as the main education language in secondary schools.

The relative roles between Cantonese the mother tongue and English the L2 is

better observed by trends. One way to project this MOI trend is to compare the

pre- and post-FT preferences of the CMI and EMI schools.

Section 8.4.1 has already shown that for CMI schools (hence its presentation

first), the trend toward more English in non-language subjects is uniform and

considerable. This fact alone could be seen as an obstacle to the promotion of

mother-tongue education. This is further amplified by the data from Table 16,

where it can be seen that none of the former EMI schools have any plans to

increase CMI teaching, preferring to remain close to 100% EMI. From these two

sets of data, it can be extrapolated that the trend (or MOI preference) among

schools is for as much EMI as possible – thus it will be close to 100% for former

EMI schools and close to the limit of the law for former CMI schools. Given

these trends, it is very difficult to see how the mother tongue, Cantonese, could

become the main language for education.

Predictions 3: confirmed

As will be further discussed in Section 9.3.1 (point d.), university entrance is a

main reason why EMI will remain prominent despite its documented pedagogical

disadvantages (e.g. Kirkpatrick & Chau, 2008). The Education Bureau (EDB),

the policy maker behind the FT, thus seems to be caught in a dilemma: a mother

tongue-based policy that is pedagogically sound (the Guidance) turned out to be

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controversial and unpopular, but a less controversial and better-accepted policy would be biased toward university entrance requirements rather than genuine learning for students.

8.5 Conclusion

Section 8.4 more or less brings this entire study to a close. Chapter 9 will summarise the key findings of the study and discuss several points noted from the analysis of the FT and the survey.

CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

9.1 Introduction

This chapter summarises the main points of the preceding chapters and revisits

how the thesis question "can language policy outcomes be predicted?" was

addressed before making several remarks drawn from observations made

throughout the study.

9.2 Summarising the main points

9.2.1 Literature

Chapter 2 used the body of literature reviewed to trace the course that

language policy and planning (LPP) has taken in the last 30 years in an attempt to

identify just how (or why) a particular theory of LPP is prevalent in the current

context. It was observed that the perception of native-ness, pedagogical

objectives, and local and regional politics all play a role in the shaping of

respective LPPs. These different factors are so tightly interwoven that one

cannot look at the education aspects without examining the political aspects, and

vice versa. As a result of this phenomenon, if the objective of a study is to

demarcate the education issues from the political issues as much as possible, then

it would require separate questions for education and politics (within the LP

context) in order to perform such an investigation.

This led the study to further review Ferguson and Tollefson's series of

conceptual questions and issues, for even though they are ultimately concerned

with education, Ferguson's perspective is pedagogically oriented while

Tollefson's is socio-politically oriented. This separation enabled the study to use

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the two series of questions to build a matrix of questions to test the intricacies of different language policies, to investigate the extent to which politics and education are linked, and, more importantly, to investigate how pedagogically sound a policy (or a policy statement) is.

9.2.2 Constructing the Matrix

Rather than adapting Ferguson's five and Tollefson's six questions to form 30 intersecting questions, Chapter 3 sought to combine them using a matrix by categorising each question according to its most fundamental characteristics, i.e. whether each question is pursuing primarily an educational or a political issue. Based on this categorisation, the first iteration of the FTM was developed (Table 3). Then, using a colour system to represent the three different types of cells, the final FTM was then produced (Table 5).

The zoning (or colour) system of the FTM is one of its core features, and it has enabled the plotting of policy statements into one of three possible categories (or zones):

- 1. Purely educational (Green)
- 2. Purely political (Red)
- 3. Mixed (Yellow)

The FTM's analytical and predictive capability could then be tested.

9.2.3 Demonstrating how the FTM works

Chapter 4 demonstrated how the FTM might be used. The 1997 Guidance was used as a test-sample policy and was put through the FTM's two-stage analysis.

The first stage of the analysis had three steps: the first step plotted all the policy statements into the FTM to produce a policy distribution, the second step reclassified the statements according to their zoning and the third step noted issues that the policy had failed to consider, whereby empty columns and rows were noted and accounted for.

The second stage was to evaluate the policy and make predictions based on the three completed steps of stage one. To do that, however, would require considerable contextual information that had not been presented. Chapter 5 provided this information by reviewing Hong Kong's education language policies since World War II. The outstanding analysis and prediction exercise was resumed in Chapter 6.

9.2.4 Context of the test-sample policy and of the investigated policy

With the benefit of a historical and a statistical overview, Chapter 5 showed that education in Hong Kong went through three distinct phases vis-à-vis language policy and medium of instruction policy. The first phase was when the system was recovering from World War II and could do little more than build schools and train teachers, and at least in numerical terms, did so successfully. The second phase was the 1970s and 1980s, when the system was concerned with identifying and training the elite while providing an acceptable level of education for the masses – the nine-year (from Primary 1 to Secondary 3) compulsory system and the existence of but two universities for the then 5+ million population are two cases in point. Hong Kong did not expand her base of higher education until the 1990s, when one additional university was established and another five tertiary institutes were upgraded to university status.

The last phase, since the 1990s, saw Hong Kong flourishing into one of the world's most prosperous cities while managing a change of sovereignty. It was only during this period that Hong Kong began to consider carefully the implications of the previous 40 years of language policymaking. Whatever the appeal, what the colonial system in fact built is an accessible (for primary and secondary), efficient and somewhat elitist (for tertiary) system with English strongly positioned as the core medium of instruction at tertiary level. This, together with the strength of the economic growth over the same period, led to the belief that English is the language of success. The majority of parents want their children to receive an EMI education.

This understanding of how the three phases of the language policy iterations shaped the landscape and context of Hong Kong's language education system for the last 50 years then informed Chapters 6, 7 and 8, where the study analysed a current policy, made predictions and tested them against a set of proxy outcomes.

9.2.5 Validating the FTM's predictions of the Guidance

Aided by the contextual information from Chapter 5, Chapter 6 was able to demonstrate the FTM's ability to reveal many underlying features of the Guidance (the test-sample policy) through the zoning and omission analyses.

The FTM generated four mutually exclusive predictions and two (that the roll out of the Guidance will be ineffective and that the Guidance might struggle to fulfil its intended role for Cantonese) were confirmed. This confirmation enabled the study to move on to investigate if the FTM might be able to make similarly successful predictions on a genuinely new policy.

This new policy, the 2009 Fine-tuning the Medium of Instruction for Secondary Schools (FT or Fine-tuning), was announced around the time of this study, but not implemented until September 2010. The timing of its introduction presented the study with a rare opportunity to test the FTM's predictive power in real time.

9.2.6 Analysing the FT

Chapter 7 presented the FT in full, plotted it into the FTM for a policy distribution and made three predictions after the zoning and omission analyses. From the omission analysis, the FTM predicted that the FT would not be able to establish Cantonese as the main language for education, because it had not addressed any of the issues that appoint English as the preferred language. From the zoning analysis, the FTM predicted that the FT should be less controversial than the Guidance as it has replaced the statement that strictly enforced CMI teaching with more flexible ones. Finally, the FTM predicted that, because of an allowance for schools to use English for a greater proportion of teaching time, the FT would be widely, even maximally, adopted.

Having made these three predictions, the next task for the study was to test them. Unlike the Guidance, however, there is no historical or empirical data with which to do so – the FT is brand-new, a mere six months into implementation at the time of the study. To facilitate testing, this study had to generate a set of proxy outcomes via a survey against which to test the predictions.

9.2.7 Testing the FTM's real-time predictions

Chapter 8 detailed the results of a survey conducted in May 2010, a few months before the implementation of the FT.

Through examining the pre- and post-FT MOI arrangements of 127 local secondary schools (approximately one quarter of all local schools), and eliciting the schools' objectives and comments on these changes, the three predictions made by the FTM were confirmed.

Although the primary objective of the survey was to generate a set of proxy outcomes with which to test the FTM's predictions, the study also took the opportunity to extend the survey by asking the schools additional questions. The information elicited enabled perspectives and insights to be obtained, including the schools' attitudes towards MOI, the degree to which parental expectations matter, the types of qualities sought in teachers, and the schools' approach to professional development for teachers.

9.3 Discussion

Chapter 8 has already gone to good length to answer the thesis question, and it is difficult for this study to discuss the FTM further without foraying into subjective guesstimations. It will therefore use the following section to consider the implications of implementation of the FT and the likely need for further language policy revision. This discussion can be seen as a crude estimate of what could have been avoided had the FTM been available during the policymaking of the FT; by implication, this discussion is therefore also a proxy-assessment of the FTM's utility or value as a policymaking tool.

9.3.1 Issues identified by the Survey

The implementation of the FT will result in a number of consequences, in

particular those relating to pedagogy and professional development.

a. Significant increase in the number of EMI classes

The findings from the survey of 127 schools revealed that the major shift

to EMI from the former CMI schools will take place in the subjects of

Mathematics and Science. Among the former CMI schools, the percentages of

classes per subject to be taught through EMI are:

1. Mathematics: 32.9%

2. Science: 27.9%

3. Geography: 26.2%

4. History: 17.1%

5. Integrated Humanities: 14.9%

The situation concerning Mathematics and Science presents particular

concern as these are regarded as conceptually demanding. They are subjects

which students benefit from studying through the learners' first language and the

Filipino scholar, Bernardo (2000), is unequivocal:

there seems to be no theoretical or empirical basis...to obligate the use

of English in teaching mathematics;

there are clear and consistent advantages to using the students' first

language...at the stage of learning where the student is acquiring the

basic understanding of the various mathematical concepts and

procedures' (p.313)

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The results of research comparing the benefits of teaching Science and Mathematics in English in Hong Kong are less clear-cut, but suggestive nevertheless. Yip and Tsang (2007) found that, compared with their CMI counterparts, EMI students performed well in Mathematics, but experienced greater problems in science learning. It should be remembered, however, that those were EMI students, as opposed to CMI students being converted to EMI. Ho and Man (2007) found that students tended to perform better when assessed in Chinese than when assessed in English, "In high-language-loaded domains such as reading and science, students' performances are commonly underestimated when being assessed in English" (p.45). These findings suggest that a sudden and ill-prepared switch to teaching Mathematics and Science in English should be approached with great caution.

Moreover, most Mathematics and Science teachers are less likely to be qualified for teaching these subjects in English (remembering that the system has been training teachers to teach predominantly in Chinese for the last 12 years). It is also extremely demanding for teachers to have to prepare and teach material in both Chinese and English.

b. MOI policy preferences

To better understand just where the FT fits, historically speaking, respondents were asked to rank their preference among the four iterations of MOI policies adopted or proposed since 1998. To help frame the ranking, respondents were asked to evaluate the policies in terms of:

1. How well they favour students' learning, and

2. Their usefulness in preparing students to meet the demands of the globalised 21st century.

These criteria were not concocted by this study but represent the high-level intent declared by the Guidance and FT.

In terms of favouring students' learning, 58.4% of the respondents to the survey were in favour of the pre-1998 arrangement and 20.8% chose the Fine-Tuning. In terms of their usefulness in preparing students to meet the demands of the globalised 21st century, 55.3% of the respondents were in favour of the pre-1998 arrangement and 25.2% chose the Fine-Tuning.

The preference for the pre-1998 laissez-faire policies could be naturally explained by schools' preference for a higher rather than a lower degree of autonomy; simply put, interference – even if well intended – is unwelcome. The reason for the FT being most popular among the post-1998 policies is likely to be related to parental demand (Tien, 2009). Many schools that were reclassified from EMI to CMI received subsequent parental pressure and felt disadvantaged by the arrangement (Tsui et al., 1998). With the FT, there is now a means by which some schools can respond. The notion that more English equals better education, commonly expressed by parents and now apparently acknowledged by most schools and the government, goes to show the unapparent yet heavy influence that university entrance requirements (where passing English is mandatory) has on secondary schools. University language policies and their implications for schools will be further discussed in point d.

As for preparing students to meet the demands of the globalised 21st century, given the broad and sometimes subjective nature of just what constitutes

the demands of the globalised 21st century, this study can only suggest that for the respondents, English, being the international lingua franca, is directly equated with globalisation. Simply put, more English content in the curriculum is perceived as providing better preparation for globalisation.

c. Teacher constraints in implementing the FT

It is worth reiterating that the primary target of the FT is content subjects such as Mathematics or History, so the teachers affected are not English teachers, but subject teachers who are now required to teach in English.

Given that the local system as a whole has been training teachers to teach primarily in Chinese – because more than two-thirds of the schools have had to teach in Chinese – implies that many of the current subject teachers will require further PD and language training. When asked about the resource constraints (see Table 23), most respondents identified "lack of time in preparing materials in English" (75%), followed by "lack of financial resources" (48%) and "shortage of (EMI) non-language teachers" (45%). Resources are scarce and it is clear that more will be required if the FT is to be successfully implemented.

d. Reasons why schools switch to EMI

As indicated in Section 8.3.3, the three major reasons why schools opted to change the MOI are:

- 1. To enhance the English learning environment of the students;
- 2. To better meet parents' expectations, and;
- 3. To enhance the school's competitiveness.

Reasons 2 and 3 are both instrumental and practical – English is key for higher education in Hong Kong. Currently, a pass in English is the minimal

requirement for all universities, with many programmes requiring a higher grade. In addition, six of the eight government-funded universities are essentially English medium with prestigious programmes such as Architecture, Dentistry, Engineering, Law and Medicine all being EMI.

It should be noted though, that the government does not control university language policies even though the universities' EMI policies run directly counter to the government's official language policy of "biliterate-trilingualism". Perhaps only if or when Hong Kong's universities adopt some form of bilingual Chinese-English policy (or if good CMI students can be admitted and offered English bridging courses) can the government's biliterate-trilingual goal be realistically achieved. The adoption of some form of bilingual policy might also reduce some of the pressure to teach in English at secondary schools. These are, however, questions for a separate study.

While parents' desire to provide the best opportunity for tertiary education for their children is only natural – the idea that more English will facilitate this is flawed. First, because the FT has not created additional university places – access (and competition) will be as before. A child, having had more exposure to English in his or her six years of secondary school education, will still have to compete for the one in five places (the current university admission rate is about 18%). Second, because the FT will be implemented across the board, there might be no competitive advantage for individual students either. If the FT is successfully implemented, the standard of English (and perhaps grades) of Hong Kong's would-have-been-CMI secondary school students might indeed improve; but equally, these students could also find EMI to be an additional hurdle and

thus suffer in their learning with corresponding consequences on their grades. It is thus inconclusive when an enriched EMI environment would translate into improved university prospects for individual students.

In short, the FT alone cannot improve the university prospects for students. Thus beyond providing more English, the FT ultimately cannot satisfy parents' expectation of improved university access for their children. It merely acknowledges that university entrance requirements and the universities' EMI policies exert such an influence on secondary school language policy that even the policy of mother-tongue teaching, well founded as it is on proven pedagogic principles, has to give way to English medium education.

9.3.2 Implementing the FT – summary

The FT will create a notable increase in subjects to be taught through EMI, along with a corresponding decrease in subjects taught through CMI. For subjects such as Mathematics and Science the percentage increase is as high as 30%. This will put pressure on teaching resources – in particular on the availability of suitable teachers and teaching material.

Given that the FT spans all subjects, the demand for additional teachers who can teach English or teach in English will be across the board. This situation is further complicated by the fact that the school curriculum as a whole has been taught in Chinese in three-quarters of schools for the last 12 years. With the FT, either schools will have to recruit additional teachers or the current teachers will have to double-task. Because the move towards teaching in English is across the board, the demand for more EMI subject teachers will also be across the board. As a result, there is unlikely to be enough experienced and capable EMI teachers

within the system to handle the level of increase identified by the survey. It is not clear how this gap will be filled.

9.3.3 Future policy revision

Given that the FT appears to represent a tactical retreat from the policy of mother-tongue education, what then is the future of the biliterate-trilingual policy (BTP)?

The BTP covers a broad area, adopted by public bodies such as the legislature and Civil Service. To help implement it, the government is promoting the use of English and Putonghua in the community through its Language Fund, which in 2010 will receive a budget of HK\$500 million (Legco, 2010). In spite of this substantial funding, and as noted throughout this study, Cantonese is nonetheless being downplayed, even if implicitly, and this contradicts the government's stated policy of promoting mother-tongue education.

One further piece of evidence for this downplaying is that both the Guidance and the FT define 'mother tongue' as Chinese rather than Cantonese. Officially, Chinese means both Cantonese and Putonghua (OLD, 2008); practically, however, it is just Cantonese as Putonghua has had very limited use in the law courts and the legislature (Legco, 2003) – two important criteria for official status. The choice to use Chinese instead of Cantonese as the policy term for mother tongue thus could be seen as laying the path for a future role for Putonghua, again at the expense of Cantonese.

A direct consequence of this downplaying of Cantonese is that students without additional resources to access English and Putonghua support – and these

are typically students from lower socioeconomic classes – will become further marginalised.

This study therefore predicts that, as welcome to parents as the FT currently may be, it will not be long before further revisions to language policy are called for, especially if the government's policy for its citizens to become biliterate trilinguals is to remain. If the current FT remains unchanged, it is likely that English and Putonghua will become further privileged in the coming years at the expense of Cantonese and mother-tongue education, compromising Hong Kong's many Cantonese-speaking children. It can be further predicted, therefore, that a language policy which will allow for the balanced and complementary use of all three languages in education, including revising the present autonomous arrangements for universities, will need to be seriously considered.

9.4 Final remarks

As Whitty (2006) has noted, the frustration that education researchers sometimes face with policy makers is "...that relationship is inherently one of conflict or at least a site of mutual misunderstanding and even suspicion..." (p.160). Researchers would find themselves cornered into work that has to support policy while policy makers would complain that the researchers' theory-based studies lack evidence or are uninformed. The results of the FTM should point to a hopeful alternative – even though it is theory-based from conception through to development, it nonetheless has the capability to accommodate context, adjust for limitations, and most importantly not just analyse but inform policymaking in a pedagogically sound and politically relevant way.

Investigating theories that could accurately predict policy outcome might be academically interesting in its own right, but for such endeavours to be meaningful and impactful, it must also put the theories into practice such that policy makers can focus on educational goodness while recognising sociopolitical realities. The FTM seems to offer an encouraging possibility.

TABLES

Table 1 Language policy and planning framework (Hornberger, 2006)

	Status planning	Acquisition planning	Corpus planning (about languages)		
	(about users)	(about users)			
Policies	 Officialisation 	Group	Standardisation of		
	 Nationalisation 	Education / school	corpus		
	• Standardisation of	Literacy	 Standardisation of 		
	status	 Mass media 	auxiliary code		
	Proscription	Work	 Graphisation 		

Table 2 A crude sample of the FTM

	T1	Т2	Т3	T4	Т5	Т6
F 1						
F2						
F3						
F4						
F5						

Table 3 A crude FTM with E and F values assigned

	T1	T2	Т3	T4	T5	Т6
F 1	E/P	E/P	E/P	E/E	E/E	E/E
F2	P/P	P/P	P/P	P/E	P/E	P/E
F3	P/P	P / P	P/P	P/E	P/E	P/E
F4	E/P	E/P	E/P	E/E	E/E	E/E
F5	E/P	E/P	E/P	E/E	E/E	E/E

Table 4 A crude FTM with colour coding

	T1	T2	Т3	T4	Т5	Т6
F1	E/P	E/P	E/P	E/E	E/E	E/E
F2	P / P	P / P	P / P	P/E	P/E	P/E
F3	P/P	P/P	P/P	P/E	P/E	P/E
F4	E/P	E/P	E/P	E/E	E/E	E/E
F5	E/P	E/P	E/P	E/E	E/E	E/E

Colour notation:

- 1. Green: both Ferguson and Tollefson's questions have an (E)ducational classification.
- 2. Red: both Ferguson and Tollefson's questions have a (P)olitical classification.
- 3. Yellow: Ferguson and Tollefson's questions have mixed classifications.

Table 5 The final FTM

	T1	T2	Т3	T4	Т5	Т6
F1						
F4						
F5						
F2						
F3						

- 1. Green: policy statements in this zone are educationally oriented.
- 2. Red: policy statements in this zone are politically oriented.
- 3. Yellow: policy statements in this zone have mixed orientations.

Table 6 Test plotting a policy statement into the FTM

	T1	T2	Т3	T4	Т5	Т6
F1	11.1	11.1				
F4						
F5						
F2						
F3						

- 1. Green: policy statements in this zone are educationally oriented.
- 2. Red: policy statements in this zone are politically oriented.
- 3. Yellow: policy statements in this zone have mixed orientations.

Table 7 The Guidance's policy distribution

	T1	T2	Т3	T4	Т5	Т6
F1	11.1	11.1,	11.4,	11.8		
		11.5,	11.6,			
		11.6,	11.7			
		11.7				
F4						
F5				11.8		
F2		11.2				
F3						

- 1. Green: policy statements in this zone are educationally oriented.
- 2. Red: policy statements in this zone are politically oriented.
- 3. Yellow: policy statements in this zone have mixed orientations.

Table 8 Key statistics of HK's education system

(Education Bureau, personal communication, 2009 & 2011; Census and Statistics Department, personal communication, 2011)

	Primary				Secon	dary		G	Population		
	# of	# of	# of		# of	# of	# of			per	
Year	students	teachers	schools**	Budget	students	teachers	schools**	Budget	Gross	Capita	
1958	274	10*	1,109	33*	61	3*	310	12*	N.A.	N.A.	2.85
1968	695	22*	1,682	185*	213	8*	457	62*	17	4	3.80
1977	575	18*	1,022	711*	421	14*	542	433*	73	16	4.58
1987	534	19	725	2,600*	448	19	510	3,400*	394	71	5.58
1998	477	20	811	8,923	456	23	444	14,055	1,293	198	6.54
2007	386	21	620	10,510	482	28	503	17,166	1,616	233	6.93
<i>II</i> 4 1	anta in 000	# tanaham	:	14 ! TII	Z\$ 000 000	CDD :- I	TIZ\$ 000 000	D	The CD	D in HIV¢	000

students in ,000 # teachers in ,000 Budget in HK\$,000,000 GDP in HK\$,000,000 Per capita GDP in HK\$,000

Population in ,000,000 *Secondary data source **Primary and Secondary schools to incl. public and private schools, but excl. vocational or special education schools

Table 9 Policy statements of the Guidance retained by the FT plotted in the FTM

	T1	T2	Т3	T4	T5	T6
F1		11.6,	11.6,	11.8		
		11.7	11.7			
F4						
F5				11.8		
F2						
F3						

- 1. Green: policy statements in this zone are educationally oriented.
- 2. Red: policy statements in this zone are politically oriented.
- 3. Yellow: policy statements in this zone have mixed orientations.

Table 10 Combined policy statements of the Guidance and the FT plotted in the FTM

	T1	T2	Т3	T4	Т5	Т6
F1		11.6,	11.6,	11.8		
		11.7,	11.7			
		4.c.2				
		4.0.2				
F4						
F5	4.a, 4.b	4.a, 4.b		11.8		
F2	4.c.1	4.c.1,				
		4.c.2				
F3						

- 1. Green: policy statements in this zone are educationally oriented.
- 2. Red: policy statements in this zone are politically oriented.
- 3. Yellow: policy statements in this zone have mixed orientations.

Table 11 Policy statement of the FT plotted in the FTM

	T1	T2	Т3	T4	Т5	Т6
F1		4.c.2				
F4						
F5	4.a, 4.b	4.a, 4.b				
F2	4.c.1	4.c.1,				
		4.c.2				
F3						

- 1. Green: policy statements in this zone are educationally oriented.
- 2. Red: policy statements in this zone are politically oriented.
- 3. Yellow: policy statements in this zone have mixed orientations.

Table 12 Categories of schools surveyed

School Type	Number	Percent
Government	12	9.6 %
Aided	104	83.2%
Caput	1	0.8%
Direct Subsidy Scheme	8	6.4%
Total	125*	100%

^{*}Two of the respondents did not report their school category.

Table 13 MOI before 1998/99 as reported by the surveyed schools

MOI of School	Number	Percent
CMI	42	33.9%
EMI	75	60.5%
Mixed code	1	0.8%
Not established before 1998	6	4.8%
Total	124*	100%

^{*}Three of the respondents did not report their pre-1998 MOI.

Table 14 MOI in 2009/10 as reported by the surveyed schools

MOI of School	Number	Percent
CMI	82	64.6%
EMI	41	32.3%
Did not supply information	4	3.1%
Total	127	100.0%

Table 15 MOI adopted in 2009/10 and to be adopted in 2010/11

School type in 2009/10	School type in 2010/11	S	ample
EMI	EMI	39	32.0%
	EMI+CMI	2	1.6%
Sub-total		41	
CMI	EMI	3	2.5%
	CMI+EMI	12	9.8%
	CMI + by subject(s) taught in EMI	30	24.6%
	CMI	36	29.5%
Sub-total		81	
Total		122	100.0%

Table 16 MOI of classes in 2009/10 & 2010/11 by schools classified as EMI in 2009/10

Subjects	2009/10 total no. of classes: 201			2010/11 total no. of classes: 198			
	EMI	CMI	EMI & CMI	EMI	CMI	+/- % EMI	+/- % CMI
Mathematics	201 (100%)	0	-	196 (99.0%)	2 (1.0%)	-1%	+1%
Science	201 (100%)	0	-	197 (99.5%)	1 (0.5%)	-0.5%	+0.5%
Integrated Humanities	85 (94.4%)	5 (5.6%)	-	83 (93.3%)	6 (6.7%)	-1.1%	+1.1%
Geography	119 (100%)	0	-	118 (100%)	0	0%	0%
History	109(100%)	0	-	108 (100%)	0	0%	0%

Table 17 MOI of classes in 2009/10 & 2010/11 by schools classified as CMI in 2009/10

Subjects	20	09/10 total no.	of classes: 3	49	2010/11 total no. of classes: 344*				
	EMI	CMI	EMI &	ELAE*	EMI	CMI	CMI with	+/- %	+/- %
			CMI				ELAE*	EMI	CMI
Mathematics	4 (1.1%)	335 (96.0%)	10	29	112 (32.9%)	228 (67.1%)	38	+31.8%	-28.9%
			(2.9%)						
Science	4 (1.1%)	340 (97.4%)	5 (1.4%)	37	95 (27.9%)	245 (72.1%)	47	+26.8%	-25.3%
Integrated	0	145 (100%)	0	11	22 (14.9%)	126 (85.1%)	20	+14.9%	-14.9%
Humanities									
Geography	0	185 (100%)	0	13	48 (26.2%)	135 (73.8%)	22	+26.2%	-26.2%
History	0	158 (100%)	0	12	26 (17.1%)	126 (82.9%)	18	+17.1%	-17.1%

^{*} ELAE = extended learning activities in English

Table 18 Schools' EMI arrangements at senior secondary school level in 2009/10

More EMI subjects at senior secondary school	Number	Percent
level		
No	29	41.4%
Yes	41	58.6%
Total	70	100%

Table 19 Schools' EMI arrangements at senior secondary school level in 2010/11

More EMI subjects at senior secondary school	Number	Percent
level		
No	55	79.7%
Yes	14	20.3%
Total	69	100%

Table 20 Descriptive statistics of schools' perceived importance of change in MOI

	N	Mean	SD
To enhance the English learning environment of the	69	4.49	.532
students			
To better meet parents' expectations	69	4.22	.565
To enhance the school's competitiveness	68	4.10	.866
To enhance the higher education opportunities for	69	4.09	.722
students			
To strengthen the quality of students to be recruited by	69	3.96	.812
the school			
To enhance the employment opportunities for students	69	3.84	.656
To improve students' public exam results	69	3.55	.832
To further develop teachers' competence	68	3.32	.800

Table 21 Types of out-of-class learning activities

	Number	Percent
Supplementary classes	55	87.3%
English corners	47	74.6%
English clubs	38	60.3%
English camps during holidays	20	31.7%
Others	12	19.0%

Table 22 Preferred forms of support measures for teachers

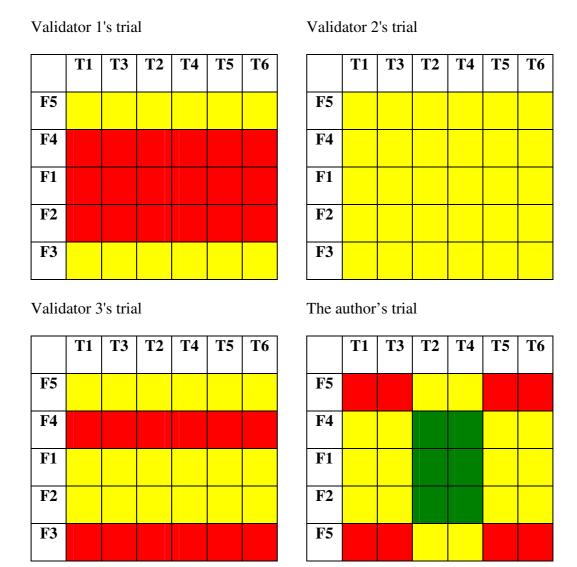
	Number	Percent
Professional development courses for non-language subject teachers	39	44.3%
On-site support for whole-school language policy planning	23	26.1%
On-site support for language across the curriculum	24	27.3%
Others	2	2.3%
Total	88	100.0%

Table 23 Most frequently cited constraints by schools

	Number	Percent
Lack of time for preparing teaching materials in	42	75.0%
English		
Lack of financial resources	27	48.2%
Shortage of non-language teachers	25	44.6%
Reduced number of English teachers	20	35.7%
Shortage of teaching material in English	19	33.9%
Others	3	5.4%

FIGURES

Figure 1 Trial FTM by three notable experts



Note: The order of questions and issues (Ferguson's: F1 – F5, Tollefson's: T1 –

T6) were reorganised to facilitate trial zoning

- 1. Green: policy statements in this zone are educationally oriented.
- 2. Red: policy statements in this zone are politically oriented.
- 3. Yellow: policy statements in this zone have mixed orientations



Figure 2 An example of the Boston Matrix

High value Low growth	High value High growth
Low value Low growth	Low value High growth

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APPENDIX A – Survey sample

A sample of the survey issues to all local secondary schools of Hong Kong in ${\it May}\ 2010$



Research Centre into Language Education and Acquisition in Multilingual Societies

Strategic Planning Office

Study on the implementation of the Fine-tuning the Medium of Instruction Policy for Secondary Schools

Dear Principal,

We, the undersigned, would be extremely grateful for your help in completing the attached survey of the fine-tuning of the medium of instruction policy. The Institute will be developing a range of professional development courses to help schools adapt to the new policy. It would be of great benefit to us to know what plans you may have and what changes you are considering making in light of the fine-tuning of the medium of instruction policy.

We hope that the survey will not take too long to complete. The results from the survey will be of great use to us as we develop appropriate and relevant professional development courses for your teachers.

All information and responses will be treated confidentially. If you need any further information, please contact Dr. Agnes Law of the Institute's Strategic Planning Office on 2948 7306 or e-mail: akylaw@ied.edu.hk.

With best wishes and many thanks for your help.

Prof. Andy Kirkpatrick

T. A. Korpine

Chair Professor of English as an International Language

Director, Research Centre for Language Education and Acquisition in

Multilingual Societies

Tel: 2948 7237

Email: akirkpat@ied.edu.hk

Dr. Lai Kwok Chan

Director of Strategic Planning

Tel: 2948 7280

Email: kclai@ied.edu.hk



Part 1 – Medium of Instruction (MOI) in Secondary 1 (S.1)

- Q1. What is the MOI of <u>non-language S.1 subjects</u> in your school in **2009/10**? (Please *put a tick* in the appropriate box.)
- Q2. What will be the MOI of <u>non-language S.1 subjects</u> in your school in **2010/11**? (Please fill in the *number of classes* using English and Chinese as MOI respectively.)

		20	09/10		2010/11			
	No	o. of S.1 class	ses:			No. of S.1 cl	asses:	
Subjects	Taught in EMI	Taught in CMI	Taught in CMI, plus extended learning activities in English	Not offered	No. of Taught in EMI	classes Taught in CMI	Taught in Chin. plus extended learning activities in English	Not offered
For example: PE		√			1	4	√	
Mathematics								
Science								
Integrated Humanities								
Geography								
History								

Economics and Public				
Affairs				
Computer Literacy				
Home Economics				
Design and Technology				
Music				
Visual Arts				
Religious Education				
Civic Education/Social				
Education/Life Education				
Physical Education				
Others (please specify):				

If there will be an increase in the use of EMI in your school in the 2010/11 school year, please go to <u>Part 2</u>; otherwise, please go to <u>Part 4</u>.

Part 2 - School's Response to Fine-tuning

Q3. The following are reasons that may have affected your school's change in MOI in response to the fine-tuning policy. Please rate their level of importance in your consideration.

		Very important	Important	Neutral	Not important	Not important at all
a.	To enhance the school's competitiveness	5	4	3	2	1
b.	To improve students' public examination results	5	4	3	2	1
c.	To further develop teachers' competence	5	4	3	2	1
d.	To enhance the English learning environment of the students	5	4	3	2	1
e.	To enhance the higher education opportunities for students	5	4	3	2	1
f.	To enhance the employment opportunities for students	5	4	3	2	1
g.	To better meet parents' expectations	5	4	3	2	1
h.	To strengthen the quality of students to be recruited by the school	5	4	3	2	1

Q4. Do you think that the change in MOI in your school will affect the recruitment of students?	
□ 1. No	
□ 2. Yes (you may choose more than one)	
□ a. More students will apply	
□ b. Fewer students will apply	
□ c. Student applicants will be of better quality	
☐ d. Student applicants will be of weaker quality	
Q5. What will be your school's emphasis when communicating your school change in MOI? (you may choose more than one)	l's
□ 1. Percentage of teaching hours in English	
□ 2. Number of classes using English as the MOI	
☐ 3. Number of subjects using English as the MOI	
☐ 4. Number of native speaking teachers	
☐ 5. Linguistic proficiency of non-language teachers	
□ 6. Others, please specify:	
Q6. Does your school intend to recruit additional non-language teachers whuse English as the MOI?	no can
□ 1. No (please go to Q8)	
□ 2. Yes, the number of additional teachers to be recruited in the next	year
is:	
$\Box 1 \qquad \Box 2 \Box 3 \qquad \Box > 3$	
Q7. What is your school's priority in regard to hiring non-language teacher can use English as MOI? (1=highest)	s who
	Rank
 Academic qualification (higher degrees, subject major, etc.) Public examination results in English 	
3. Linguistic proficiency	
4. Teaching experience	
5. Administrative experience (as panel chair, etc.)6. Others, please specify:	
/ L L V	

Q8. Will your school increase the organisation of out-of-class activities improve students' English standards?	s to
□ 1. No	
□ 2. Yes, please choose the activities (you may choose more than one)	
□ a. Supplementary classes assisting students who need help i English	n
□ b. English Corners	
□ c. English Clubs	
□ d. English camps during holidays	
□ e. Others, please specify:	_
Q9. Does your school intend to apply for the support measures proposed by t government in the fine-tuning policy? □ 1. No	he
□ 2. Yes, please select (you may choose more than one)	
☐ a. Professional development courses for non-language subjecteachers	ect
☐ b. On-site support for whole-school language policy planni	ng
□ c. On-site support for language across the curriculum	
□ d .Others, please specify:	
Q10. Does your school expect to face any resource constraints as a direct resource of fine-tuning?	ılt
□ 1. None	
☐ 2. Yes, please select (you may choose more than one)	
□ a. Lack of financial resources	
☐ b. Reduced number of English teachers currently allowed fo CMI schools	r
□ c. Shortage of non-language teachers who can teach in Engli	sh
□ d. Shortage of teaching materials in English	
□ e. Lack of time for preparing teaching materials in English	
☐ f. Others, please specify:	

Part 3 – MOI Arrangement in Senior Secondary School Classes

Q11.	•	_		3	cts taught in EMI at junior secondary sc	
	□ 1. No	□ 2. Yes				
Q12.	•	•			at the senior secondar eview of MOI in 200	•
	□ None	□ 1	□ 2	□ 3	□ >3	
Q13.	•	-	•	•	ject(s) to be taught in of the fine-tuning pole	
	□ 1. No	□ 2. Yes				

Part 4 - Overall

The Hong Kong Government has adopted various MOI policies in the past decades.

Q14. Which policy do you find most favourable for the objective of preparing students for a globalised 21st century? (Please *put a tick* in the appropriate box.)

Q15. Which policy do you find most favourable for student learning? (Please *put a tick* in the appropriate box.)

		Q14	Q15
1.	All medium of instruction decisions were school-based (pre-1998)		
2.	The mother tongue should primarily be adopted as the MOI for secondary schools. Schools were bifurcated into EMI and CMI schools at junior secondary school level (<i>Guidance</i> issued in 1997)		
3.	Maintained the bifurcation of schools into EMI and CMI schools, but schools wishing to adopt EMI should demonstrate that they have satisfied three prescribed criteria under a review mechanism (<i>Report on the Review of MOI</i> published in 2005, scheduled for implementation in 2010)		
4.	Fine-tuning the recommendations on MOI arrangements as outlined in the 2005 Report so as to allow schools more flexibility in using EMI for one or more subjects for different classes (to be implemented in 2010)		

5. None of the above			
Q16. Do you have any other suggestions on the MOI policy w could help to improve student learning?	hich	ı you thi	nk
Q17. Your one line comment on the fine-tuning policy to be in 2010/11 would be:	nple	emented	in
□ 1. It is a welcome step forward			
□ 2. It is an unwelcome step backward			
☐ 3. Neither of the above. There is no significant chang	ge.		
□ 4. Others, please			
specify:			
Part 5 – Professional Development for Teachers			
Q18. Have teachers at your school undertaken any professional support teaching non-language subjects through EMI?	al de	evelopme	ent to
☐ 2. Yes (you may choose more than one)			
□ a. School-based support			
☐ b. A professional development course at a loinstitution	cal t	ertiary	
□ c. A workshop / course conducted by the ED	B.		
□ d. Others, please specify:			
Q19. What type of development would your school encourage undertake?	the	teachers	s to
□ 1. School-based support			
□ 2. A professional development course at a local tertiary	ins	titution	
\square 3. A workshop / course conducted by the EDB.			
☐ 4. Others, please specify:			

Part 6 – Background information

B1. Category of your school	
□ 1. Government □ 2. Aided □ 3. Caput □ 4. DSS	
B2. Location	
\Box 1. Hong Kong Island \Box 2. Kowloon \Box 3. New Territories	
B3. School history	
\Box 1. Less than 10 years \Box 2. 10 to 14 years \Box 3. 15 to 30 years	□ 4
More than 30 years	
B4. What was the MOI in your school before 1998?	
□ 1. CMI □ 2. EMI	
B5. School size a. Number of students	
□ 1. Less than 900 □ 2. 900-1,000 □ 3. 1,001-1,100	
□ 4. 1,101-1,200 □ 5. More than 1,200	
b. Number of teachers	
\square 1. Less than 50 \square 2. 51-60 \square 3. 61-70 \square 4. More than 70	

APPENDIX B – Survey Data

Data collected in August 2010 from the 127 returned copies of survey sent to all local secondary schools of Hong Kong in May 2010

MOI survey preliminary results Number of returned questionnaires = 127

Schtype School type in 2009

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 EMI	41	32.3	32.3	32.3
	2 CMI	82	64.6	64.6	96.9
	9 don't know	4	3.1	3.1	100.0
	Total	127	100.0	100.0	

Schtype2010 School type in 2010 * Schtype School type in 2009 Cross-tabulation

Count

		Schtype School type in 2009			
		1 EMI	2 CMI	9 don't know	Total
Schtype2010 School type in	1 EMI	39	3	0	42
2010	2 CMI	0	36	1	37
	3 EMI + CMI	2	12	0	14
	4 CMI + by subject in CMI	0	30	1	31
	9 don't know	0	1	2	3
Total		41	82	4	127

Part 1 – Medium of Instruction (MOI) in Secondary 1 (S.1)

- Q1. What is the MOI of <u>non-language S.1 subjects</u> in your school in **2009/10**? (Please *put a tick* in the appropriate box.)
- Q2. What will be the MOI of <u>non-language S.1 subjects</u> in your school in **2010/11**? (Please fill in the *number of classes* using English and Chinese as MOI respectively.)

2009/10							
No. of S.1 classes: min=2; max=6; mean:4.62							
Subjects	Taught in EMI (#)	Taught in CMI (#)	Taught in CMI, plus extended learning activities in English (#)	Taught in both EMI and CMI (#)	Not offered (#)	(n)	
Mathematics	43	49	31	2	0	125	
Science	43	42	39	1	0	125	
Integrated Humanities	17	23	12	0	71	123	
Geography	24	29	14	0	57	123	
History	22	24	12	0	65	123	
Economics and Public Affairs	9	6	1	0	107	123	
Computer Literacy	41	55	22	0	5	123	
Home Economics	28	51	11	0	33	123	
Design and Technology	16	47	5	0	55	123	
Music	37	73	11	0	2	123	

Visual Arts	30	81	10	0	2	123
Religious Education	8	57	5	0	53	123
Civic Education/Social Education/Life	4	71	2	1	45	123
Education						
Physical Education	26	91	6	0	0	123
Others (please specify):						
Liberal Studies	9	14	4	0	0	27
Social Studies	2	1	0	0	0	3
Business Foundation	0	1	0	0	0	1
Business Fundamental	0	1	0	0	0	1
Code of Life	0	1	0	0	0	1
Commercial Studies	0	1	0	0	0	1
Drama	0	1	0	0	0	1
Foundation Studies	1	0	0	0	0	1
Generic Skills Period	1	0	0	0	0	1
History and Culture	0	1	0	0	0	1
Integrated Culture and Practical	0	1	0	0	0	1
Project Learning	0	1	0	0	0	1
Study Skills	1	0	0	0	0	1

% of classes in EMI and CMI (2010/11)

No. of S.1 classes: min=2; max=6; mean:4.56

Subjects	Taught in EMI	Taught in CMI	Taught in Chin. plus	Not offered
	%	%	extended learning	(#)
	No. of classes taught	No. of classes taught	activities in English (#)	
	in EMI/Number of	in CMI/Number of		
	classes offered	classes offered		
Mathematics	52.6	47.4	41	0
Science	49.3	50.7	51	0
Integrated Humanities	38.5	61.5	21	69
Geography	51.4	48.6	24	58
History	48.1	51.9	19	66
Economics and Public Affairs	58.8	41.2	2	108
Computer Literacy	44.2	55.8	37	5
Home Economics	40.3	59.7	26	35
Design and Technology	25.3	74.7	13	56
Music	34.9	65.1	27	2
Visual Arts	30.0	70.0	25	2
Religious Education	14.1	85.9	10	51
Civic Education/Social Education/Life	6.3	93.7	5	46
Education				
Physical Education	26.2	73.8	20	0

Part 2 - School's Response to Fine-tuning

Q3. The following are reasons that may have affected your school's change in MOI in response to the fine-tuning policy. Please rate their level of importance in your consideration.

Descriptive Statistics

Zoset prive Smillster						
	N	Mean	Std. Deviation			
Q3a to enhance the school's competitiveness	68	4.10	.866			
Q3b to improve students' public exam results	69	3.55	.832			
Q3c to further develop teachers' competence	68	3.32	.800			
Q3d to enhance the English learning environment of the students	69	4.49	.532			
Q3e to enhance the higher education opportunities for students	69	4.09	.722			
Q3f to enhance the employment opportunities for students	69	3.84	.656			
Q3g to better meet parents' expectations	69	4.22	.565			
Q3h to strengthen the quality of students to be recruited by the	69	3.96	.812			
school						
Valid N (listwise)	67					

Q3a to enhance the school's competitiveness

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 not important at all	1	0.8	1.5	1.5
	2 not important	1	0.8	1.5	2.9
	3 neutral	13	10.2	19.1	22.1
	4 important	28	22.0	41.2	63.2
	5 very important	25	19.7	36.8	100.0
	Total	68	53.5	100.0	
Missing	System	59	46.5		
Total		127	100.0		

Q3b to improve students' public exam results

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 not important at all	1	0.8	1.4	1.4
	2 not important	3	2.4	4.3	5.8
	3 neutral	31	24.4	44.9	50.7
	4 important	25	19.7	36.2	87.0
	5 very important	9	7.1	13.0	100.0
	Total	69	54.3	100.0	
Missing	System	58	45.7		
Total		127	100.0		

Q3c to further develop teachers' competence

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 not important at all	2	1.6	2.9	2.9
	2 not important	4	3.1	5.9	8.8
	3 neutral	36	28.3	52.9	61.8
	4 important	22	17.3	32.4	94.1
	5 very important	4	3.1	5.9	100.0
	Total	68	53.5	100.0	
Missing	System	59	46.5		
Total		127	100.0		

Q3d to enhance the English learning environment of the students

	_	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	3 neutral	1	0.8	1.4	1.4
	4 important	33	26.0	47.8	49.3
	5 very important	35	27.6	50.7	100.0
	Total	69	54.3	100.0	
Missing	System	58	45.7		
Total		127	100.0		

Q3e to enhance the higher education opportunities for students

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	2 not important	1	0.8	1.4	1.4
	3 neutral	12	9.4	17.4	18.8
	4 important	36	28.3	52.2	71.0
	5 very important	20	15.7	29.0	100.0
	Total	69	54.3	100.0	
Missing	System	58	45.7		
Total		127	100.0		

Q3f to enhance the employment opportunities for students

	Qui to timulate the timployment opportunities for students						
	-	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent		
Valid	2 not important	1	0.8	1.4	1.4		
	3 neutral	18	14.2	26.1	27.5		
	4 important	41	32.3	59.4	87.0		
	5 very important	9	7.1	13.0	100.0		
	Total	69	54.3	100.0			
Missing	System	58	45.7				
Total		127	100.0				

Q3g to better meet parents' expectations

Que so source more parames emperations						
	-	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent	
Valid	3 neutral	5	3.9	7.2	7.2	
	4 important	44	34.6	63.8	71.0	
	5 very important	20	15.7	29.0	100.0	
	Total	69	54.3	100.0		
Missing	System	58	45.7			
Total		127	100.0			

Q3h to strengthen the quality of students to be recruited by the school

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 not important at all	1	.8	1.4	1.4
	2 not important	1	.8	1.4	2.9
	3 neutral	15	11.8	21.7	24.6
	4 important	35	27.6	50.7	75.4
	5 very important	17	13.4	24.6	100.0
	Total	69	54.3	100.0	
Missing	System	58	45.7		
Total		127	100.0		

Q4. Do you think that the change in MOI in your school will affect the recruitment of students?

Q4 change in MOI will affect the recruitment of students

	Š	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0 no	25	19.7	36.2	36.2
	1 yes	44	34.6	63.8	100.0
	Total	69	54.3	100.0	
Missing	System	58	45.7		
Total		127	100.0		

\$Q4multi frequencies

		Responses		
		N	Percent	Percent of Cases
\$Q4multi ^a	Q4.2a more students will apply	33	44.6%	75.0%
	Q4.2b fewer students will apply	3	4.1%	6.8%
	Q4.2c student applicants will be of better quality	34	45.9%	77.3%
	Q4.2d student applicants will be of weaker quality	4	5.4%	9.1%
Total		74	100.0%	168.2%

a. Dichotomy group tabulated at value 1.

Q5. What will be your school's emphasis when communicating your school's change in MOI? (you may choose more than one)

\$Q5multi frequencies

	-	Resp	onses	
		N	Percent	Percent of Cases
\$Q5multi ^a	Q5.1 percentage of teaching hours in English	29	22.3%	42.6%
	Q5.2 number of classes using English as MOI	25	19.2%	36.8%
	Q5.3 number of subjects using English as MOI	44	33.8%	64.7%
	Q5.4 number of native speaking teachers	2	1.5%	2.9%
	Q5.5 linguistic proficiency of non- language teachers	20	15.4%	29.4%
	Q5.6 other emphasis	10	7.7%	14.7%
Total		130	100.0%	191.2%

a. Dichotomy group tabulated at value 1.

Q5others

_		Q5othe:	15		
					Cumulative
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Percent
Valid		117	92.1	92.1	92.1
al	l classes using English as	1	0.8	0.8	92.9
М	IOI in academic subjects				
be	enefits to students' learning	1	0.8	0.8	93.7
cu	ırriculum package and	1	0.8	0.8	94.5
tea	aching approach, language				
en	nvironment of the school			I.	N.
ef	fective use of ELA in a wide	1	0.8	0.8	95.3
ra	inge of subjects				
en	nhance the English learning	1	0.8	0.8	96.1
en	nvironment of the students				
id	leal English learning	1	0.8	0.8	96.9
en	nvironment				
lea	arning outcomes	1	0.8	0.8	97.6
m	eeting the learning diversity	1	0.8	0.8	98.4
of	f students				
no	ot much emphasis	1	0.8	0.8	99.2
to	increase students' exposure	1	0.8	0.8	100.0
to	English at an earlier possible				
tir	me in secondary school			1	
То	otal	127	100.0	100.0	

Q6. Does your school intend to recruit additional non-language teachers who can use English as the MOI?

Q6 intend to recruit additional non-language teachers

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0 no	56	44.1	81.2	81.2
	1 yes, recruit 1 teacher	4	3.1	5.8	87.0
	2 yes, recruit 2 teachers	5	3.9	7.2	94.2
	3 yes, recruit 3 teachers	1	0.8	1.4	95.7
	4 yes, recruit more than 3	2	1.6	2.9	98.6
	teachers 5 yes, but not giving the number of additional teachers to be recruited	1	0.8	1.4	100.0
	Total	69	54.3	100.0	
Missing	System	58	45.7		
Total		127	100.0		

Q7. What is your school's priority in hiring non-language teachers who can use English as MOI? (1=highest)

Q7.1 academic qualification

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 rank 1	14	11.0	48.3	48.3
	2 rank 2	4	3.1	13.8	62.1
	3 rank 3	8	6.3	27.6	89.7
	4 rank 4	3	2.4	10.3	100.0
	Total	29	22.8	100.0	
Missing	System	98	77.2		
Total		127	100.0		

Q7.2 public examination results in English

	-	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 rank 1	4	3.1	14.3	14.3
	2 rank 2	10	7.9	35.7	50.0
	3 rank 3	3	2.4	10.7	60.7
	4 rank 4	9	7.1	32.1	92.9
	5 rank 5	2	1.6	7.1	100.0
	Total	28	22.0	100.0	
Missing	System	99	78.0		
Total		127	100.0		

Q7.3 linguistic proficiency

			8 1	•	
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 rank 1	12	9.4	38.7	38.7
	2 rank 2	5	3.9	16.1	54.8
	3 rank 3	10	7.9	32.3	87.1
	4 rank 4	3	2.4	9.7	96.8
	5 rank 5	1	.8	3.2	100.0
	Total	31	24.4	100.0	
Missing	System	96	75.6		
Total		127	100.0		

Q7.4 teaching experience

	-	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 rank 1	1	0.8	3.6	3.6
	2 rank 2	11	8.7	39.3	42.9
	3 rank 3	6	4.7	21.4	64.3
	4 rank 4	8	6.3	28.6	92.9
	5 rank 5	2	1.6	7.1	100.0
	Total	28	22.0	100.0	
Missing	System	99	78.0		
Total		127	100.0		

Q7.5 administrative experience

	_	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	3 rank 3	1	0.8	4.2	4.2
	4 rank 4	3	2.4	12.5	16.7
	5 rank 5	19	15.0	79.2	95.8
	6 rank 6	1	0.8	4.2	100.0
	Total	24	18.9	100.0	
Missing	System	103	81.1		
Total		127	100.0		

Q7.6 others

	-	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 rank 1	1	0.8	100.0	100.0
Missing	System	126	99.2		
Total		127	100.0		

Q7others

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	126	99.2	99.2	99.2
Mission of education and Generic skills of teaching	1	0.8	0.8	100.0
Total	127	100.0	100.0	

Q8. Will your school increase the organisation of out-of-class activities to improve students' English standards?

Q8 increase the organisation of out-of-class activities

to mereuse one organisation or one or entitle					
·	÷	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0 no	7	5.5	10.0	10.0
	1 yes	63	49.6	90.0	100.0
	Total	70	55.1	100.0	
Missing	System	57	44.9		
Total		127	100.0		

\$Q8multi frequencies

	-	Resp	onses	
		N	Percent	Percent of Cases
\$Q8multi ^a	Q8.2a supplementary classes	55	32.0%	87.3%
	Q8.2b English corners	47	27.3%	74.6%
	Q8.2c English clubs	38	22.1%	60.3%
	Q8.2d English camps during holidays	20	11.6%	31.7%
	Q8.2e others	12	7.0%	19.0%
Total		172	100.0%	273.0%

a. Dichotomy group tabulated at value 1.

Q8others

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		115	90.6	90.6	90.6
	after school programmes	1	0.8	0.8	91.3
	cross-curricular English activities	1	0.8	0.8	92.1
	Cross-subject activities	1	0.8	0.8	92.9
	English Day	1	0.8	0.8	93.7
	English speaking scheme and daily morning assembly	1	0.8	0.8	94.5
	English week	1	0.8	0.8	95.3
	Excursion (with English-related elements)	1	0.8	0.8	96.1
	film appreciation and language activities	1	0.8	0.8	96.9
	mobile learning activities and others	1	0.8	0.8	97.6
	so many that cannot be exhausted here	1	0.8	0.8	98.4
	study tour	1	0.8	0.8	99.2
	whole school English programme (English Musical), Form-based English activities	1	0.8	0.8	100.0
	Total	127	100.0	100.0	

Q9. Does your school intend to apply for the support measures proposed by the government in the fine-tuning policy?

Q9 intend to apply for the support measures proposed by the government

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0 no	13	10.2	18.8	18.8
	1 yes	55	43.3	79.7	98.6
	2 not yet determined	1	0.8	1.4	100.0
	Total	69	54.3	100.0	
Missing	System	58	45.7		
Total		127	100.0		

\$Q9multi frequencies

	-	Resp	onses	
		N	Percent	Percent of Cases
\$Q9multi ^a	Q9.2a professional development courses for non-language subject teachers	39	44.3%	70.9%
	Q9.2b on-site support for whole-school language policy planning	23	26.1%	41.8%
	Q9.2c on-site support for language across the curriculum	24	27.3%	43.6%
	Q9.2d others	2	2.3%	3.6%
Total		88	100.0%	160.0%

a. Dichotomy group tabulated at value 1.

Q9others

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		125	98.4	98.4	98.4
	promote language art and language activities	1	0.8	0.8	99.2
	seminars and workshops for teachers concerned	1	0.8	0.8	100.0
	Total	127	100.0	100.0	

Q10. Does your school expect to face any resource constraints as a direct result of fine-tuning?

O10 expect to face any resource constraints

	Q10 expect to face any resource constraints					
	-	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent	
Valid	0 none	14	11.0	20.0	20.0	
	1 yes	56	44.1	80.0	100.0	
	Total	70	55.1	100.0		
Missing	System	57	44.9			
Total		127	100.0			

\$Q10multi frequencies

	-	Responses		
		N	Percent	Percent of Cases
\$Q10multi ^a	Q10.2a lack of financial resources	27	19.9%	48.2%
	Q10.2b reduced number of English teachers	20	14.7%	35.7%
	Q10.2c shortage of non-language teachers	25	18.4%	44.6%
	Q10.2d shortage of teaching materials in English	19	14.0%	33.9%
	Q10.2e lack of time for preparing teaching materials in English	42	30.9%	75.0%
	Q10.2f others	3	2.2%	5.4%
Total		136	100.0%	242.9%

a. Dichotomy group tabulated at value 1.

Q10others

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	•	124	97.6	97.6	97.6
	heavy workload of teachers	1	.8	.8	98.4
	perhaps fewer NETS	1	.8	.8	99.2
	the ending of the English Enhancement Scheme	1	.8	.8	100.0
	Total	127	100.0	100.0	

Part 3 - MOI Arrangement in Senior Secondary School Classes

Q11. Has your school a greater number of subjects taught in EMI at the senior secondary school level compared with the junior secondary school level?

Q11 greater number of subjects taught in EMI at senior level

	-	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0 no	29	22.8	41.4	41.4
	1 yes	41	32.3	58.6	100.0
	Total	70	55.1	100.0	
Missing	System	57	44.9		
Total		127	100.0		

Q12. Has your school added any EMI subjects at the senior secondary school level since the release of the Report on the Review of MOI in 2005?

Q12 added EMI subjects at senior level since the Report in 2005

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0 none	48	37.8	68.6	68.6
	1 added 1 subject	3	2.4	4.3	72.9
	2 added 2 subjects	4	3.1	5.7	78.6
	3 added 3 subjects	1	.8	1.4	80.0
	4 added more than 3 subjects	14	11.0	20.0	100.0
	Total	70	55.1	100.0	
Missing	System	57	44.9		
Total		127	100.0		

Q13. Does your school plan to add any new subject(s) to be taught in EMI at the senior secondary school level as a result of the fine-tuning policy in 2010/11?

Q13 add new subject in EMI at senior level

	_	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0 no	55	43.3	79.7	79.7
	1 yes	14	11.0	20.3	100.0
1	Total	69	54.3	100.0	
Missing	System	58	45.7		
Total		127	100.0		

Part 4 – Overall

The Hong Kong Government has adopted various MOI policies in the past decades.

Q14. Which policy do you find most favourable for the objective of preparing students for a globalised 21st century? (Please *put a tick* in the appropriate box.)

Q14 preparing students in the 21st century

					Cumulative
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Percent
Valid	1 pre-1998	57	44.9	55.3	55.3
	2 Guidance issued in 1997	5	3.9	4.9	60.2
	3 Report on Review of MOI in 2005	8	6.3	7.8	68.0
	4 Fine-tuning in 2010	26	20.5	25.2	93.2
	5 None of the above	7	5.5	6.8	100.0
	Total	103	81.1	100.0	
Missing	System	24	18.9		
Total		127	100.0		

Q15. Which policy do you find most favourable for student learning? (Please *put a tick* in the appropriate box.)

Q15 favour student learning

	· · ·					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent	
Valid	1 pre-1998	59	46.5	58.4	58.4	
	2 Guidance issued in 1997	8	6.3	7.9	66.3	
	3 Report on Review of MOI in 2005	9	7.1	8.9	75.2	
	4 Fine-tuning in 2010	21	16.5	20.8	96.0	
	5 None of the above	4	3.1	4.0	100.0	
	Total	101	79.5	100.0		
Missing	System	26	20.5			
Total		127	100.0			

Q16. Do you have any other suggestions on the MOI policy which you think could help to improve student learning?

Q16 suggestions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	104	81.9	81.9	81.9
1. English split class for all CMI groups. 2. Gradually increase the number of EMI classes in higher forms.	1	0.8	0.8	82.7
A flexible accountable school-based MOI decision. Pre-1998, schools in practice need not be accountable for effectiveness.	1	0.8	0.8	83.5
Achieving a high quality of learning and teaching of generic skills in English is essential to enhance students' learning	1	0.8	0.8	84.3
adopt a different strategy to teach the two language subjects	1	0.8	0.8	85.0
All policies were adopted based on societal needs at different stages. Parental education and cultural change is of the utmost	1	0.8	0.8	85.8
importance.				
Amend the teacher to student ratio.	1	0.8	0.8	86.6
Cooperation in primary schools	1	0.8	0.8	87.4
Each school has a unique background and culture. The EDB should provide more flexibility for all schools on MOI	1	0.8	0.8	88.2
arrangements.				
English material with Chinese explanation (????), 60 years success in Pui Ching.	1	0.8	0.8	89.0
Even when students are learning in Cantonese, they should be provided with more chances to practise their written English and	1	0.8	0.8	89.8
read English resources in order to better prepare them for a globalised 21st century.				
Extra funding to recruit more teachers (including NETs)	1	0.8	0.8	90.6

				Ī
Give more English learning hours at junior levels for all students.	1	0.8	0.8	91.3
Improve language teaching in primary schools.	1	0.8	0.8	92.1
It is important to enhance teachers' capability before they are qualified to teach their subject in EMI.	1	0.8	0.8	92.9
The MOI policy should not be too rigid. In an EMI school, allowance should be made for subjects that may cause injuries	1	0.8	0.8	93.7
during class time to use Chinese to give instructions (e.g. PE, D&T in operating equipment).				
More resources should be allocated to schools for planning and implementing the school-based MOI policy.	1	0.8	0.8	94.5
More support and resources should be allocated to schools to improve language teaching, like the launching of small class	1	0.8	0.8	95.3
teaching in English.				
More teachers should be employed to help to release the teaching load of current teachers.	1	0.8	0.8	96.1
Q14: As the preparation for a globalized 21st century, the languages adopted should be Putonghua and English.	1	0.8	0.8	96.9
The crucial point is the quality of teachers. More resources should be allocated to pre-service teacher training.	1	0.8	0.8	97.6
The EDB should allow schools to adjust the number of EMI subjects according to students' learning progress.	1	0.8	0.8	98.4
The three prescribed criteria are very important. An English-rich environment on campus is crucial.	1	0.8	0.8	99.2
Total flexibility, like pre-1998	1	0.8	0.8	100.0
Total	127	100.0	100.0	

Q17. Your one line comment on the fine-tuning policy to be implemented in 2010/11 would be:

Q17 one line comment on fine-tuning

	VIT one mile comment of time tuning						
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent		
Valid	1 it is a welcome step forward	64	50.4	51.2	51.2		
	2 it is an unwelcome step backward	32	25.2	25.6	76.8		
	3 neither of the above, there is no significant change	19	15.0	15.2	92.0		
	4 others	10	7.9	8.0	100.0		
	Total	125	98.4	100.0			
Missing	System	2	1.6				
Total		127	100.0				

Q17others

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	115	90.6	90.6	90.6
(The timing is not right. Schools are facing lots of challenges: 1) staff loading 2) NSS curriculum reform 3) fine-tuning adaptation	, 1	0.8	0.8	91.3
Intensified labelling effect between schools	1	0.8	0.8	92.1
It causes confusion in schools' long-term language policy	1	0.8	0.8	92.9
It is a chance for the schools to demonstrate their courage in view of the benefit for the students.	1	0.8	0.8	93.7
It is a rushed step forward.	1	0.8	0.8	94.5
It is good if some modifications are made.	1	0.8	0.8	95.3
It should have been implemented in 1998 but the situation is different today.	1	0.8	0.8	96.1
It will create a lots of chaos.	1	0.8	0.8	96.9
Just a small step forward when we have already been pulled backward for a long time and a long way!	1	0.8	0.8	97.6
More pressure, more workload	1	0.8	0.8	98.4
No comment	1	0.8	0.8	99.2
Total confusion regarding plans by the HKEAA	1	0.8	0.8	100.0
Total	127	100.0	100.0	

Part 5 – Professional Development for Teachers

Q18. Have teachers at your school undertaken any professional development to support the teaching of non-language subjects through EMI?

Q18 any professional development to support the teaching of non-language subjects through EMI

	1	1 11		9 8	9
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0 no	31	24.4	24.8	24.8
	1 yes	94	74.0	75.2	100.0
	Total	125	98.4	100.0	
Missing	System	2	1.6		
Total		127	100.0		

\$Q18multi frequencies								
		Res	ponses					
		N	Percent	Percent of Cases				
\$Q18multi ^a	Q18.2a school-based support	48	32.4%	51.1%				
	Q18.2b a professional development course at a local tertiary institution	36	24.3%	38.3%				
	Q18.2c a workshop/course conducted by the EDB	54	36.5%	57.4%				
	Q18.2d others	10	6.8%	10.6%				
Total		148	100.0%	157.4%				
a. Dichotomy g	group tabulated at value 1.		•	•				

Q18others

		Q18othe	ers		
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		115	90.6	90.6	90.6
course by	HKIEd	1	0.8	0.8	91.3
courses tal	ken by themselves	1	0.8	0.8	92.1
DOLACE	Е	2	1.6	1.6	93.7
DOLACE programm		1	0.8	0.8	94.5
DOLACE	E programme	1	0.8	0.8	95.3
	E, 32 non-language chers took part	1	0.8	0.8	96.1
Examinati	on	1	0.8	0.8	96.9
ILLIPS pr	ogramme	1	0.8	0.8	97.6
School-bas EDB	sed system from the	1	0.8	0.8	98.4
	m in order to be o teach in English.	1	0.8	0.8	99.2
language e	e improve their efficiency through glish tests themselves	1	0.8	0.8	100.0
Total		127	100.0	100.0	

Q19. What type of development would your school encourage the teachers to undertake?

Q19multi Frequencies

	-	Responses		
		N	Percent	Percent of Cases
\$Q19multi ^a	Q19.1 school-based support	61	31.9%	48.8%
	Q19.2 a professional development course at a local tertiary institution	63	33.0%	50.4%
	Q19.3 a workshop/course conducted by the EDB	60	31.4%	48.0%
	Q19.4 others	7	3.7%	5.6%
Total		191	100.0%	152.8%

a. Dichotomy group tabulated at value 1.

Q19others

	-	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	-	120	94.5	94.5	94.5
	Examination	1	0.8	0.8	95.3
	handy teaching resources and aids	1	0.8	0.8	96.1
	one-year release	1	0.8	0.8	96.9
	other appropriate institutions	1	0.8	0.8	97.6
	peer collaboration in lesson preparation	1	0.8	0.8	98.4
	sit for exam in order to be qualified to teach in English.	1	0.8	0.8	99.2
	teachers to improve their language efficiency through taking English tests themselves	1	0.8	0.8	100.0
	Total	127	100.0	100.0	

Part 6 – Background information

B1 category of school

ï	-	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Government	12	9.4	9.6	9.6
	2 Aided	104	81.9	83.2	92.8
	3 Caput	1	.8	.8	93.6
	4 DSS	8	6.3	6.4	100.0
	Total	125	98.4	100.0	
Missing	System	2	1.6		
Total		127	100.0		

B2 location

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Hong Kong Island	24	18.9	19.2	19.2
	2 Kowloon	34	26.8	27.2	46.4
	3 New Territories	67	52.8	53.6	100.0
	Total	125	98.4	100.0	
Missing	System	2	1.6		
Total		127	100.0		

B3 school history

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 less than 10 years	8	6.3	6.4	6.4
	2 10-14 years	6	4.7	4.8	11.2
	3 15-30 years	32	25.2	25.6	36.8
	4 more than 30 years	79	62.2	63.2	100.0
	Total	125	98.4	100.0	
Missing	System	2	1.6		
Total		127	100.0		

B4 MOI before 1998

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 CMI	42	33.1	33.9	33.9
	2 EMI	75	59.1	60.5	94.4
	3 mixed code	1	.8	.8	95.2
	9 NA	6	4.7	4.8	100.0
	Total	124	97.6	100.0	
Missing	System	3	2.4		
Total		127	100.0		

B5a number of students

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 less than 900	15	11.8	12.0	12.0
	2 900-1,000	27	21.3	21.6	33.6
	3 1,001-1,100	34	26.8	27.2	60.8
	4 1,101-1,200	41	32.3	32.8	93.6
	5 more than 1,200	8	6.3	6.4	100.0
	Total	125	98.4	100.0	
Missing	System	2	1.6		
Total		127	100.0		

B5b number of teachers

	-	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 less than 50	10	7.9	8.0	8.0
	2 51-60	54	42.5	43.2	51.2
	3 61-70	54	42.5	43.2	94.4
	4 more than 70	7	5.5	5.6	100.0
	Total	125	98.4	100.0	
Missing	System	2	1.6		
Total		127	100.0		