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Adult and Continuing Education Practitioners in Hong Kong: A Study of their Values on Lifelong Learning Policies and Program Planning Practices

By

Tak-yuen Chan

Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Education

School of Education

University of Durham

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The work in connection with this thesis was undertaken over a period of 4-5 years. During its protracted course, many events had happened and significantly affected my life: the passing away of my father, my marriage to Sydella, and major changes and upheavals in the workplace. This was a period of rapid and multifaceted development in CE where my duties hovered between administration, teaching and program development. Through this, my job has given me deeper insights into the reality of adult and continuing education practice. The external environment of education reform (1999-2000), new managerialism in continuing education, and life under the HKSAR provided the necessary backdrop for critical reflection.

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Lastly, this work is dedicated to the memory of my father Artemio Lun-tek Chan (1927-1999), a simple man but a great father in his own unique way.

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Abstract

Adult and continuing education practitioners are responsible for assessing the needs of learners and translating them into program provisions in accordance with their institutional priorities. They also react to policy initiatives emanating from the government or within their organizations. However, little is known about the value orientations that guide practitioners in their practice, and their affinity for values espoused in government policy.

This study uses a quantitative survey approach to find out about the values of practitioners in relation to 'practice' and 'policy'. The Philosophy of Adult Education Inventory was applied to groups of students enrolled in an adult education and training diploma program and their philosophical orientations were evaluated. Respondents had strong preference for 'progressive' philosophy and showed the least preference for 'radical' philosophy. The 'humanist' philosophy that underlies much of adult education theory was found to vary with respondents' gender, age, education level, and years of experience.

The values on policy of lifelong learning were studied by looking at respondents' preferences for values within four specific policy domains (program, teaching and learning, finance, and organization/governance). The value dimensions are: quality, equity, choice and efficiency, which are values underlying education policy and applicable to a market-based model of program provision. A semantic differential type of questionnaire was constructed and validated by factor analysis. This was sent out as a mail-survey to practitioners in the adult, continuing, further and professional education field. Quality emerged as the dominant value across all policy domains except in finance where economic efficiency dominated. The other three values were not preferred, with learner-centered efficiency rated as most negative overall.

While the findings suggest that espoused values of practitioners are in line with dominantly held views of adult and continuing education practice and the official policy on lifelong learning, further study on the influences of practitioners' self-interest and organizational factors in determining values formation will be worthwhile to pursue.

Table of Contents

Title page		i
Acknowledgement		ii
Declaration and statement of copyright		iii
Abstract		iv
Table of contents		v
List of abbreviations		vii
List of tables		viii
List of figures		ix
Chapter 1	Introduction	1
	Background	1
	Statement of the problem	16
	Research questions	17
Chapter 2	Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks	18
	Theoretical framework	18
	Conceptual framework for study of values on practice	21
	Conceptual framework for study of values on policy	33
	Socio-cultural underpinning of practitioners' value orientations and preferences	56
	Culture and the values of practitioners	85
	Market and the values of practitioners	103
	Cultural politics and educational policy making	105
Chapter 3	Methodology	122
	Strategies for achieving purposes	122
	Measuring values in education	126
	Research design	133
	Measuring values of practitioners on practice	136
	Measuring values of practitioners on policy	141
	Significance and limitations	157
Chapter 4	Results	160
	Philosophy of Adult Education Inventory	160
	Values on policy of lifelong learning survey	169

Chapter 5	Discussion	186
	Practitioner's background and value orientations and preferences	186
	Values of adult education and program planning practices	194
	Value preferences of practitioners on policy of lifelong learning	196
Chapter 6	Conclusion and Recommendation	219
	Conclusions	219
	Implications on Practice	224
	Future Research	229
Appendices		
I.	Adult and continuing education in Hong Kong	237
	Definitions of AE, CE and lifelong learning	238
	Adult and continuing education as a field of practice	242
II.	Values on policy of lifelong learning survey instrument	285
Bibliography		292

List of Abbreviations

AAACE	American Association for Adult and Continuing Education
AAOU	Asian Association of Open Universities
AD	Associate degree
AE	Adult education
AERC	Adult Education Research Conference
ASTD	American Society for Training and Development
CARITAS CAHES	Caritas Adult and Higher Education Service
CE	Continuing education / Chief Executive
CEF	Continuing Education Fund
City U SCOPE	City University of Hong Kong School of Continuing and Professional Education
CPAE	Commission of Professors of Adult Education
CPE(D)	Continuing professional education (development)
CRIDAL	Centre for Research in Distance and Adult Learning
CUHK SCS	Chinese University of Hong Kong School of Continuing Studies
DSS	Direct Subsidy Scheme
EC	Education Commission / European Commission
EMB	Education and Manpower Bureau
ERB(S)	Employees Retraining Board (Scheme)
FCETI	Federation of Continuing Education in Tertiary Institutions
FE	Further education
FEC	Further Education Council
HD	Higher diploma
HKACE	HK Association for Continuing Education
HKBU SCE	HK Baptist University School of Continuing Education
HKCAA	HK Council for Academic Accreditation
HKCT	HK College of Technology
HKIVE	HK Institute of Vocational Education
HKMA	HK Management Association
HKSAR	HK Special Administrative Region
HKU SPACE	University of Hong Kong School of Professional and Continuing Education
ICDE	International Council for Open and Distance Education
INSET	In-service education of teachers
LegCo	Legislative Council
MDC	Manpower Development Committee
NLPHE	Non-local Professional and Higher Education Ordinance
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OUHK	Open University of Hong Kong
OUHK LiPACE	Open University of Hong Kong Li Ka Shing Institute for Professional and Continuing Education
PAEI	Philosophy of Adult Education Inventory
PLK	Po Leung Kuk College of Professional and Continuing Education
PSDAS	Professional Services Development Assistance Scheme
QAA	Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education
SCUTREA	Standing Conference on University Teaching & Research in the Education of Adults
SFAA	Student Financial Assistance Agency
SME	Small and Medium Enterprise Training Fund
TLQPR	Teaching and Learning Quality Process Review
UACE	Universities Association for Continuing Education, UK
UCEA	University Continuing Education Association, USA
UGC	University Grants Committee
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
VTC	Vocational Training Council
YPTP	Youth Pre-Employment Training Program

List of Tables

Table 1	Comparison between lifelong learning and lifelong education	37
Table 2	Chronology of major developments in adult and continuing education in HK	41
Table 3	Pre and Post-handover changes in the HKSAR	64
Table 4	Philosophies of Adult Education	131
Table 5	Items for Philosophy of Adult Education Inventory (PAEI)	137
Table 6	Dimensions of values in educational policy making	143
Table 7	Other definitions of the dimensions of values in educational policy making	144
Table 8	Policy domains in adult, continuing, further and professional education (incorporating part-time higher education)	146
Table 9	Description of predictor variables for the PAEI survey	162
Table 10	The results of the multiple linear regression analysis on 'humanist philosophy in the PAEI survey	165
Table 11	Description of predictor variables for the 'values on policy of lifelong learning survey'	173
Table 12	The results of the multiple linear regression analysis on 'organization-equity' value dimension	177
Table 13	The results of the multiple linear regression analysis on 'organization-quality' value dimension	178
Table 14	The results of the multiple linear regression analysis on 'organization-choice' value dimension	179
Table 15	Correlations between value dimensions across the four policy domains	182
Table 16	Non-governmental sector initiatives in adult and continuing education	260
Table 17	Government funding schemes for adult and continuing education	276
Table 18	HKSAR Government policy initiatives in adult and continuing education	277
Table 19	Government bureaus / departments responsible for administering / coordinating adult and continuing education and policy advising	284

List of Figures

Fig. 1	Personal pedagogical system (incorporating teacher's thinking model) in adult and continuing education	19
Fig. 2	Program planning model of adult and continuing education practice	22
Fig. 3	Systems model of adult and continuing education	23
Fig. 4	Conceptions of value in relation to belief, attitude, philosophy and behavior	33
Fig. 5	Encroachment of market on the provision of education and training	43
Fig. 6	Competing values, educational institutions' ideas and political culture	49
Fig. 7	Conflict of values in educational policy-making	51
Fig. 8	Relationship between meaning, artifact and their interactions	57
Fig. 9	Structures of society	78
Fig. 10	Model of research	124
Fig. 11	Coupling between strategy and purpose in the study of values on lifelong learning (a) policy and (b) practice	135
Fig. 12	Values on policy of lifelong learning survey items	150
Fig. 13	Comparison of the characteristics of sample to population in the PAEI survey	161
Fig. 14	Philosophical orientations of respondents in the PAEI survey	164
Fig. 15	Differences in scores on humanist philosophy across gender, age, education level and years of working experience in the PAEI survey	166
Fig. 16	Profile plots of estimated marginal means for final score on humanist philosophy in PAEI survey	167
Fig. 17	Profile plots of estimated marginal means for final score on humanist philosophy in PAEI survey (cont'd)	168
Fig. 18	Factor analysis and correlations for items in the PAEI survey	170
Fig. 19	Characteristics of respondents to the value on policy of lifelong learning survey	171
Fig. 20	Value preferences on policy of lifelong learning	175
Fig. 21	Variations in value preferences across the four policy domains	176
Fig. 22	Profile plots of estimated marginal means for value dimensions by policy domains in the policy on lifelong learning survey	181
Fig. 23	Philosophical orientations of respondents in the values on policy of lifelong learning survey	183
Fig. 24	Factor analysis for items in the 'values on policy of lifelong learning survey'	185
Fig. 25	Contexts and conceptions of adult and continuing education practice	209
Fig. 26	Structural scheme of adult education and adult learning	240
Fig. 27	Provision of adult and continuing education opportunities for adults in Hong Kong (Before 2003)	249
Fig. 28	Provision of lifelong learning opportunities for adults in Hong Kong (2003-2005)	250
Fig. 29	Characteristics of participation in CE courses in HK	251
Fig. 30	Types of course provider measured by student number	252
Fig. 31	Types of program provision by academic level in FCETI member institutions for academic year 2002/2003	254
Fig. 32	Changes in FTE of FCETI member institutions in academic year 2001/2002 and 2002/2003	255

Fig. 33	Profile of enrolment growth in representative FCETI member institutions	256
Fig. 34	Gender and age profile of participants in retraining courses	258
Fig. 35	Education level of participants in retraining courses	259
Fig. 36	Gender and educational qualification profiles of management and program staff across three representative FCETI member institutions	262
Fig. 37	Growth in staff number (with management and program responsibility) and retention ratio of old staff across three representative FCETI member institutions	263
Fig. 38	Education and manpower policy making structure in Hong Kong	275

Chapter 1

Introduction

Background

The literature on adult and continuing education (AE and CE) research is replete with studies about learners, programs, policies and various theoretical propositions on AE and CE. Surprisingly, there have not been many studies that attempt to focus their investigation on the work of AE and CE practitioners. One reason for this is the traditional separation of academic study of AE and CE from the field of practice. This has led to the consequence of directing academic interest of researchers, who are usually academics and non-practitioners themselves, away from questions connected with practice. Instead, the subject matter of research has oftentimes been concentrated on the learner, the provision of learning and the wider implications of learning in society. In this way, a research stress on the central protagonist, the learners, and their needs, is consonant with a learner-centered disciplinary discourse of AE and CE, and actually serves to perpetuate it. To some extent, this also reflects the distance between 'theory' and 'practice' as academically oriented researchers try to construct a corpus of knowledge for the field habited by their practice-oriented peers. The latter group is referred to as 'AE and CE practitioners' in this study.

The marginalization of practice as a research issue in AE and CE is more serious than in mainstream education where teacher-initiated action research has gained much popularity in recent years. In carrying out action research, teachers are encouraged to become reflective practitioners who would assume the role of agents for change and would take on responsibility for evaluating the outcome of their own actions in the classroom. Much of the impetus driving action research comes from school improvement initiatives and the effort is thought to promote

professionalization of teachers. In comparison, the AE and CE practitioner's role does not equate with that of the classroom teacher, as the former normally engages in program planning and directs part-time teachers (often called tutors) to deliver the content while the latter conducts these activities by himself/herself. The closest equivalent to this role in mainstream education is curriculum development; although in AE and CE, it comes with additional administrative and entrepreneurial responsibilities and may not involve as much curriculum development task. AE and CE practitioners do not have the status of professionals as teachers do, and may or may not belong to any professional AE association which itself may lack proper public recognition. There is no doubt that the ambiguous role of practitioners and the lack of recognition for them as a profession has made this group a less attractive subject for study. Reliance on practitioners themselves to carry out action-research type of inquiry is equally difficult due to their low research capability and perennial preoccupation with managing educational provisions.

The dearth of research on practice, apart from having an obvious effect of creating a gap in understanding about the totality of AE and CE, additionally calls into question the actual value of doing such research. This begs the question of whether understanding the practitioner is equally as important as understanding the learner. In the actual working of program planning, the practitioner is a crucial person who is imputed with the credit for making programs work and is supposed to mediate between the needs of various stakeholders. In this regard, the practitioner answers not only to learners but also to the organization where they work and to society at large. Thus, the practitioner has to navigate between the needs of these stakeholders and negotiate multiple and at times conflicting interests in the course of their practice. Program planning, as the most important aspect of AE and CE practice, is certainly a more contentious activity than teaching and should not be viewed as employing simple technical rationale. In speaking of planning theory in AE, Sork (2000) has called for simultaneous attention to be paid to the social-political environment and ethical dimensions apart from the technical skills and

knowledge. The move by North American AE researchers to infuse into program planning theory a discussion of power represents a break from the technicist model of practice prevalent up to the late 1980s. Replacing this is the conception that in program planning, practitioners enter into social relations involving negotiation of interests and power interplay. Successful program launch implies not only success in the steps of assessing needs, finding resources, deciding on content, doing marketing, and conducting evaluation; rather, it includes aspects of the strategies used to canvass support for the program and eliminate opposition (Mabry and Wilson, 2001). In order to be responsive to ever-changing needs of learners and dictates of funding agencies, program planning is open to a variety of external factors such as government policy, continuing professional education (CPE) requirements set by professional bodies and market forces. It is this latter that has aroused extensive discussions of how practitioners should conduct their practice in an ethical manner.

Market driven programs have been viewed by some as antithetical to the philosophy of AE, and as such, is a source for producing internal conflict in the practitioner when their personal beliefs clash with that of the organization or clients (Kerka, 1996). As a result, addressing this conflict through the formulation of ethical guidelines for practice becomes a priority (Gordon and Sork, 2001). With the advent of government supported use of lifelong learning as a concept to replace AE and CE and its attendant package of supporting initiatives, government policy has increasingly impinged on practice, often indirectly through the organization where the practitioner works, and which provides opportunity for studying acceptance, resistance and redefinition of change to the practice setting (Belzer, 2001).

These developments altogether underscore the importance of studying practice and consolidate its position as a legitimate issue of research in AE and CE. Using Weiland's (2000) categories of inquiry in AE and CE, research on practice falls largely under the topics of philosophy and management (leadership and

administration) but with a lesser inclusion under sociology. This state of affair is a reflection of the difference in research traditions between North American AE and its European counterpart; the former utilizes psychology and management science as the underpinning disciplines whereas the latter puts much more emphasis on sociology. The themes of past research on practice also bespeak the fact that more studies had been done on the micro- (practitioner) and meso- (organization) levels than on the macro- (policy) level. The macro-level of inquiry appears now to be more important for understanding practice with the increased government intervention directed at coordinating AE and CE developments under the concept of lifelong learning.

A survey of the literature on AE and CE practice published from the 1990s identifies four strands of research directions. The major contribution has come from North American research which highlights ongoing course of professionalization and the need to formulate ethical guidelines of practice. Other studies look from within the organization for processes and strategies employed by practitioners to negotiate power and interests with stakeholders. Another research direction involves analyzing practice as being based on a system of values held by practitioners, the elucidation of which can promote reflection and create possibilities for change. These forms of inquiry are also complemented by philosophical and sociological theorizations of practice as social relations occurring in organizations and embedded within particular historical-societal contexts. Research of this nature is informed by critical theory and philosophical pluralism which allows for broader issues of the economy, politics and social transformations to be connected with issues of practice and professionalization. Both North American and non-North American researchers have actively contributed to this latter type of research interest. Typical North American research studies undertaken in the four directions are summarized below:

1. Professionalization and ethics

Professionalization of AE and CE progressed rapidly in North America around the 1950s when academics who are engaged in teaching adult education in universities seriously considered creating a discipline of their own. This move by the Commission of Professors of Adult Education (CPAE) led to the founding of adult education as a specific academic field underpinned mainly by psychological knowledge and which utilizes quantitative methods of inquiry. By the end of the 1960s, the field is characterized by a theoretical consensus consisting of technical rationality and focus on the affective self-fulfillment of learners. This theoretical consensus represents what Podeschi (2000: 618) calls a 'behaviorist-humanist merger' and is exemplified in the theory of andragogy of Malcolm Knowles. Contributing to the move towards professionalization are three elements, viz.: knowledge base, graduate programs, and professional associations (Imel et al., 2000: 629).

Knowledge base constitutes what can be regarded as theories of adult learning and AE practice. Its generation is determined by what counts as knowledge and how this is to be generated. Until now, academics produce most of the knowledge about the field, which raises questions on the comprehensiveness and validity of their knowledge claims. Influential sources of knowledge about AE in North America are: proceedings of the Adult Education Research Conference (AERC), scholarly journals such as the Adult Education Quarterly, and the 10-year term *Handbook of Adult and Continuing Education*.

Graduate programs contribute to professionalization through its ability to foster a professional identity of AE by way of legitimizing the field as an academic discipline. As such, it serves as a focal point for scholarship in perpetuating production of the knowledge base. It also serves as the channel for practitioners to improve their knowledge and skills of practice. However, graduate study has also

been criticized as conservative in its knowledge outlook and would require widening of perspectives. It is also limited by how field practitioners actually view the merit of such programs and by how graduate study in AE is regarded within the academic institution itself.

Academic associations in AE exist to provide opportunities for personal development of members and to represent a unifying voice for the profession. However, these associations generally lack a strong focus as members come from different contexts of practice and the associations have largely been unable to influence policy. Other weaknesses include ad-hoc participation, social inactivity and drift toward elitism. This is illustrative of the position of the American Association of Adult and Continuing Education (AAACE), the largest among associations serving educators of adults in America. There are other associations which exist to serve related groups of professionals such as: (a) university continuing education administrators, the University Continuing Education Association (UCEA); and (b) trainers, the American Society for Training and Development (ASTD). Each of these two can similarly lay claim to represent AE issues to policymakers. Continuing effort toward professionalization is hampered by the academics' inability to bridge the gap between orthodox conceptions of practice and real-world practice. There are also objections to the imposition of standards of practice through certification and regulatory measures, as these are feared to impose further barriers on those AE practitioners who are already outside the mainstream. Imel et al. (2000: 629) contend that AE practice does not fit the traditional notion of professionalization in other professions. Hence, the notion of a 'weak professionalization' (Tobias, 2003) characterized by: (a) common identity based on undertaking similar activity; (b) membership in a loose organization for expression of shared purpose; and (c) voluntary participation in training that is not linked to license to practice; seems to be the direction where AE professionalization would move in the future.

Closely connected to professionalization is the development of ethical guidelines for practice. This need arises because practitioners work in environments where ethical problems surface and create dilemmas requiring hard decisions. Lawler (2000) stresses that part of the responsibility for personal development of practitioners is to engage with ethical issues arising from practice. She sees this as a three-step process of defining the nature of ethical problems, identifying ethical problems at work, and engaging in ethical decision making to resolve the dilemma. To prepare for this, practitioners must have an understanding of their own values and of the values of other stakeholders so that decision-making based on meeting the maximum possible of ethical obligations to all parties can be obtained. In this regard, it would also be advisable for AE practitioners to learn from ethical practices of other professions especially when planning programs in CPE. Empirical studies conducted in North America suggest that practitioners strongly support developing codes of ethics but only for the purpose of guidance and not for strict enforcement (Gordon and Sork, 2001).

2. Negotiations of power and interests

AE practice, in particular program planning, is now recognized not to be solely a normative process but one that takes place in social setting involving power relations and interests. The practitioner's role is to negotiate multiple interests of stakeholders where power differences are often present. Yang et al. (1998) choose to study this using a quantitative method to reveal a pattern of power and planning behaviors which are classified into seven influence tactics (reasoning, consulting, appealing, networking, bargaining, pressuring and counteracting). Successful planning therefore hinges on the match between understanding the planning situation and the influence strategies employed. This finding is further extended by the qualitative study of Mabry and Wilson (2001) who found that the use of strategies also depends on how the practitioner perceive the power that stakeholders have. In other words, how planning tactics are chosen would depend on how much

involvement the practitioner wants from the stakeholders. There are ethical implications arising from this strategy selection as undemocratic and covert planning practices would be questioned. Another line of research that tackles practitioners' engagement with power differences is to look at how their practice can be changed by policy, and vice versa. Belzer (2001) explores how the policy reform of adult basic education that is linked to welfare reform has acted to change micro-level practice. Alternatively, practice may actually redefine policy intents in a 'bottom-up' fashion.

3. Practitioners' thinking

Teacher thinking in AE is studied with reference to the model used in mainstream education. For this purpose, Clark and Peterson's (1986) model of teacher thoughts and actions has been alluded to but is regarded as an inadequate model because it does not reflect the totality of orientations related to practice (Campbell, 1999). A systematic model called 'Personal Pedagogical System' has been proposed by Taylor et al. (2001) and consists of core beliefs, foundational knowledge, and informal theory of teaching. This model can help teachers of adults to understand their personal approaches to teaching, to realize meanings they attach to certain actions made and decisions taken, and to compare the personal values held with manifested actions (espoused theory vs. theory-in-use). Campbell (1999) considers it essential to understand the value orientations of practitioners in order for change to be made. The connectivity between values, thought processes and the organizational context of practice has been highlighted by Nesbitt (1998). This has led to further theorizing that situates the values of practice within social structures and that define change within conception of structure-agency relations under structuration theory (Dirkx et al., 2000).

4. Social and political theorizations of practice

AE practice in North America, which has been dominated by technicist and instrumentalist theories, lacks adequate sociological and philosophical theorizations to deepen the understanding of practice. Podeschi (2000: 614-615) attributes the neglect of philosophical study to the rush in achieving professionalization in the 1950s. Though there has been a stream of subsequent research seeking to elucidate practitioners' values, such studies are decontextualized and so do not have social significance (Apps, 1973; Elias and Merriam, 1995; Zinn, 1991). Quigley (2000) asserts that AE should reclaim its historical identity of playing a clear social mission through attempts at influencing social policy and helping to build the civil society. This would serve to stop the singular dominance of individualistic ideology and limitations of functional humanism, which are currently directing AE policy and conceptions of practice. Toward this end, a pluralistic philosophical framework that integrates personal beliefs, institutional culture, and historical-social forces has been formulated by Podeschi (2000) to help in understanding the daily dynamics and conflicts of professional practice in both meso- and macro- contexts. Sociological analysis using conflict perspective or critical theory regards practice as a social construct which reinforces certain interests, privileges and statuses of practitioners. Professionalization is therefore conceived as a process of struggle and interests conflict where broader tensions and contradictions of the meso- and macro- contexts would spill over to create ethical issues for the practitioner (Tobias, 2003).

From these studies, it is not difficult to appreciate the crucial role of the practitioner acting as a linchpin in enabling the lifelong learning enterprise to become functional. By lifelong learning enterprise, it means the collectivity consisting of the learners (or the market), the organizations that provide for learning opportunities (the providers), the regulatory agencies of the government and professional bodies (the regulators), the laws and policies on AE and CE and social expectations about learning (media of political and social control). These elements

interact with one another and their respective interests (e.g. priorities, concerns, etc.) are negotiated through the process of program planning, with the practitioner acting like a broker. In this exhange process, power relations are played out and which can create ethical dilemmas for the practitioner when trying to achieve balance among competing interests. As research on school improvement in mainstream education suggests, much of the success in school reform depends upon how change initiatives are mediated at the school and classroom levels. Similarly, the ability of the practitioners to alter their practice in response to government policies, organizational interests and market pressures would make a difference to the future development of AE and CE from a consensus point of view. Alternatively, when the beliefs of the practitioners run into conflict with externally determined goals, it can create a condition for subversion of those goals and the frustration of change. The latter reactionary posture, falling under the conflict paradigm, is conditional upon the practitioners' personal will to resist change and the degree of constraint to be overcome when acting against the dominant trend. In sociological term, the agent (practitioner) is pitted against structures (organization, government and dominant culture) for a competition on whose values would predominate or prevail in program planning.

Without being embroiled in what sociologists call the 'dualism of structure and agency' in their discussions of change, a third approach following structuration theory of Giddens (1984) is an ontological model that considers program planning to be predicated on the practitioners as protagonist. This assumes that the practitioners' system of values that underlies AE and CE practice is both a given and a social construct (denoting duality of structure), which are useful for understanding the nature of these practices (e.g. on program planning) but does not necessarily concern with explaining for causation. The reason for this is that although values of practice (structure) precede actions carried out during program planning, it can be reinforced or changed by the latter through the transformative potential of human agency. The validity of values holds only in so far as the actions are continually reproduced

across time and space. According to Giddens (1984), one must reject "the presumption that it is possible to formulate theorems of structural causation which will explain the determination of social action in general." (p. 227) Other models such as market-exchange based on rational action theory would emphasize the consumers (learners who pay for their own education or training) while a classical or structural functionalist view would put the stress on the producers (organizations) by looking at how organizational goals and interests, which may in turn be influenced by government policy and market forces, are faithfully reproduced through the action of the practitioner carried out during program planning.

In a way, the use of structuration theory to study the value system of AE and CE practice bridges the gap between sociological and philosophical discourses on the same topic. The contextualist perspective for doing philosophy of AE proposed by Podeschi (2000) aims to situate practice within organizational and cultural frames of reference but without losing the creative individuality of the practitioner, hence opening up potential for actions to be transformational akin to the structure-agency relationship posited under structuration theory. Structuration theory has also been used to study change in teaching practice for adults (Dirkx et al., 2000). Parallel developments in macro sociological theories, particularly of the application of social reproduction in education (theorizing of the relation between society and education), also incorporate structuration theory as a form of transformational model in its dialectic of agency and structure (Morrow and Torres, 1995). Structuration theory therefore can provide a suitable framework for deepening the understanding of change occurring in AE and CE practice.

By demonstrating that research on practice can contribute toward an overall understanding of AE and CE, the ensuing task is to determine research priority when studying practitioners in the Hong Kong setting. Any meaningful research topic should take into account peculiarities of the local context of practice and frame its questions on the basis of such an understanding. Issues concerning

professionalization and ethics are premature topics to explore given the lack of recognition for AE and CE practitioners as professionals. Besides, their attachment to education, and playing the role of educator, is questionable since practitioners are characterized by their entrepreneurial skills rather than academic abilities. A study by Ma (1995) on the professionalization of AE and CE in Hong Kong has been over-optimistic in its claim that conditions are conducive for moving towards professionalization. Closer analysis suggests that apart from substantial increase of full-time practitioners as a corollary of expansions in program provision, there has not been any serious effort towards building a collective identity through the establishment of professional organization that caters to practitioners' and not providers' interest. There is also an evident lack of formal training programs in AE and CE as the bases for practice are generally regarded as generic and easily acquired while on-the-job. This assumption may have some validity when speaking of purely technical knowledge and skills but would render practice seriously lacking of theoretical insights to engage with socio-cultural and ethical issues. As such, it is not deemed opportune to study professionalization of AE in Hong Kong, at least for the time being.

Turning to individual practitioner's action at the level of interface with the organization, this would raise two types of questions: first, the meanings of practice within an organizational setting as construed from the practitioner's subjective world; second, relationship between values held by practitioners that guide their actions and the organizational characteristics, which can be revealed in an objective schema. In both perspectives, power and interests are highlighted as intervening variables influencing practice, but the focus is on the strategies adopted to negotiate these. Examples of research done on this topic is also lacking in Hong Kong. However, a related study that highlights provider-practitioner split in defining the quality dimension of program provision (Tam et al., 1999) has directed attention to power dynamics and interplay at the organizational- (meso) level as the real site for value formation and re-formation. Although this area appears to be worthy of

research pursuit, it presupposes, or would require, some understanding of macro-level theorizations of the values of practice in relation to the wider milieus of society, culture and politics in order to build up and buttress its own conceptual framework for the organization and the various processes within it. In short, the order of research inquiry should best proceed from macro- to meso- level to take full advantage of the theorizations achieved at higher levels.

Macro-level analysis of issues in education, which adopts a functionalist paradigm, has been the main method for doing research on education in Hong Kong. It is usually accompanied by the use of positivistic epistemology and quantitative methodology. This approach has been much criticized by Boshier (1997) as favoring a top-down and expert views of the world that render subjects being studied voiceless. In comparison to the West, he characterizes the nature of AE in Hong Kong as being "less participatory, more teacher centered and more focused on vocational considerations. Much of it is informed by an ideology of training and the participants are usually motivated by pragmatic instrumental considerations". He went on further to say that learners are willing to tolerate inappropriate teaching techniques and unsatisfactory administrative practices only to get through their studies and obtain the credentials wanted. Although this is probably less true now with market-driven courses that have assumed a service orientation, he has nevertheless highlighted the utilitarian and pragmatic values reining on the minds of Hong Kong people, learners and practitioners alike. Echoing earlier discussions of structure and agency and their reproductive relationship, the way AE and CE practitioners conduct their program planning or other facets of practice would certainly capture elements of these values within it. This aspect warrants greater research attention and can draw on the experience of research on teacher thinking in mainstream education.

While Boshier and Pratt (1997) have focused on studying authentic Hong Kong adult learners' conception of learning with the use of an interpretive paradigm,

there are other studies sharing a similar subjective ontology that look at issues from the teachers' and practitioners' perspectives. Examples of the latter include: conception of lifelong learning by educators (Shak, 1989), tutor's perception of the use of technology in teaching (e.g. online tutoring) (Shin, 2002), and stake holder's thoughts on values education in adult distance education (Taplin, 2002). As these studies do not usually make a distinction between using teachers of adults (often called tutors) and practitioners as subjects, it has therefore failed to draw attention to the implications of each type of actions elicited by these subjects on change. To explain the difference, this would require going back to the concept of human agency as having transformative potential on social structures. Forms of teaching that encourage reflection and use critical theory, such as Freire's conscientiatization, can bring about changes to cognitive structures residing within the individual's level of consciousness (e.g. overthrow of false consciousness). In comparison, program planning directly engages with political, social and ethical issues that arise from extant social structures; and so the actions of practitioners taken in response to these issues could result in changes to the social structures. Of the two, the latter can contribute towards macro-level theory building and therefore should rank higher in research priority following on the earlier line of argument. It should also be noted that research on practitioner thinking is not concerned with looking at the manifested outcome of practice (actions) but rather with the value system and practice-related orientations that have structuring properties on the practitioners' actions carried out in their work context. As Nesbitt (1998) contends of teaching in adult education, 'individual faculty members' thought processes and values and the organizational context are recursively interconnected'.

The study of AE and CE practitioners' value system and practice-related orientations is related to two facets of macro-level analyses: socio-cultural and political. This means that social, cultural and political theories are useful for explaining phenomena lying within the structures (values, rules and institutions) where AE and CE takes place. Its explicative utility is particularly evident following

an elucidation of practitioners' values of practice, which represent merely a description. Social theories can, for example, account for why practitioners favor certain conceptions about learners, expectations about learning, and approaches to program planning. Cultural theories can draw on postmodernist discourse of consumption and globalization theory to explain program marketing activities. Political theories can draw on discourse of power and politics to explain why practitioners hold certain views on the policy of lifelong learning. These theories are useful to the extent of supplying plausible explanations but cannot be used to predict subsequent courses of action. Thus, an explanation of why practitioners hold certain views on the policy of lifelong learning cannot lead to the conclusion that particular political stance will be adopted. This 'abstract-to-reality' gap is the domain of creative human agency in which understanding it would require a different research epistemology, particularly one that assumes a micro-sociological perspective, which may or may not require recognizing importance of structures.

The success of applying macro-level theories to research on practitioner thinking depends on two conditions: first, finding the appropriate combination of theories to theorize on the structures defining AE and CE's existence; and second, locating local research on AE and CE that demonstrates application of these theories. On the first task, it denotes not only an eclectic use of theories but also a sensitive attention to the nature of the structures. Holford (1998: 147) asks whether it is appropriate to view Hong Kong's lifelong learning structures as having a cultural, social and political dimension, as well as an economic and vocational one. Since lifelong learning policies have seen more emphasis being placed on the latter two, which are broadly speaking values of the market, theorizations of the lifelong learning structures should take this into account to attain relevance. The second task is complementary to the first as it tries to map previous efforts of theorizing to offer a temporal and spatial organization of the structures. As such, the lifelong learning structures are defined by several dimensions, viz.: social, cultural, political, economic, and education, each with values that shift across time, but which need to

be understood in relation to one another to identify the unifying trends and directions of change.

Research on AE and CE in HK has offered some theorizations by way of critique of the policy of lifelong learning. Studies of this like include Holford's (1998) critique of the policy process of lifelong learning and its economic determinism. In it, he draws on Lau and Kuan's (1988) autochthonous theory of social and political development to explain why a market-oriented form of programming that shows no interest for emancipatory aspirations is preferred in Hong Kong. Boshier (1997) reinforces this view with similar use of sociological analysis and predicts that functional orthodoxy (i.e. utilitarian and pragmatic focus of programming) will be intensified after Hong Kong's transfer to Chinese rule and which will leave no space for adult educators who adopt critical and emancipatory approaches. In retrospect, his views have largely been proven right except that the major constraint has come not from a curtailment of practitioners' freedom to act; rather, it has come from the limiting potential of the market, which prescribes and perpetuates particular forms of programming. In this regard, Tsang (1999) uses a conflict perspective to criticize reform agenda in education that assumes the ability of the market to ensure equality. He then applies this critique to question the expansion of self-financing post-secondary education that has been taking place in Hong Kong since 2001 under the auspices of the CE sector (Tsang, 2001). It follows that research on AE and CE would naturally be interested in finding out on why values of the market have come to dominate the lifelong learning structures and thus making an impact on practice. In the context of researching practitioners' value system and practice-related orientations, macro-level theories are complementary to structuration theory in being able to provide a basis for explaining the characteristics of these structures, which nevertheless come first before any human actions are able to modify it, and only after which can structuration theory be invoked.

Statement of the problem

This study is interested in researching about AE and CE practice with particular focus on practitioner thinking. Under this research direction, it aims to elucidate the value system of practitioners and their practice-related orientations. Furthermore, it seeks to explain by reference to social theories how the values on practice reflect and are bound up with the broad social structures in which programming for adults are conducted. The problem is elaborated from two aspects: generic practices and policy of lifelong learning. Therefore, the problem for this study is to describe and explain the values that are embedded in the whole of the practitioner's practice.

Research questions

The following research questions are addressed in this study:

1. What is the profile of the value system of AE and CE practitioners when measured as personal philosophical orientations (working philosophy) consisting of beliefs and philosophies that guide them in making decisions and taking actions in the practice of adult and continuing education?

2. What is the relation between the practitioners' working philosophy and their personal characteristics?

3. What is the orientation of practitioners towards the policy of lifelong learning when assessed in terms of their preference for a set of values embedded in educational policy-making in a market-based context of program provision?

Chapter 2

Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks

Theoretical framework

As this study aims to achieve macro-level theorization of AE and CE practice by situating it within social-cultural-political milieus, it therefore needs to find the relevant theories to explain for various facets of the 'practice to milieu connection'. In other words, questions on how the values elucidated can be understood in relation to social-political or cultural developments in Hong Kong would require back up by theory. Since there would be a range of theories rather than one single meta-theory (e.g. as in sociology) that can offer plausible explanations, a way of organizing the components contributing to a practice model and their relations to one another must first be found. For this purpose, the model should be able to accommodate different perspectives within one integrated framework, and thus attain value-neutrality desired in an analytical scheme. Such framework should be dynamic and open to change from the external environment. As analysis can be made of AE and CE practice at a subjective, organizational, or systems level, models should exist for each of these levels. Theoretical frameworks are useful because complex relationships and interactions can be depicted visually, and from which, decisions on what theories to use can proceed.

A model based on systems theory meets the above-stated criteria. It has been applied by Ballantine (2001) in her book on *Sociology of Education* to break down parts of the institution of education so that appropriate theories can be matched and used to explain those parts of the education system which are of interest. The systems model has five parts organized in a five-step process starting from the organization (structure and processes). This interacts with the environment in the forms of inputs and outputs. Adaptation to the changes and demands in the

environment occurs through the process of feedback. The systems model has been described by Olson (1978) as follows:

> It is not a particular kind of social organization. It is an analytical model that can be applied to any instance of the process of social organization, from families to nation....Nor is [it] a substantive theory-though it is sometimes spoken of as a theory in sociological literature. This model is highly general, content-free conceptual framework within which any number of different substantive theories of social organization can be constructed (p. 228)

In this study, two models are required to depict separately about: (a) program planning at the meso- (organizational) level, and the (b) institution of AE and CE at the macro- (systems) level. This latter is the model that will be drawn on extensively in the discussions of findings in Chapter V. Since the present research topic on practitioners' values has been derived from related research of teacher thinking, the model of teacher's thinking is shown here (Figure 1) but is not considered important for use in the discussions because of two reasons.

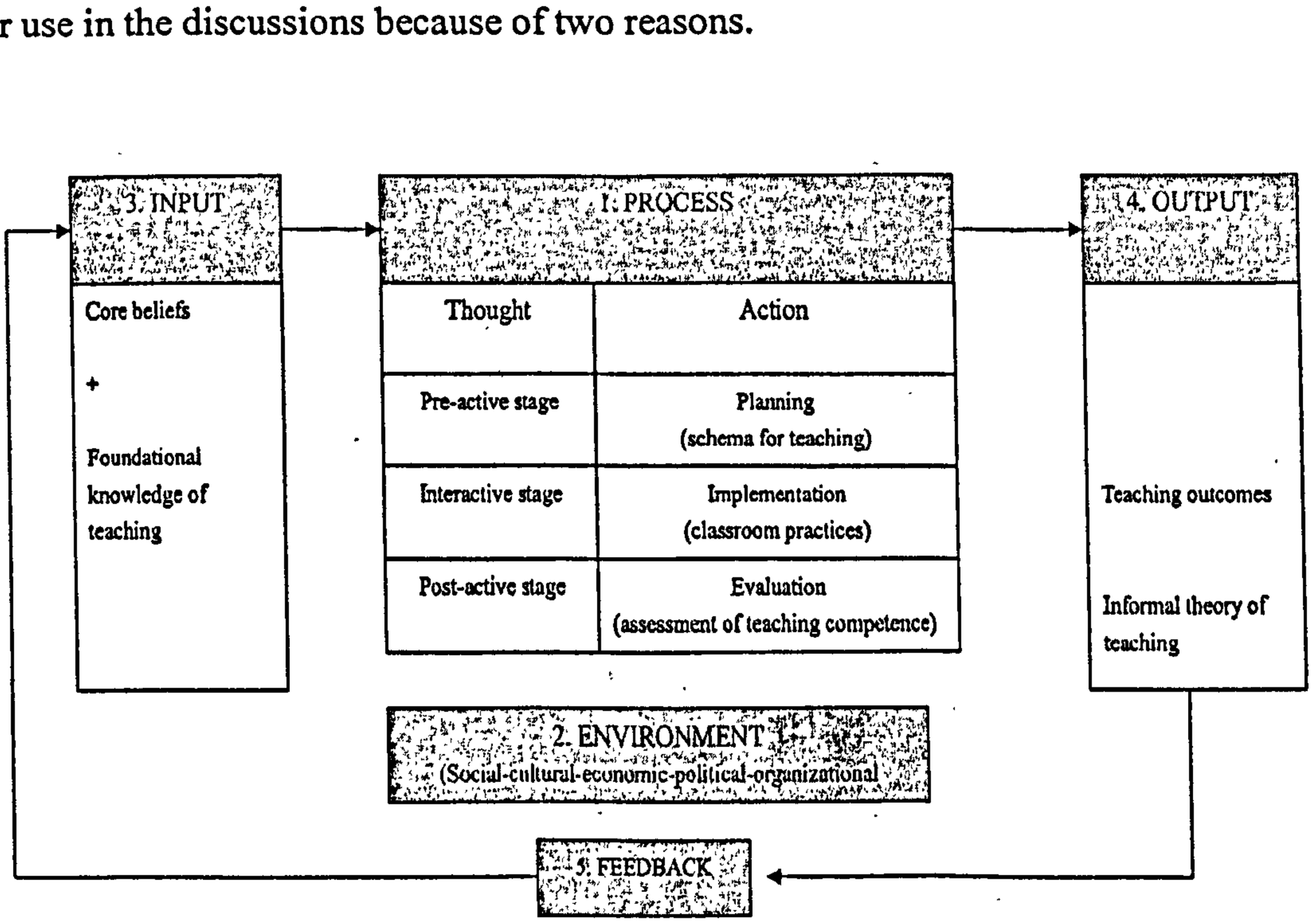


Figure 1 Personal pedagogical system (incorporating teacher's thinking model) in adult and continuing education

First, this subjective model would probably find better use in research that adopts a micro sociological perspective focusing on individual's thoughts and actions. For this study, the relevance of a subject's action is thought to reside in the meso- (organizational) level and not in isolated context. Second, the focus of research on teacher thinking is on relatively discrete aspects of thoughts and actions rather than on the whole process of teaching (Campbell, 1999). Despite these shortcomings, the teacher's thinking model can provide a template for drawing up the program planning model at the meso-level. The teacher's thinking model depicted here is a hybrid model that makes use of the processes of thoughts and actions (pre-active, interactive, and post-active stages) in Clark and Peterson's (1986) original model and combining it with the personal pedagogical system of Taylor et al. (2001). From this latter, core beliefs (assumptions about what is right in adult teaching or learning) and foundational knowledge (knowledge and skills for effective teaching of adults) are derived to form the input, and informal theory of teaching (sense of identity and purpose) becomes one of the outputs. This new teacher's thinking model assumes that feedback will be operating in the system as the outcome and informal theory of teaching (output) are compared with core beliefs and foundational knowledge (input) leading to revised thoughts and actions about teaching (reflective step). The model can also be considered as a heuristic for understanding the complex meaning of teaching in the adult educational setting.

Program planning requires a more comprehensive model than the teacher's thinking model and would place more emphasis on the influence by the environment, especially with the organization where the practitioner works. The model depicted in Figure 2 has incorporated dimensions of socio-political and ethical concerns to offset criticisms about the sole focus on technical dimension when doing program planning. This follows basically the planning framework of Sork (2000) with some input from the interactive planning model of Cafarella (1994) to define tasks involved in the different steps of the planning process for each of these three domains. Foundational knowledge in the teacher's thinking model is replaced by the

knowledge base of adult education, viz.: andragogy, learning projects, participation, perspective transformation, program planning, and self-directed learning (Long, 1991). The 'core belief' in the teacher's thinking model is replaced by a personal philosophy of adult education as elaborated by Elias and Merriam (1995).

The systems model for the institution of AE and CE (Figure 3) is a macro-level schema for organizing the various components involved in the running of the lifelong learning enterprise. In this model, the practitioner is just one of the elements in the input step. Focus is placed on policy-making where both covert and overt structures and processes (e.g. informal networks and power relations) are included. This would allow for theorizing to be done from functionalist, conflict and critical perspectives. The environment and its interaction with the structure and processes of policymaking are highlighted through an extensive listing of the influential factors derived from social-cultural-political-economic-educational milieus.

Conceptual framework for study of values on 'practice'

Values in education

The study of values in education is located in the discipline of philosophy of education, of which the famous exposition by R.S. Peters (1973) has given education three key characteristics, viz.:

1. Education implies the transmission of what is worthwhile to those who become committed to it.
2. Education must involve knowledge and understanding and some sort of cognitive perspective which is not inert.
3. Education at least rules out some procedures of transmission on the grounds that they lack wittingness and voluntariness on the part of the learner.

3. INPUT

Knowledge base of adult education

+

Personal philosophy of adult education

1. PROCESS

Planning Process

(embodying questions, decisions, actions and justifications)

Elements (the following may not proceed in logical steps)	Dimensions: Superficial → Deep		
	Technical (rational decision-making)	Socio-political (acting on and responding to power and interests)	Ethical (developing justifications for actions taken and decisions made in the following)
Analyze context and learner community	Market research	Understand frame factors and participants	Whose interests will be represented in the program and how the learner community will be defined?
Justify and focus planning	Needs assessment	Generate program ideas through multiple approaches	How program ideas are identified?
Clarify intentions	Determining objectives	Consider cognitive and critical learning outcomes	What aims will be pursued?
Prepare instructional plan	Designing learning environment	Analyze curriculum	What instructional approaches will be used?
Prepare administrative plan	Program management	Attend to sensitivities	How program will be managed and how resources will be allocated?
Develop summative evaluation plan	Program analysis	Evaluate by non-managerial criteria	How success will be determined?

4. OUTPUT

Program implementation outcomes

Informal theory of program planning

2. ENVIRONMENT

(Social-cultural-economic-political-organizational milieus)

5. FEEDBACK

Figure 2 Program planning model of adult and continuing education practice

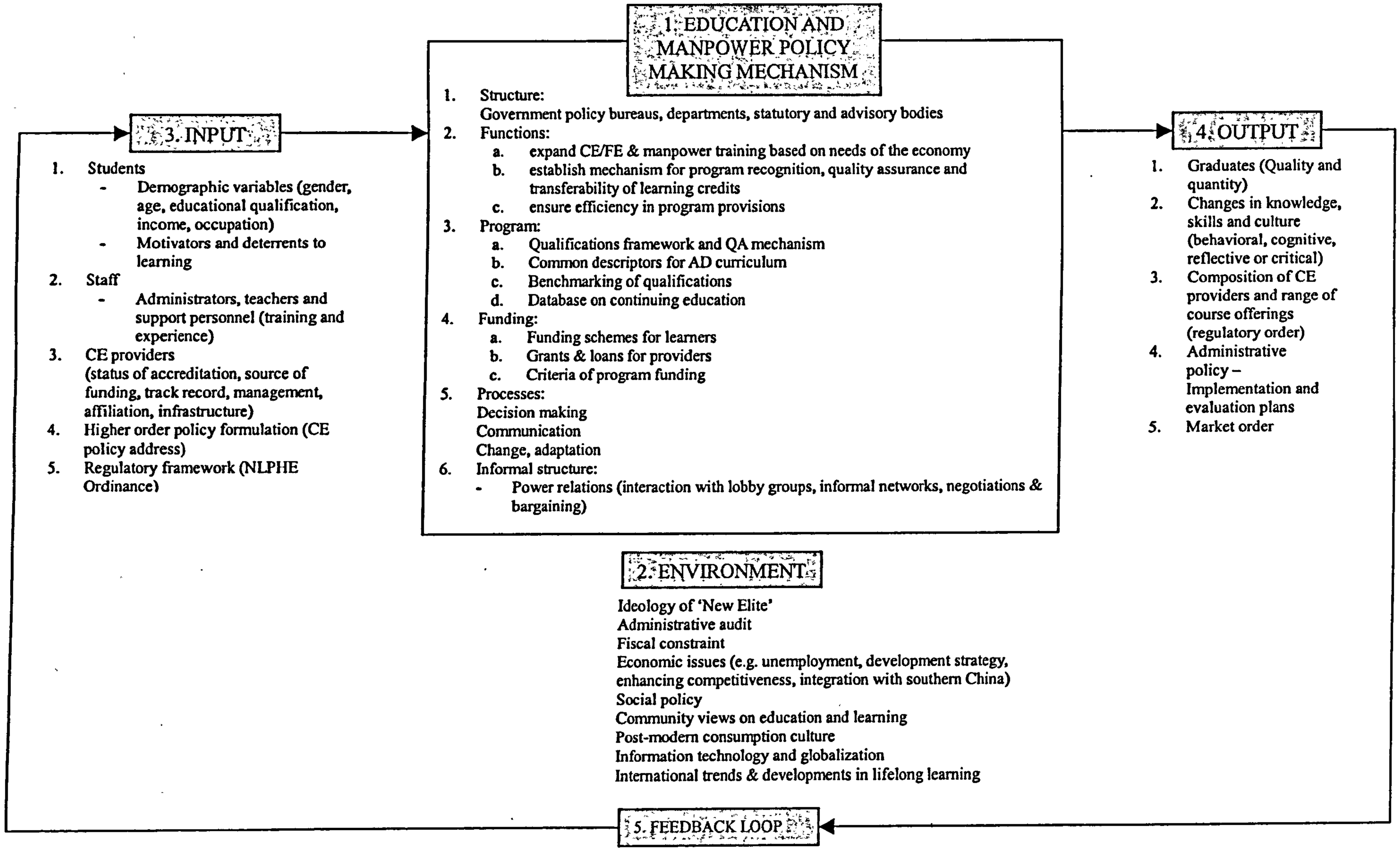


Figure 3 Systems model of adult and continuing education

For R. S. Peters, education involves essentially processes which intentionally transmit what is valuable in an intelligible and voluntary manner and which create in the learner a desire to achieve it. As such, the value of education lies in its ability to help individuals achieve the state of being an educated person, and this is particularly relevant when referring to initial education.

Liu (1997) chooses to discuss fundamental issues related to higher education through the interconnectedness between educational thought, values and objectives. For him, lying at the core of educational thoughts are values of education; and within the core of the latter are the objectives of education. By educational thought, it means the rational, systematic and philosophically-guided understanding about the social phenomenon of cultivating the person. The values of education are revealed through the promotion of whole person development, the advancement of society, and the protection of nature and ecosystems. These are achieved in a state of tripartite harmony consonant with the concept of sustainable development. The objectives of education are context specific demands that individuals should be educated or trained to meet certain qualities and characters deemed essential and beneficial to society.

Writing on the purposes and philosophies of AE, Beder (1989:37) defines purposes as "the basic reasons for conducting adult education; purposes are translated into practice", and these may come from ideals or operational concerns. On the other hand, "philosophies are the beliefs about the way in which adult education should be conducted and the general principles that guide practice". Beder enumerates four major categories of purposes for AE, viz.: (1) to facilitate change in a dynamic society, (2) to support and maintain the good social order, (3) to promote productivity, and (4) to enhance personal growth. These four categories are interrelated and impinge on one another (p. 39). He also contends that discussions of purposes and philosophies naturally converge on social philosophy, which is interested in analyzing the relationship between AE and social problems.

Pring (1996) argues that the social philosophy of education and training embedded in education policies (e.g. state-mandated curriculum) has failed to mediate the clash between values of education that cherish the pursuit of intellectual excellence (liberal education) and those that emphasize vocational preparation (vocational education). His analysis urges for a rethink of R.S. Peters' conception of an educated person; and also about what is worthwhile to be learned, and the aims of education. In this, he suggests that liberal education can be presented in a vocationally relevant manner where becoming educated is not simply considered to be an initiation into knowledge of subjects in the curriculum, but also "those personal and social qualities which enable the young person to live productively and responsibly within society. It must in that sense be vocational" (p. 114). The different views regarding the curriculum represent divergence of values, which reflects a "deeper lack of consensus over moral values and the quality of life to be striven for within society" (p.116). According to him, what is required is not an imposed consensus, but rather a perennial deliberation by teachers and academics of what is worthwhile to be learned. The deliberations should be institutionalized rather than foreclosed by the political action of policy-makers, so that those values that emerged as reasonable to pursue could be advocated in education. Thus, 'values' are a central topic in the study of philosophy of education connected to an understanding about fundamental issues of education at all levels.

An attempt to study values cannot do away with the task of according it an operative definition with sufficient clarity. Oftentimes, 'value' is used interchangeably with 'belief', and the distinction between 'value' and 'philosophy' is not altogether clear. In his book, *The Nature of Human Values*, social psychologist Milton Rokeach defines value as "an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence" (Rokeach, 1973 cited in Wang, 1994). Values thus involve personal choices and govern conducts of behavior in

society according to this definition. Plunkett (1990) offers a proximate definition to this, but one which has an additional relevance to education. Values according to him are "relatively stable choices or preferences about how to be or to behave and, in relation to education, concern what it is considered education should achieve" (p.9). There are values for different domains or spheres of activities in society, i.e.: moral; aesthetic; political; religious; economic, etc., and each of these can contribute towards the formation of educational values (Taylor, 1970). Lawson (1979) considers the different spheres mentioned to be the summative parts of culture, and hence, a commitment to the values of education necessarily follows a commitment to the values of society. In the same vein and with particular reference to AE, Paterson (1979) speaks of values in AE as synonymous with the religious, moral, social, and other general values restated within the adult educational setting.

A synthesis of the above suggests that values in AE are stable preferences informed by beliefs about the nature, purpose and practices of AE. These values guide one's conduct as participants, whether as learners, teachers, administrators or policymakers. Values are implicit in the aims, goals and objectives of education. To understand values requires one to look at underlying beliefs, which are the grounds upon which values are held (Plunkett, 1990). Beliefs in turn are shaped by perspectives which relate to the various value domains in a society or culture. A starting point for the study of values would be to search for the underlying beliefs and apply a critique of its perspective. To cite an example, AE cherishes a tradition of valuing the adult learner, what then does one believes about the adult learner? How does one's belief come about and are they justified?

A study of values in education thus amounts to an analysis of beliefs and perspectives[1]. Education per se is not subject to judgment for it constitutes what Oxenham (1989) would regard as 'absolute value', a concept implying its importance as a condition for the sustenance of society. Indeed, learning of which education is a subset of, exists in every form of human society and is vital for its

survival and the perpetuation of culture. Lawson (1979) fundamentally agrees with this and sees in education the utility of providing justification for other things, such as: what activities would constitute 'education'; what forms and content should the curriculum take? It follows from the above that AE (adult learning to be more encompassing) is a first order value requiring no justification. The values of AE are therefore second order values or 'contingent values'. Adult literacy or the elimination of illiteracy is one example of a contingent value in AE.

How can 'values' and 'philosophy' be differentiated? The distinction has been made clear by Bhola (1989) who defines the philosophy of AE as being made up of the "values and theory determining the sphere of activity called adult education". Philosophy goes one step further, which in addition to values, also incorporates concepts and principles arising as a product of synthesis of ideas to form schools of thought associated with particular proposals and proponents. Elias and Merriam (1995) have identified different philosophies of AE - liberal, progressive, behaviorist, humanist and radical. Bhola (1989) further expounds on the topic and suggests that 'philosophy' exists in their respective socio-political contexts as 'ideology'. This happens when AE is explicitly linked to the socio-political program of the state and when its aims are made to serve an avowed social or political purpose, the latter often predicated by a prescribed moral order. One thus sees a progression from values to philosophy, and perhaps to ideology, depending upon the context, with the former constituting a subset of the latter.

How are values of education formed? Values are held at the personal and collective levels, both of which reside within the bounds of society and culture. Outside of this local boundary, there is also scope for synthesis to form 'common or universal values'. At the local level, five loci can be identified to contribute to the value discourse in AE, viz.: participants; practitioners; community; policy-makers; and business groups. Among these, two or three loci are more dominant due to the inequality of power distribution in society. The values emanating from participants

are implicit in their motives for study, choice of courses, etc. Although participants are the main stakeholders in AE, their voices are the feeblest and their views are little known. The causes for this are a deprivation of channels for expression and a lack of capacitation for group action, this latter representing a condition in which raising of consciousness is called for according to radical adult educators. Practitioners, in this sense taken to encompass teachers, program planners and administrators, have the strongest need to understand values of practice because their work requires them to adopt positions. In so far as the planning, administration and delivery of programs for adults involve making decisions that affect the lives of others, values are needed to guide practice. Practitioners generally adopt one or more, or profess an eclectic combination, of the philosophies enumerated by Elias and Merriam (1995). However, in real practice, practitioners' views are often expressed on their behalf by organizations that employ them or the professional bodies representing their interests. Community values of AE are more or less common denominations of values from other domains of activities in society. Their importance depends very much upon the context; e.g. community values of AE in Nordic countries are conceivably more important relative to situations elsewhere. Policy-makers, inclusive of government, political parties, advisory bodies, and think tanks hold the greatest potential in molding values across sectors of the society. Educational values are implicit or explicit in legislations, party manifesto, political platform, party ideology and other forms of political expressions. Lastly, business groups have arisen in recent decades to constitute the main force for articulation of opinions in public about how education should be conducted. Unfortunately, whatever values emanating from this source have largely been limited to a narrow utilitarian focus and are conceived along strict rationalist perspective. Naturally, the best synthesis of values which offers an opportunity for shared understanding could only be achieved through broad participation from all sectors and with the inclusion of various perspectives.

The sources of universal values or those values that are shared between societies and cultures emanate from a meeting of minds, principally through international conferences, in which outcomes are enshrined in declarations and conventions. Objections might be raised against using the word 'universal' due to its character of being too encompassing. Nonetheless, as a norm, declarations accord respect for cultural idiosyncrasies and national priorities. 'Universal values' may not necessarily be shared *in toto* at the time of their formulation but they certainly represent common standards to be achieved at some future stage. UNESCO has been and remains the most important venue for such a synthesis of values across national and cultural boundaries. It contributes in particular through the series of world conferences in adult education of which the latest, CONFINTEA, was held in Hamburg in 1997. Other regional and economic blocs such as the OECD, European Commission, and APEC are also active in discussions of lifelong learning and manpower training issues. At the conclusion of the 20th century, the Delors Commission appointed by UNESCO has come up with a blueprint for education which includes lifelong education (International Commission on Education for the 21st Century, 1996). This undoubtedly embodies values in education that are of universal relevance.

It is important to take note of some universal values that have relevance to AE. Foremost among which is the right to education which has been expressly listed as a human entitlement under the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. The right to basic education has been affirmed in the World Declaration on Education for All (Jomtien Conference) and the right to adult education has gained new significance in the Hamburg Declaration on Adult Learning (UNESCO, 1997). Article 2 of the Hamburg Declaration states thus:

> Adult education thus becomes more than a right; it is a key to the twenty-first century. It is both a consequence of active citizenship and a condition for full participation in society. It is a powerful concept for fostering ecologically sustainable development, for promoting democracy, justice, gender equity, and scientific, social

and economic development, and for building a world in which violent conflict is replaced by dialogue and a culture of peace based on justice. Adult learning can shape identity and give meaning to life. Learning throughout life implies a rethinking if content to reflect such factors as age, gender, equality, disability, language, culture and economic disparities.

The adoption of a value in education as an equivalent one in the quasi-legal domain is exemplified in these conventions and declarations, with an accompanying rise of prominence and significance in status. Furthermore, the Hamburg declaration imparts new values to AE which reflects its up-dated mission. Collectively, this can be stated as the furtherance of humanity into the new century through the development of persons and community building. Herein is seen a convergence of values in AE with initial education. As envisaged by the International Commission (Delors Commission), education of the 21st century should highlight the transition from local to global community, stress the importance of social coherence and democratic participation, and achieve both economic growth and human development. The similarities of values expounded between these two forms of education are evidently clear.

Apart from the above, there are transformations occurring in the political and social scenes common to most societies which affect the discourse on values. In this regard, the concepts of civil society and postmodern condition have emerged to influence and interpret values across all spheres, and consequently, including those of education.

Civil society is an old concept in Western libertarian struggle which has been revived in recent years to confront the excesses of the state and the market. It represents a free dimension or space in society where morality is engendered by the collective virtues of its citizens. It stands also as a bastion against totalitarianism and market infiltration into non-economic spheres of activities in society. Gellner (1994:5) describes civil society succinctly as "that set of diverse non-governmental

institutions which is strong enough to counterbalance the state and, while not preventing the state from fulfilling its role of keeper of the peace and arbitrator between major interests, can nevertheless prevent it from dominating and atomizing the rest of society." The building of a civil society hinders on a strong sense of community and highly developed civic virtues which AE can help to foster. For adult educators in the West, the waning of this function is the subject of much lamentation while for some in the East; it is the potential to experiment with this new role that has given fresh meaning to AE. In contrast to the notion of 'civil society', post-modernism does not invoke a re-formulation of values but rather describes phenomena in each of the spheres of activities of the 'post-modern' society. Post-modernism has the following general characteristics: it challenges the singular use of reason; it objects to the formulation of grand frames of reference; it predicts individuation of society, and finally, it interprets the high culture of consumerism in late-capitalistic society as a cultural economy of signs (Edwards and Usher, 1997). Through the application of modernist and postmodernist interpretations of culture, one can account for how and why contemporary values are formed.

Following the defining of values, issues related to macro- and micro- level theorizations and objective-subjective ontology require further treatment. When studying values across cultures and social systems, it is argued that differences would lie only in the pattern of values exhibited rather than in the absence of some values vis-à-vis the presence of others (Williams, 1979: 18-19). This means that all human values (e.g. 36 values in Rokeach's Value Survey) can be expected to be present in all developed societies, but that they would exist in varying degrees of importance (priorities). It is also suggested that social institutions serve as specialized frameworks for articulation of values relative to their domains of activities, or what is referred as 'value specialization' (Williams, 1979). In the postmodern context, there is a decline in significance of social institutions which leads to more emphasis being placed on self-referential systems. The study of values

that limits only to either macro- or micro-levels would certainly be missing out on the dynamics and interdependence of value expression on the meso-level. This is because the "meaning and significance people derive from these institutions is an expression of their power to create and uphold certain defining values" (Heffron, 1997:5). In other words, organizational norms could define the expression of values by its members. When translated to the present study, the systems model for AE and CE (representing its institution) in Figure 3 (p. 23), provides the site for value specialization; and the values on practice and policy, although elucidated from an individual practitioner's perspective, contain latent influence of organizations in shaping such personal values. The question of the objective existence of values and hence the use of categories (structured taxonomy) to study them is recognized not as a perfect method, but rather as a preferred way to study value prioritization as long as the taxonomy used is robust enough to support meaningful analysis (Heffron, 1997:8-19).

To summarize, the conceptual framework used to study values on 'practice' is based on a synthesis of the above definition of values. This has in addition to beliefs and philosophies, also brought in attitude and behavior to render the definition of values complete. The last two is influenced by the thinking about doing research on values in organizations by Connor and Becker (1979:72) who defined values as "global beliefs about desirable end-states underlying attitudinal and behavioral processes. Attitudes are seen to constitute cognitive and affective orientations toward specific objects or situations. Behavior generally is viewed as a manifestation of values and attitudes". From Figure 4, an integrative picture for these concepts shows culture as being made up of various domains or spheres of social life, and each of these are reflected in values that reflect society as a totality. There is a bifurcation of values into an abstract/general situation and a specific situation. The former is represented by belief and philosophy, while the latter is represented by attitude and behavior. These two lines of conceiving values would approximate, respectively, the practitioner's image of self vis-à-vis the practitioner's

integration of doing and believing. Brookfield (1988), borrowing from Donald Schon's writings on reflective practitioners, uses the terms 'theories in use' and 'espoused theories of practice' to describe these two conceptions. "A 'theory in use' is a collection of hunches, insights and intuitions which practitioners draw upon to guide their actions when they are faced with particular sets of circumstances. They are frequently contradictory to espoused theories of practice, which are the publicly recognized givens (for example, that adults are self-directed learners or that adult education is collaborative) by which we organize our practice" (p. 318). While comparison would be a worthwhile effort to pursue, the present study of values on 'practice' is directed at the practitioner's conception about 'espoused theory of action'. On the other hand, the study of values on 'policy' is restricted to the practitioner's attitude rather than extending to the behavior aspect of his/her conception about 'theory in use'.

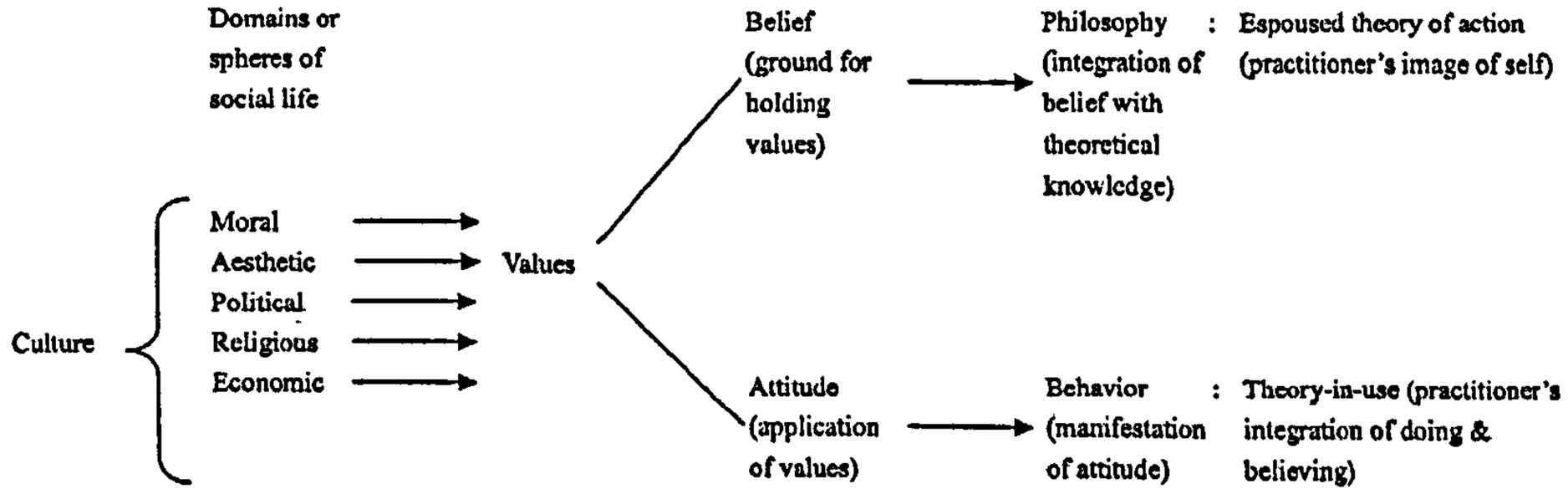


Figure 4 Conceptions of value in relation to belief, attitude, philosophy and behavior

Conceptual framework for study of values on 'policy'

Knowledge economy, markets and lifelong learning policy

The discussions of knowledge economy, lifelong learning and markets are intricately connected as they represent a shared contemporary view of governments around the world on how education systems should be reformed and financed to

better position their citizens to compete in a globalized economy that depends heavily on human knowledge and skills and information technology to drive and sustain growth.

According to Peters (2001), the knowledge economy is built as a narrative based on separate discourses of the disciplines of economics (neo-classical theory), management science (e.g. quality management, knowledge management), sociology (postindustrial and knowledge societies), and communications and information technology. The knowledge economy is set apart from traditional economy by the following characteristics: (a) economics of abundance – knowledge as a resource is expanded rather than depleted when used; (b) annihilation of distance – communications and information technology can bridge distance and create virtual markets and organizations; (c) deterritoralization of the state – the notion of national economy is gradually being replaced by global free flow of information and knowledge; (d) importance of local knowledge – values of knowledge and information are different depending on the context and time; (e) investment in human capital – competencies of workers that are captured in systems or processes within organizations are valued. Peters (2001) criticizes the use of the concept 'knowledge economy' in policy documents as ambiguous by not differentiating between 'knowledge' and 'information' that are used interchangeably, and also by not clearly defining knowledge in relation to the economy and society. In his view, 'knowledge economy' means:

> simply an ideological extension of the neoliberal paradigm of globalization, where the term stands for a 'stripped down' functionalist view of education in service of the multinationals…These national policy constructions revolve around a narrow, instrumental approach to the economics of knowledge and to intellectual culture in general, which does not acknowledge or sufficiently differentiate among various definitions of knowledge: economic, social, and philosophical.

The term 'lifelong learning' features highly in policy documents, often appearing together with 'knowledge economy' as they both relate to conceptualizations about globalization and raising of economic competitiveness that demand a rethink about the relationship between education and the economy. Lifelong learning is a concept promoted by the OECD, the European Commission, and other national governments that follow in their footsteps. In the developed economies of the West, such as European Union, contemporary social and economic change is interrelated such that lifelong learning carries the twin aims of promoting active citizenship and employability. The main theme for the lifelong learning policy agenda is to increase citizen's participation in all spheres of public life – economic, political, and social. In order to achieve lifelong learning, it is realized that citizens need to be willing and capable of assuming responsibility for their own learning. The promotion of lifelong learning is undertaken as a continuum of learning throughout life (lifelong) where purposeful learning straddles formal, non-formal and informal activities (lifewide). Policies to promote lifelong learning should integrate social and cultural objectives with the economic rationale of lifelong learning and that permeability between the different structures, sectors and levels of education and training should be enhanced, while at the same time drawing in a variety of social partners from community organizations and civil society to put lifelong learning into practice (Commission of the European Communities, 2000). The UNESCO vision for lifelong learning contained in the Hamburg Declaration emphasizes 'democratic citizenship' alongside economic development, equity issues and sustainable development. This is similar to the European Commission's Memorandum on Lifelong Learning in addressing the needs of society and economy, but moves one step further to reiterate lifelong learning as a right, which bears responsibilities as well (UNESCO, 1997). Thus, Lawson (2000) sees the values in lifelong learning policy as a political program:

> This all suggests that thinking about lifelong learning and education (the terms are frequently seen together) is by no means value neutral, it is both ethically and politically loaded. Moreover, it is clearly directed

towards the interests both of individuals and communities. Education seen from these perspectives is not merely an activity throughout life, it is for life. Moreover, the evidence strongly suggests that a particular model of life is intended. It is a form of life which recognizes a mutuality between the personal and the social. The values are highly consistent with the values of a liberal democratic society and it is the furtherance of these values by educational means which may be seen as the political programme inherent in UNESCO concepts of lifelong education (57-58).

The Hamburg Declaration is a restatement of the older concept of 'lifelong education' in the present usage of the term 'lifelong learning'. Of the four dimensions of 'lifelong education' enumerated in the Faure Report – vertical integration, horizontal integration, democratization and the notion of the learning society, similarities can be found for the first three in the new dimensions found in 'lifelong learning' – lifelong, lifewide, and democratic citizenship. The fissure lies with the form of learning society envisioned as the final outcome of learning in society. To Boshier (1998:13), this represents "a shift from a neo-Marxist or anarchistic-utopian template for reform (the Faure Report) to a neo-liberal, functionalist reduction (OECD) orchestrated as a corollary of globalization and hypercapitalism". The shift is accompanied by the advent of markets in education and the promotion of education as a form of consumption driven by learners' needs that eschews educational planning for meeting of demands. Similarly, Rubenson (1997) has made a distinction between the first generation (Faure Report) and the second generation of lifelong learning (OECD, EU) where the former "was a strange mixture of global abstractions, utopian aspirations and narrow practical questions which often lost sight of the overall idea" and the latter has "at its core almost exclusively structured around an "economistic" world view. The two concepts are compared in Table 1.

Table 1 Comparison between lifelong learning and lifelong education

	Lifelong learning	Lifelong education
Ideology	Utilitarian, neoliberal, functionalist	Socialist, Utopian
Values	Quality, efficiency, choice	Equity, social cohesion
Objective	Economic Prosperity	Democracy
Strategy	Market	Social welfare policy of the state
Focus	Individual	Community
Conception of learners	Consumers	Citizens
Type(s) of learning	Formal	Formal, non-formal, informal
Financing and investment in learning	Private consumption and investment	Public investment
Sphere where learning takes place	Private and pseudo-public	Public
Institutional advocates	OECD, European Commission	UNESCO Faure Report, UK 1919 Report

Griffin (2001) suggests that comparisons may require new analytic categories to make distinctions, for example, between learning and education, and policy and strategy, as well as to associate learning with culture, leisure and lifestyle. In the latter, the cultural consumption of learning reveals a postmodern paradox of learning where learning as a private act is given a public character through the creation of a pseudo-public learning sphere in the form of educational qualifications that can demonstrate 'real learning' has occurred (Jarvis, 1998: 67).

For models of lifelong learning contained in official policy, the following four are enumerated by the World Congress on Comparative Education Societies (WCCES) subgroup on lifelong learning[2] and are useful for categorization:

1. An emancipatory or social justice model which pushes the notion of equality of opportunity and life chances through education in a democratic society.

2. A more traditional or cultural model where lifelong learning is a process of each individual's life itself, aiming at the fulfillment of life and realization.

3. A 'post-modern world' model in which lifelong learning is seen as an adequate learning system for contemporary society.

4. A human capital model where lifelong learning connotes continuous work-related training and skill development to meet the needs of the economy and employers for a qualified, flexible and adaptable workforce.

Boshier (1998:5) laments that Faure's humanistic ideals and emancipatory intentions for lifelong education have been lost despite the language of his Report continuing to be used in the new policy in 'lifelong learning'. Griffin (1998: 21-22) holds the view that the meanings of these two concepts remain stranded between the attempt to bridge rhetoric and public policy. He contends that "as in the case of other desirable social objectives, there is often a perceived gap between the ideal and the reality, the theory and the practice, the promise and the performance, or whatever. To speak of rhetoric and reality in the public policy of lifelong learning is to draw attention to just such a disjunction". He further contends that "in accepting the historical inevitability and embracing the moral imperatives of lifelong learning as public policy, we should bear in mind that rhetoric is intrinsic to the discourse, and the gap between the rhetoric and the reality can never be closed" (p. 30). Rubenson (1997) views the approach toward narrowing this gap to be based on maximizing the complementarity of equality and economic efficiency, which is close to the policy enunciated by the Hamburg Declaration.

Lifelong learning whether as an education policy or a strategy for social reform inevitably connects to markets. The advent of neoliberalism since the 1980s has influenced the way governments conceive the delivery of social services, with public provision being replaced by a liberal market economy. Hodgson (2000: 5)

distinguishes mainly three lifelong learning systems, viz.: state-led regulated, social partnership regulated, and demand-led regulated. She contends that "the use of a continuum of this sort recognizes the fact that an individual country's current policies for organizing and funding lifelong learning will, to a large extent, depend on the nature of the individual education and training system it has inherited and the relationship between the education and training system and the labour market in that particular country". In relation to demand-led regulation or markets in education, Lawton (1992: 92-93) enumerates six possible policy options: (1) a completely free market-no state intervention; (2) a market constrained and regulated by the state; (3) a school system which is wholly private but subsidized or paid for by the state; (4) a system where schools-state and private-are all in competition with each other; (5) state and private schools complementing each other and co-operating with each other (mixed economy, planning); (6) only state schools permitted.

Markets are considered supreme to state provision since it is an exchange mechanism where rational, self-interested, and perfectly informed individuals reveal their preferences for the supply end to meet their demands with efficiency, sensitivity, and speed. State intervention is justified only when true 'public goods' exist in education, which can only be supplied by the state and financed by taxation due to their nature as collective goods benefiting all that cannot be made to individual specifications or supply refused to individuals who do not want to pay for them (Pratt, 1997: 34-36). In their study of markets in post-compulsory education, Belfield and Brown (2001) observed that competition can bring about quality improvements defined in terms of cost consciousness, responsiveness to students, curriculum choice, student support and assessment. There is also a positive correlation between quality and direct financing (students paying their own fees). These add up to suggest that learner-centered efficiency and choice seem to be the two most important values that can assure success of markets in education.

A distinction is made by Tooley (2000) between the terms 'education for the market' and 'markets in education'. The former refers to educational opportunities that are created to foster economic competitiveness through raising people's knowledge and skills and preparing them for work. The latter refers to education being supplied in the market with most or all of the following features present: no state provision, no state funding, relatively minimal regulation, and relatively easy market entry for new suppliers, and a price mechanism. There is no necessary connection between the two, but the former is naturally accompanied by state intervention to achieve the desired objectives whereas the free functioning of the latter would allow learners to take up education and training according to their own interests and needs. Examples of the former include the employees retraining scheme, skills upgrading scheme, YPTP, etc.; while the latter includes all types of courses run by CE providers whether they be related to work, for personal development, or pure leisure purposes.

The discussions at policy level on knowledge economy and lifelong learning in Hong Kong are a fairly recent development associated with the economic, social and political programs of the HKSAR government (Table 2). The observation on transformation into a postindustrial society characterized by dominance of the service sector, with greater need for accumulation of human capital through CPE is acknowledged in the UGC's Report on Higher Education in Hong Kong (UGC, 1996:169):

> In Hong Kong's new knowledge-based economy, there is an increasing demand for professional and targeted CPE leading to recognized qualifications for different groups of students. There is some evidence, however, that we also need to develop CPE devoted to social skills, and to non-vocational interests. Both types of CPE should be encouraged.

The impetus for taking this further after the political transition was propelled primarily by the need to address the unemployment issue and to raise economic

Table 2 Chronology of major developments in adult and continuing education in HK

Year	Development highlights and implications
1954	Establishment of the Adult Education Section, Education Department. This section focused on remedial education. Adult education had exhibited robust growth reaching its height in the 1960s – 1970s but started to decline in late 1980s as 9 years of compulsory education came into effect from 1978.
1956	Founding of the Extra-Mural Department, HKU. It provided general adult education (short courses) and a vast offering of courses that led to examinations for the professions (e.g. law, accounting, architecture). The department's direction was maintained until the late 1980s when it started to offer overseas degree awards. A similar department was established in the Chinese University of HK in 1965.
1978 and 1980	White Paper released on the theme of "The Development of Senior Secondary and Tertiary Education" followed by setting up of the 'Adult Education Subvention Scheme'. The subvention scheme provided subsidy for non-governmental bodies to run adult education courses complementing those offered by the Adult Education section of the Education Department.
1982	Education reform policy paper released – "A Perspective on Education in HK". The Llewelyn Report advocated for increase in university places and part-time degrees. It also recommended for more integrated policy coordination in adult education (between formal and informal education) and gov't support to the adult and continuing education sector. This international advisory report was shelved by the Government.
1984, 1986 and 1988	Education Commission Reports No. 1-3 discussed issues of "Open education" and how to establish and operate such a system in HK, including a model based on consortium of local universities and polytechnics.
1989	Establishment of the Open Learning Institute of HK, later renamed OUHK in 1997. The Open University represented a systematic effort by Government to provide part-time higher education but only on self-financing basis. OUHK became completely self-financing in 1994.
1990-1992	Government announced major cutbacks in funds for adult education amidst expansion in higher education. The Extra-mural Department of HKU changed its name to School of Professional and Continuing Education, thus paving the way for other university CE units to emulate. These developments combined signaled the replacement of adult education largely by continuing education and the entry of overseas courses run in partnership with local CE schools.
1992	Passage of Employees Retraining Ordinance and establishment of the Employees Retraining Scheme. This signaled the beginning of Government sponsored training connected to addressing the unemployment issue.
1994 and 1996	UGC commissioned report was published on the theme of "An Economic Analysis of Continuing education". The said report formed the basis of the UGC's view on continuing education in its 1996 "Report on Higher Education in HK". UGC adopted a laissez faire attitude on continuing education and advocated total self-financing with no agenda for policy steering.
1997	Passage of the "Non-local Higher and Professional Education (Regulation) Ordinance". This law simply provides a regulatory framework for registration of overseas courses in HK while leaving the rest entirely to market forces and the institutional practices of CE units.
1999-2001	Chief Executive's Policy Address endorsed continuing education and lifelong learning as a panacea for addressing the rising unemployment problem. Lifelong learning for the New Economy in the Information Age is stressed continuously in subsequent official documents.
2000	Chief Executive announced decision to expand tertiary education to 60% of the eligible age cohort. Education Commission released its report on the review of education "Proposals on Education Reform in HK". Continuing education entered into official discourse in education with CE sector co-opted by Gov't to implement its policy on manpower training and post-secondary education expansion.
2001	Chief Executive announced $5 billion Continuing Education Fund to subsidize learning but eligible courses are only restricted to sectors perceived to be beneficial to economic development in HK.
2002	UGC released the "Report on Higher Education in HK" (Sutherland Report). Further education which consists mainly of self-financing full-time associate degree provision becomes one major segment of activities in continuing education schools. This segment is run by market forces after withdrawal of funding from most sub-degree programs beginning in 2004.
2002	Manpower Development Committee was set up to oversee vocational education and training. This committee proposed a 'Qualifications Framework and associated QA mechanisms' for accrediting and recognizing qualifications across sectors of education, training, further education and the professions.
2003	Education and Manpower Bureau decided to end subsidy for provision of adult primary and secondary education and outsourced the service to not-for-profit bodies for 2 years (2003-2005) only. This signaled the official end of adult education in HK.
2000-2004	Education and Manpower Bureau plays an active and enlarged role in coordinating the activities of continuing education by way of funding schemes and course recognition policies.

competitiveness. Thus, the Chief Executive first employed 'lifelong learning' in his policy address for 1998 as an organizing theme for investing in human capital (Tung, 1998). The concept was given a boost by becoming the rationale of the education reform as enunciated in his policy address for 1999 (Tung, 1999), and was followed by the assumption of education and training as areas of social policy in his policy address of 2000 (Tung, 2000). Lifelong learning was actively promoted as a prerequisite for participation in the knowledge-based economy and targeted funding (CEF) was made available to encourage learning in selected domains of economic activities (Tung, 2001). The successive policy initiatives on lifelong learning (see Appendix I, Table 18, p. 277) in the CE's policy address clearly promote only one model of lifelong learning – the human capital model. The implementation of these policies by the educational bureaucracy (EMB) has moved the 'markets in education' for CE from the plane of Lawton's option 1 (a completely free market-no state intervention) to option 2 (a market constrained and regulated by the state) that is achieved through a merger of 'education for the market' and 'markets in education'.

The policy of the HKSAR government on lifelong learning is based on the strengthening of its control over 'education for the market'. This is being done for the entire education system from initial education to CE. For initial education, the changes initiated by the Education Reform of 2000 (Education Commission, 2000c) are intended to revamp both the structures and curriculum to ensure that learning outcomes are compatible with the economic needs of society. This evidently can create a spillover effect on CE to reinforce learners' preference for vocationally oriented courses at the post-initial stage. On the other hand, the promotion of 'markets in education' by the government through its sanctioning of a self-financing postsecondary education sector (AD programs); the withdrawal of funding for core staff in CE schools of universities (UGC, 1996); the withdrawal of public funding from sub-degree and taught postgraduate programs (Sutherland, 2002; UGC, 2002; Legislative Council, 2003d)); the abolition of government-run adult evening schools (Legislative Council, 2003b; c); have all combined to give the impression that the

extent of marketization has increased significantly after 1997 (Figure 5, arrows show infiltration of markets into traditionally public-funded provisions).

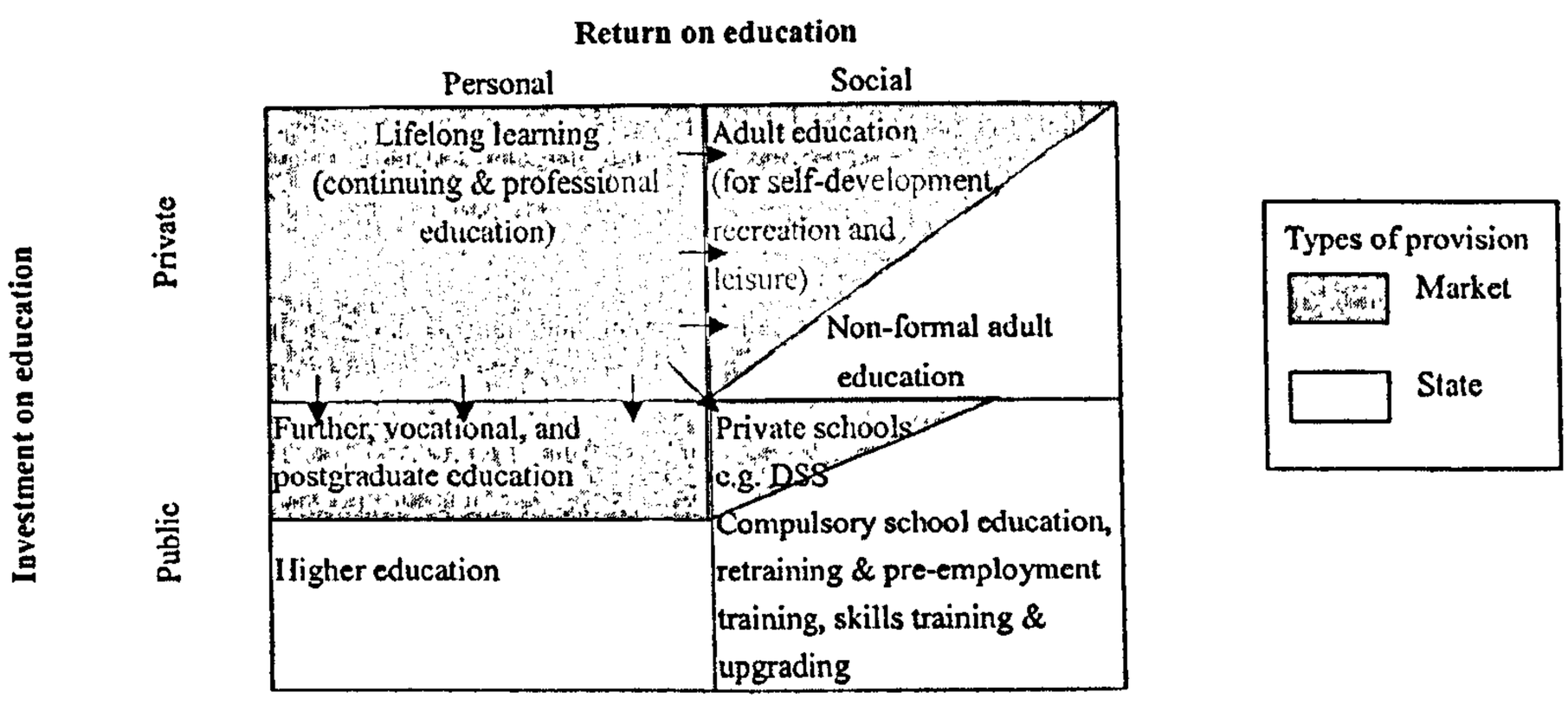


Figure 5 Encroachment of market on the provision of education and training

However, although the above policies have extended the scope of the market by physically and financially withdrawing the state's involvement in CE provisions, it nevertheless means more state interference coming in the form of regulations and political patronage given to a select group of providers. This is most evident in the postsecondary education sector where all the AD program curricula have to conform to the EMB's set of common descriptors which was drafted on its behalf by the FCETI, the organization representing CE schools of the universities (FCETI, 2001). The government has used a combination of funding schemes directed at providers (land grants and loans for capital investment) and learners (i.e. CEF, SME Training Fund, Workplace English Campaign) to apply its leverage in influencing the direction of development taken by CE providers and the choice of courses by learners. So, whereas Chung et al. (1994) have recommended the government to step back and allow development of true 'markets in education' for CE in the spirit of laissez-faire economic policy, the augmenting of market functions by the HKSAR

government is based on political motives (i.e. to reduce unemployment; to relieve fiscal constraint) that saw its policies mainly favoring large providers in the university CE sector, and thus, failing to create a genuine level-playing field despite its claims to be doing so. Experience to date of the implementation of the NLPHE Ordinance and the running of AD programs have shown that private and smaller providers have either been discriminated or disadvantaged by the government's regulatory and administrative measures in CE (Leung and Goodliff, 2001). In view of this, the 'markets in education' for CE seem to converge toward 'education for the market' as a result of the policy of government on lifelong learning.

Values of markets in education

There is a broad consensus on the core values of education that are applicable to discussions of public-funded education (Marshall et al., 1989; Sergiovanni et al., 1999) and private education provided through the market (Levin, 2000). These four values are: efficiency, choice, equity and quality (also called excellence). Levin additionally includes social cohesion as a value that is otherwise not found in the core values. Although these values have originally been proposed and used to study education policy in western societies (North America), they are considered to have universal validity because variability across social systems and culture would be manifested as differences in priorities, or in the 'pattern of values' as previously explained. The main discussions on these values center not only in the priorities that they appear but also in the interactions (conflicts) between them.

Debates about markets in education are made from philosophical (ethical) and sociological perspectives. In the former, there is concern that 'efficiency' as a contemporary cultural value has superseded the universal value of care and concern for the learner (Jarvis, 1997). This has implications in both teaching practice and program planning for adults. On delivery of education through the market, it is doubted as to whether the individualistic, profit-oriented, and vocationally-focused

service it offers will meet the needs of the majority in society. Thus, it is believed that market provision undermines the moral and ethical concerns of education. As Grace (1994) contends:

> it does seem improbable that market culture which in its operation puts market before community; which necessarily maximises strategies for individual profit and advantage; which conceptualizes the world in terms of consumers rather than citizens and which marginalizes issues to do with morality and ethics, will be appropriate culture in which education as a public good can most effectively be provided. (p.135)

The sociological perspective harnesses strength in their arguments by drawing in the hegemony of the state and the power structure of society to highlight influences of these two in the working of the market. For Ball (1994:111), there can be no neutral market as "they are socially and politically constructed...The market is thus heavily constrained and singularly constructed by government. It is based on what Hayek terms 'ordered competition'- a form of composition that is intended to achieve particular social and economic goals". Pure markets rely on the ability and willingness of participants to make decisions that are based on informed choices. There is the question of how realistic this can be attained given existing inequalities in society that affect the exercise of choice by individuals. As Ball (1994) points out:

> Why should it be assumed that all needs will be met in the market place, or even that more needs will be met; that is ultimately an empirical question....For those for whom costs are prohibitive there is no effective market in education. The market only exists for some....it is evident that the inequality that is generated here ramifies with a set of other consumption inequalities (housing, transport, recreation, etc.) which are experienced by the same social groups....The 'some' or 'others' are the beneficiaries and victims of the market. The systematic inattention to the plight of the losers in the market suggests that market theories are underpinned and informed primarily by the values, interests and concerns of certain class groups and fractions. (p. 114)

The working of the market which is based on meeting of needs naturally glorifies customer satisfaction and this raises doubt on whether quality as defined from a customer point of view would be able to meet broad aims of education. In his study of quality in CPE, Tovey (1995) concedes that pragmatism would dictate the nature of interaction between customer and provider, and the object of influence is the content of learning or the program. Thus, according to him:

> The nub of the problem is, then, that it is only ever likely to be through coincidence, rather than by design, that a course constructed to the absolute requirements of such interest groups will deal with the broader aims expressed by providers...This is the kind of discussion that which requires a return to aims and definitions. Customer satisfaction is eminently suited to an isolated and technicist conception of CPE; it is manifestly unsuited to a determining role within a socially located idea of the same subject. It brings with it a commercial reductionism: a concentration on just one aspect of provision. (p.185)

Opponents of the market therefore see continuing state involvement in education as necessary. Above all, equity consideration figures highly in their arguments to justify state intervention. However, for supporters of the market, the three levels of state intervention – provision, funding, and regulation, are simply unnecessary because private provision of education can find equally valid or even better solutions without need for directly involving the state. Tooley (2000) places emphasis on freedom, not only in consumers being able to make choices but also for providers to exercise their entrepreneurial wit to solve problems of education. At the heart of his argument is that private providers can address equity issues by staying focused on the poor and disadvantaged, and provide for their needs through a combination of internal mechanisms such as loans and operational cross-subsidization of courses, as well as through the external mechanism of social philanthropy. The market can help to foster democratic control of education where he believes politically imposed accountability (i.e. quality and efficiency mandates) is no better than private initiative or profit motive in education. As equity demands that quality should be high for all provisions and no one is deprived of opportunity

for study due to poverty, Tooley contends that respected and neutral third party surveillance will be able to ensure quality, more so than the state. It must be noted that Tooley's advocacy of markets in education hinges on support from the family and civil society, without which, many of the alternatives to the state he has suggested would simply not work.

In reaction to the need to support marketization as the basis for promoting economic development, while at the same time curbing the excesses of the market which are mainly in relation to equity, a 'third way' approach has been proposed by governments of the reformed left in western Europe. Examples of policies implemented are those on inclusion that are aimed at widening participation especially from disadvantaged groups. Naidoo's (2000) analysis concludes that such policies when implemented in the context of higher education interact with institutional policies of quality assurance, which militates against the policy intents of inclusion by creating new stratifications along the lines of prior educational and social disadvantage. Her analysis shows that:

> the 'third way' approach to policy reform, through which policy mechanisms to temper some of the consequences of the marketisation of higher education within a quasi-market framework are implemented, appears likely to lead to a higher education system that penalises the very institutions serving the students with the greatest prior educational and social disadvantages. The quality framework thus combines with the measures for widening participation to develop a highly stratified higher education system that may contribute to reproducing the 'unacceptable' inequalities in wealth and status that social democratic governments are seeking to eradicate.

This supports Tooley's contention that imposed measures of the state are not necessarily effective or beneficial.

For CE in Hong Kong, strategic decisions made by the HKSAR government to fund only learning activities that it sees as contributing to economic development (e.g. CEF) represent in effect interference on choice. Efficiency is not so much a

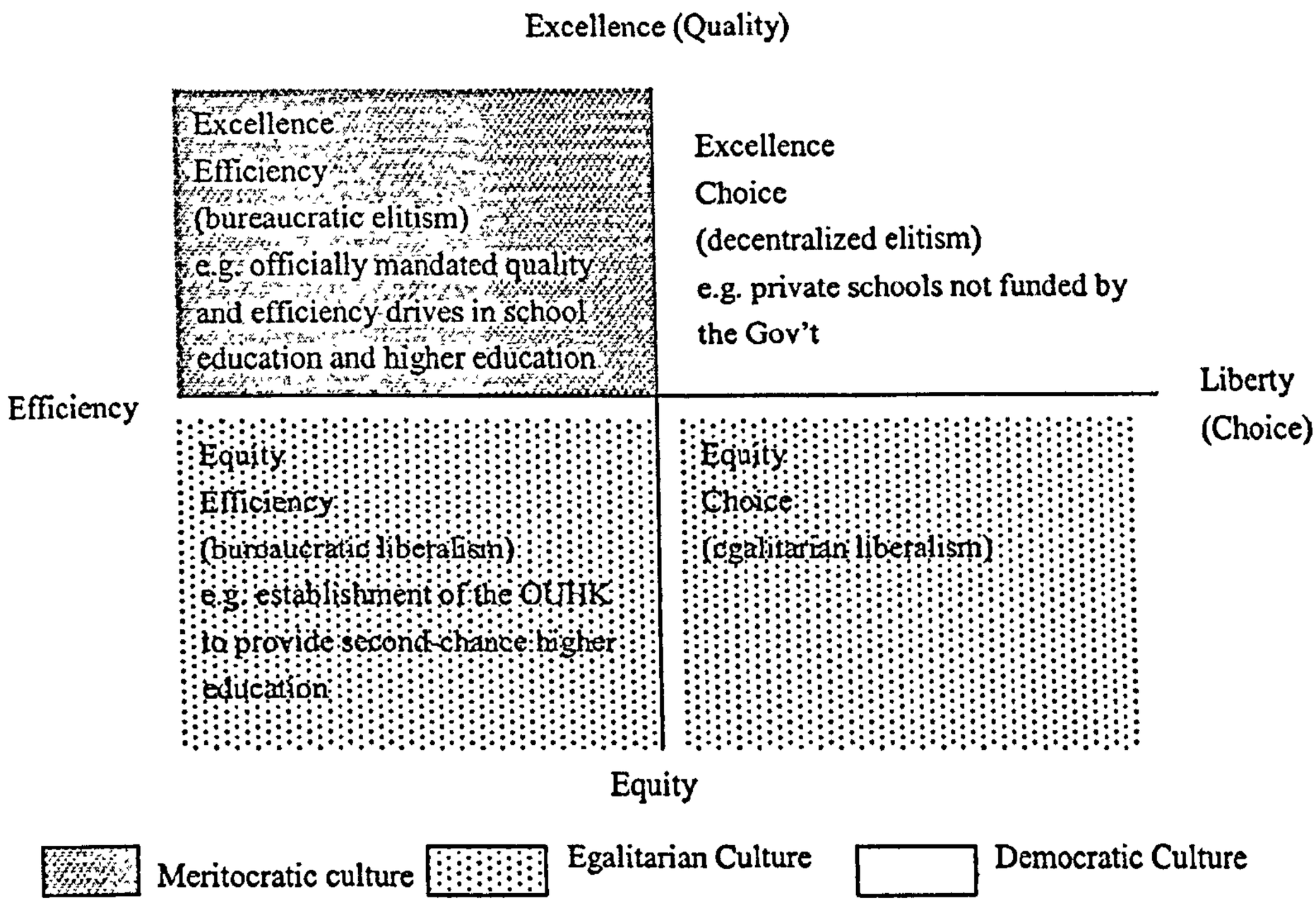
problem as organizations are supposed to take care of this through their own management structure. However, the form of efficiency (financial efficiency to be exact) that is dealt with relates to organizations maximizing value for itself rather than for the consumer-learner. Quality is supposed to be ensured by bottom-line regulations (e.g. NLPHE Ordinance), standards (common descriptors for AD), level indicators (e.g. QF), and quality audit (e.g. TLQPR). These are bureaucratic-managerialist strategies that are synonymous with administrative efficiency. Eminently missing in the markets in education for CE are values of quality and efficiency defined from the learner-consumer perspective, or learner-centered quality and learner centered efficiency. Given these shortcomings, the government's action cannot be seen to be market augmenting.

In terms of the equity value, it has altogether been forgotten in current discussions of lifelong learning. Earlier views of this value are equally not favorable, as exemplified from the advice given to the UGC by Chung et al. (1994:113-114). They contend the issue can be approached from two perspectives: social and economic. In the former, which is based on the right of citizens to lifelong learning for personal development and advancement as in the OECD's concept of recurrent education, they claim "the strength of this argument depends very much on community consensus on what are basic citizen rights and what are not. It does not appear there is much public support for this argument in Hong Kong, unlike in some western countries". In the latter, where there may be a case for subsidy to lower cost and increase access, they argue that:

> This argument, however, is much weaker in the case of continuing education as in the case of basic formal education. Unlike basic formal education which opens channels for intergenerational mobility for students of low socioeconomic status, continuing education opens channels for labour market mobility. It does not have as strong an equalizing effect on income distribution as basic formal education. More importantly, cost is not as important a barrier to access to continuing education for working adults as it is to basic formal

education for full-time students. There is less need for government subsidization to make continuing education equally accessible.

The way these four core values have affected education can best be viewed by their acting in pairs. As Sergiovanni et al. (1999:15) suggest, "though none of the four values alone sufficiently represents a strong banner under which to launch school reform, values pairs seem to have enough strength and credibility for this purpose". Analyses of interactions between these values reveal three underlying political cultures, and which give rise to very different organizational ethos (Figure 6).



Adapted and modified from Sergiovanni et al. (1999)

Figure 6 Competing values, educational institutions' ideals and political culture

The meritocratic culture is present in situations that uphold both excellence (quality) and efficiency. This is also called bureaucratic elitism that relies heavily on quality evaluation and management review by government appointed bodies to prove

the worth of what educational institutions deliver. CE schools of universities, which are now subjected to the same quality audit as university departments are in this league, as they have differentiated themselves from small private providers in terms of quality. The democratic culture is present in the situation where excellence (quality) is upheld but government control is thought to be too restrictive, and hence organizations are forced to go private where they would have to prove their strength by appealing to market mechanisms of ensuring quality (e.g. business quality standards, performance pledge, customer satisfaction, brand effect) and attracting clients through providing viable alternatives to state provision or surrogates. There is yet no example for this form of decentralized elitism in CE although private school education has successfully been offered in this manner. Both meritocratic culture and democratic culture have lower priority placed on fostering the equity value.

The egalitarian culture is revealed in interactions of efficiency and choice with equity. Under these situations, equity is respected and promoted. Bureaucratic liberalism is the form promoted by the state, and is represented in Hong Kong by the OUHK and the now defunct adult evening schools run by the Education Department. On the other hand, egalitarian liberalism is the form that is buttressed by a strong liberal ideology that rejects any form of elitist overtones in education. This has an extremely weak following in Hong Kong. Current private providers of CE do not fit into this any of these cultures, as the value they maximize (profit) is not related to education at all.

Apart from difference in priority, values interact generally in a negative manner as maximization of one would result in diminished importance given to the other (Figure 7). These conflicts are reflected in a myriad of studies, such as between learner-centered quality and administrative efficiency (Day and Hadfield, 1996); quality and equity (Daniel, 2000; Morley, 2000; Naidoo, 2000); equity and financial efficiency (Pan, 2003); choice and equity (Walford, 1994); and quality and

choice (Tovey, 1994). Sergiovanni et al. (1999) contend the value of quality is defined by the other three values and can therefore take on multiple meanings.

Dimensions of value in educational policy making and their interactions

Choice	Quality	Equity	Efficiency
Quality	N. A.		
Equity	Oppose	N.A.	
Efficiency	Reinforce	Reinforce	N. A.
Choice	Oppose	Oppose	Oppose

Adapted from Marshall et al. (1989)

Figure 7 Conflict of values in educational policy-making

As quality has become the main focus of the accountability agenda in education, a consideration of its meanings is merited particularly in relation to quality audits conducted by the Hong Kong UGC (TLQPR) and the UK QAA (audit of overseas collaborative provision); and the philosophy that has informed quality assurance processes in local institutions and quality evaluation agencies (HKCAA). The contexts for the discussion of quality will refer to both higher education and CE.

Quality is a concept that is mundane and yet is hard to define due to its subjectivity. It connotes value which is viewed in relation to different aspects of the education process: input, process; output; and from the point of view of different stakeholders (Vroeijenstijn, 1995). Although there is no exact definition of quality, some of its characteristics are readily identifiable. These are inter-related and may coexist in accord or under tension with one another. Harvey and Knight (1996) list five main approaches to viewing quality in higher education.

The first is the notion of quality as 'exceptional'. This can be further differentiated into: the traditional concept of quality; excellence; and meeting minimum standards. The 'traditional concept of quality' would tend to view higher education and all its components including teaching and learning as inherently of quality. However, this conception based on face value can no longer be sustained due to two reasons: public belief that massification of higher education equates to

'more means worse' and the proliferation of new universities, some of which are perceived to be of lower status than the traditional universities. The UGC took pains to refute these assumptions when the university system went from elite to mass higher education and the drive to ensure quality in the higher education sector started in the mid-1990s certainly had the objective of disowning such an image. The concept of quality as 'excellence' denotes exceeding high standards (benchmarks). It requires good quality input to produce good output and is the last reminiscence of elitism in higher education. In practice, exceeding of benchmarks can only be achieved by a select few from among many similar institutions. Proofs of high standards require indicators that are robust enough to allow comparison of institutional profiles for institutions with similar missions (McKinnon, 2000). The UGC enthusiastically subscribes to such a view of quality by encouraging institutions under its remit to develop 'areas of excellence' in teaching and learning and other pursuits, and these would be characterized by having good quality staff, adequate resources, and high standard of scholarship. It goes on to say that such would be achieved "uncommonly by small groups of individuals rather than by departments or larger organizations" (UGC, 1996). This concept of quality, although of significant importance in maintaining an institution's competitive edge or reputation against its counterparts, has no relevance to the real issue of developing quality on an institution-wide basis, but can set it apart from other competitors or contemporaries, such as the increasing reputation of the OUHK in the Asia-Pacific region for distance learning (Wong and Jegede, 2000). The concept of quality as 'meeting minimum standard' is akin to the process of scientific quality control. When related to the activity of teaching and learning, it would mean satisfying minimum requirements of teaching competency and the provision of threshold standard of support to learners. This would certainly discourage efforts for continuous improvement and would face the problem of defining standard, which is known to be non-static and variable across institutions. An example in CE comes from the views of Hodson and Thomas (2001) concerning the QAA's overseas collaborative audits. They regard these exercises to be lacking in cultural sensitivity

and open to manipulation, for which good indicators are unavailable. As such, the drive for standards would likely result in compliance that delivers only conformity, and which is a detriment to quality enhancement.

The second notion of quality is 'perfection' or 'consistency'. There are two related concepts on this, viz.: zero defect and quality culture. Both focuses on the process, with the former stressing on meeting specifications to produce a consistent output while the latter giving emphasis on continuous improvement, based on a quality culture, to ensure that quality is built into the process and is a common concern of all those involved. The first concept is problematic since the nature of teaching and learning defies any attempt to prescribe the best approach and the conformity that 'zero defects' commands would run counter to the ideals of education and the culture of academia. The second concept suits the academic setting as it applies to business and industrial practices. In the latter context, it imparts a notion of internal and external customers (quality chains) to all participants where ensuring quality is the responsibility of everyone at every stage and defects are solved outright and not to be passed on to the next in line. It also involves a highly delegated responsibility for continuous improvement that augers well with academia's yearning for autonomy. The potentials that this approach could offer to education are enormous. Its effective working would mean that students are well prepared, at every stages of education (primary, secondary, tertiary) and levels of studies. Quality control would not be necessary and the quality cost could be lowered as a consequence. The 2nd TLQPR that applies to both higher education and CE has been designed to evaluate education quality work (EQW) in four domains: curricula, teaching and learning process; student assessment; and implementation quality assurance. This is gauged in terms of capability maturity models that assess the penetration of EQW into departmental and institutional routines, and as such is a good example of quality defined as quality culture. Massy (2001) defines EQW as:

> The activities of faculty, academic leaders, and oversight bodies that are aimed at improving and assuring quality. EQW should provide

what higher education quality pioneer Frans van Vugt termed "... a framework for quality management in higher education...drawn from insights in Deming's approach [and that of the Baldridge and ISO9000], but grounded in the context of academic operations."(van Vught, 1994, p.13). It should empower and stimulate faculty to continuously improve teaching and learning, and help academic leaders and others to discharge their oversight responsibilities without micromanagement.

The third notion of quality is 'fitness for purpose'. This approach hinges not on excellence but on utility. In this sense, a mediocre output can be regarded as quality output as long as customer needs are satisfied. It also discounts perfectionism since defect-free output may be of little utility. This approach stays close to the mundane requirements of quality and hence has gained considerable popularity. Its operation however is beset by problems of defining purpose and assessing fitness (Harvey and Knight, 1996). Quality can be defined from two loci: the customer and the provider. The former is a cardinal concern for business which regards fulfilling customer needs as their primary objective and is synonymous with A.V. Feigenbaum's notion of quality (Morrison, 1998). In the educational context, the existence of multiple stakeholders (learners, employers, government and society) complicates the task of determining who should represent the customer and give specifications of quality. Given the ascribed utilitarian function of education, government and business interests tend to dominate over the rest, including the learners. In light of this limitation, an alternative approach would place the onus on the provider to define the purpose and translate it into its missions, goals and objectives. This follows Vroeijenstijn (1995) who suggests that quality is the outcome of reconciling varied interests of stakeholders by the educational provider. Fitness is then confirmed or adjusted by investigation of stakeholder's satisfaction (Harvey and Knight, 1996). The fitness for purpose approach to viewing quality allows institutions to pursue diverse developments and to be judged for their success through market response, a direction actively promoted by the UGC. In the aspect of teaching, this is predicated on the belief that the public can discern between good and indifferent teaching (UGC, 1996). In practice, most quality assurance processes

in CE schools incorporate learner satisfaction survey or other forms of learner feedback such as representation in quality committees to demonstrate user satisfaction. The programs operated under the Employees Retraining Scheme and the Skills Upgrading Scheme have user groups represented by employers to ensure stakeholder satisfaction. For Ball (2000), the 'free market' model of provision for lifelong learning requires three considerations with regard to quality as 'fitness for purpose'. These include: (a) quality measured by professionals (the academic peer group); (b) quality experienced by the learner (the concept of a student guarantee); and (c) quality recognized by the broader community (the social value of qualifications and educational achievement).

The fourth notion of quality is 'value for money'. Teaching and enhancement of learning under the notion of quality as 'value for money' would need to satisfy the criteria of cost-effectiveness and efficiency to withstand competition in the market. This has become a reality in the current environment of budget cuts for higher education and intense competition faced by CE providers offering courses in the market.

The fifth notion of quality is 'transformation'. This approach of viewing quality regards the process of education as development of the student rather than delivering a product or service and is evolutionary rather than terminal. Quality is measured by the extent of enhancement or 'value added' and by empowerment. The latter carries a humanistic view of education which aims to make learners self-sufficient. Transformation implies development of critical ability which is considered to be a general benefit of higher education and of value to employers. The notion of 'transformation' is the most ideal conceptualization of quality in education.

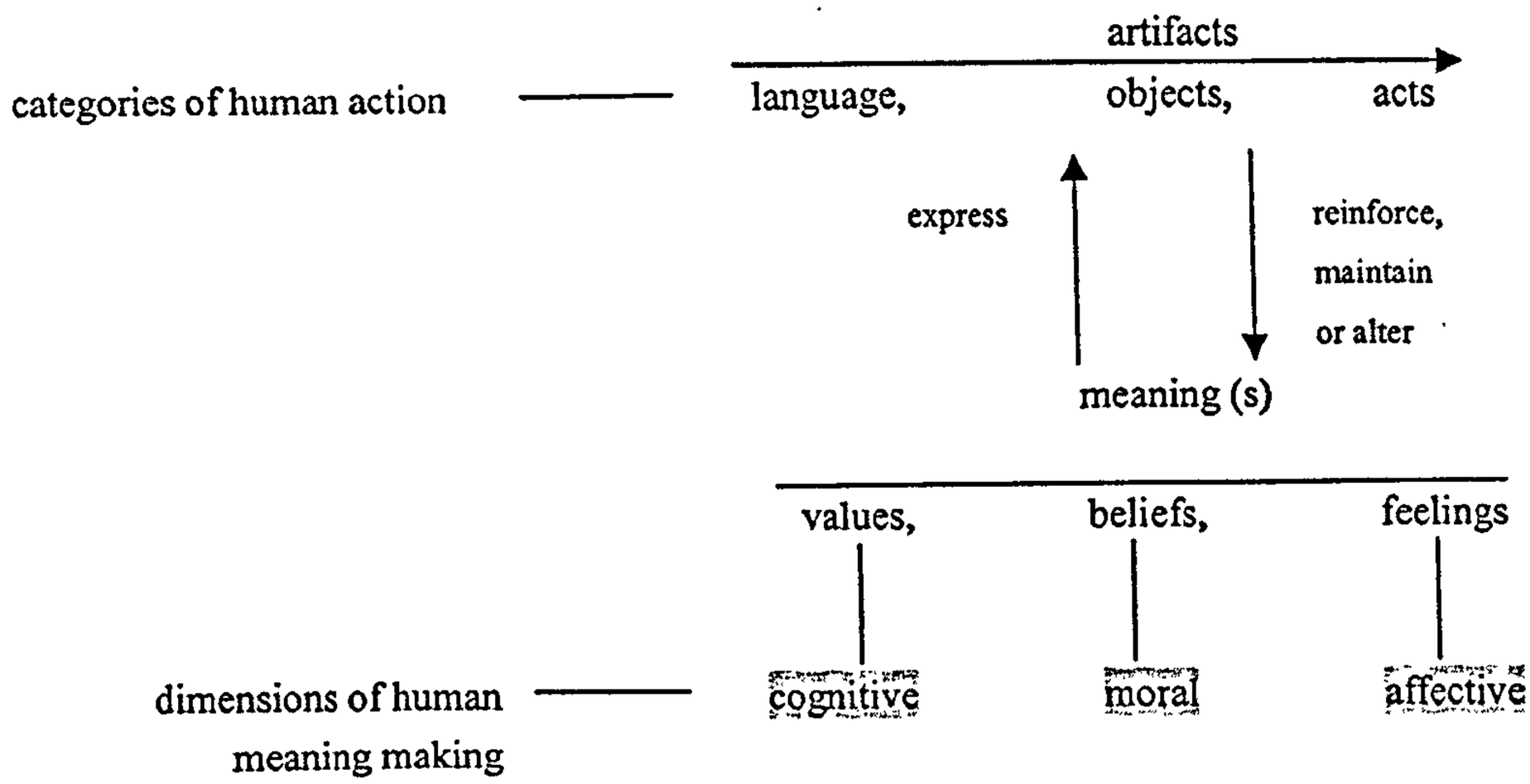
The conceptual framework for the study of values on 'policy' of lifelong learning assumes the four core values of policymaking in education – quality, efficiency, choice, and equity – are applicable to the discussion of policy on lifelong

learning. In other words, the pattern of values based on these four is regarded to have universal validity across cultural (Western and Eastern societies) and social systems (predominantly public-funded education and market-based education). Differences would lie in the prioritization of the four values and the interaction between value pairs. Interpretation of the competing values is idiosyncratic, which needs to take into account organizational ideals (meso-level) and the political culture of education policymaking (macro-level). The outcomes would represent value preferences that are indicative of the attitude of practitioners toward the official policy on lifelong learning (micro-level). This will be able to indicate, in a general sense, the propensity of practitioners to become proponents of change or perpetuators of the status quo. The value preferences of practitioners will also reveal their overall reserve for facilitating marketization (choice value), upholding preferred values of their organizations (quality or administrative efficiency, and financial efficiency values), satisfying learner needs (learner-centered quality and efficiency values), and expanding both the scope of programs and target groups (equity value).

Socio-cultural underpinning of practitioners' value orientations and preferences

It is assumed that the individual value system is interdependent with the value system of society (culture), and is continuous with the latter in forming the structure that defines parameters for taking action. Human agency situates itself in a position where it can reproduce or change the structure through an effect on 'culture'. Any change or reproduction of 'culture' is also followed in the 'self'. In the model presented by Hutcheon (1972) to illustrate this relationship, he includes within individual 'value system' the elements of affective and cognitive beliefs and subjective experience/interpretation of the world, while the society's 'cultural or ideological system' is made up of normative and knowledge systems. The elements of the individual 'value system' are broadly similar to the cognitive, moral and

affective dimensions of human meaning making enumerated by Yanow (2000), which are respectively the values, beliefs and feelings of individuals (Figure 8).



Adapted from Yanow (2000)

Figure 8 Relationship between meaning, artifact and their interactions

The normative and knowledge systems of the 'cultural or ideological system' would correspond to the knowledge base of adult education and the philosophies of adult education (i.e. input to the program planning model, see Figure 2, p. 22). Connecting this to the conceptualization of values in relation to 'espoused theory of action' (the practitioner's image of self), personal philosophy of adult education (as measured by PAEI) represents an integration of belief (coming mainly from individual values) with knowledge of AE and AE practice (coming mainly from cultural values). (see Figure 4, p. 33) The 'espoused theory of action' thus articulated is a close representation of the value structure conceived in Hutcheon's model as two distinct but inter-related systems of 'self' and 'culture'.

In modernity, 'culture' and 'self' are contiguous and largely similar and hence their relationship is taken-for-granted, whereas in post-modernity, distance

and differences can be expected between the two leading to fragmentation of the structure into two distinct components. The resulting individualized value system has lesser connection with the value system of society and structure-agency relation would actually refer to processes occurring at the individual level, i.e. individual value system being reproduced or changed by their individual action. This would appear to be the case in a society that is individualizing and where tradition has broken down and is being replaced by disembedded expertise that leads to the apprehension of risk and constant engagement in reflecting about choice, decision, and creation of one's self-identity (Giddens, 1991; Beck, 1992). Under this notion, the risk society embodies lifelong learning as a permanent form of reflective activity undertaken by its members to cope with change.

While the foregoing discussion has grounded values of subjects in the social-cultural milieus and clarified the inter-relationship between individual and societal values, one fundamental issue that needs to be addressed is the relevance of using Western-derived evolutionary theories of change to the study of Hong Kong society. In this regard, several questions can be asked, such as: (a) what stage of modernity characterizes Hong Kong society? (b) what scale of individualization has local society undergone? (c) what are the defining features of Hong Kong society and culture? Answers to these questions would indicate how aspects of local society and developments in its different milieus match with those in the West where most of the academic theories have been formulated. Macro-level theorization of the values of AE and other practice-related orientations need to align closely with local realities and should be wary of inadequacies of imported theories or irrelevance of its assumptions to local conditions. Bearing in mind such limitations, a sociological treatment of practitioners' values can rightly proceed with an assurance of validity. The use of sociological approach to analyze AE practice would serve to break the decontextualized understanding of practice framed within a psychologically-informed and politically-insulated practice model, as what North American adult

education researchers have been striving to achieve since the early 1990s (Cunningham, 2000; Quigley 2000; Sork, 2000).

For the purpose of understanding values elucidated by the PAEI and the 'values on policy of lifelong learning' surveys, two separate analyses will be conducted. The first seeks to draw from the social-cultural milieus possible explanations for the formation of practitioners' philosophical orientations of AE, while the second concerns with attributing practitioners' attitude towards the policy of lifelong learning to the underlying political, social, economic, cultural and organizational forces at play around them. Reiterating a point made earlier, the study of values in the former relates to 'pure values' in a global and non-context specific sense of the phenomenon being studied (i.e. adult education and practices) whereas the latter deals with 'values incorporating element of interests' which requires practitioners to decide on which position to take relative to the official policy of lifelong learning in Hong Kong. Theorization of the 'pure values' will be made from socio-cultural notions of education, learning and individualism. On the other hand, theorizing on the 'values incorporating element of interests' will involve looking at the institution of AE and CE in Hong Kong as a social construction and lifelong learning as an instrument of social policy. The macro-level framework (systems model) used to describe this institution (see Figure 3, p. 23) portrays the policy-making processes and structures of AE and CE and allows for the regularities, conflicts and contradictions embedded in the relationship of actors and various elements therein to be theorized using relevant sociological perspectives. The unifying theme for analysis is to treat AE and CE as a social policy to which the practitioners can choose to be either conformist or reformist of the current social order and power configurations.

This would bring the study of values of practitioners on policy of lifelong learning to the folds of sociology of adult education, which according to Rubenson (1989) has to address two questions: "To what extent does education make society

better by making it more egalitarian, and to what extent does education legitimate, and even enhance, existing social and economic inequalities?" In practice, a sociological analysis poses three questions to the adult and continuing education practitioner, viz.: (a) what is the social function of adult and continuing education? ; (b) how is inequality viewed with reference to the current level of participation and type of provision? ; (c) should adult and continuing education be concerned with addressing social, economic and political inequalities? The coming together of social policy, sociology and adult education under one rubric follows the line of social policy discussion of adult education and democracy espoused by Quigley (2000). In such an analysis, there are two issues: a broader one that aims to apply research and practice of AE to help build the civil society through social policy; and a narrower one that questions the indifference of practitioners to take an active part in the social policy process despite AE and CE becoming now an instrument of social policy. It is on the latter issue that this study seeks to elucidate the attitude of practitioners for evaluating their potential to take action.

In many published research on East Asian society, there is an acknowledged deficiency for Western-derived theories to explain for the social developments and changes in these societies. Theories of Western origin (e.g. Weberian rationalization and Parsonian evolutionary processes) can only serve as templates for formulating local theories but not as substitutes because the original theories point to only one path and outcome of modernization based on the model of Western society (Tsang, 1994). The difficulty of theorizing stems from the fact that starting from 1970s, modernization of East Asian societies such as Hong Kong have on the one hand experienced continuity with global trends of economic developments (capitalistic market economy and industrialization) but on the other hand been constrained by political factors (colonialism and decolonization without independence in Hong Kong) and cultural forces (traditions and institutions) in the transformation of its social-political milieus. This fissure between economic-cultural and social-political developments is intensified in the era of late capitalism or postmodernity, which sees

even more far-reaching transformations in all dimensions of society brought about by globalization. For Western researchers, there is finally some appreciation that globalization does not entail homogeneity but rather is differentially reflected in developed and developing societies. As Morrow and Torres (1995) put it:

> Most of the promises of emancipatory or enlightening modernism have not been achieved, not even partially, in the developing world...the postmodern condition is coexisting, in uneasy and at times obscene relationships, with incomplete modernity and sometimes premodern cultures. Pockets of postmodern culture and groups (and educational programs) thrive in the midst of disorganized traditional cultures deeply wounded by the introduction, success, and failure of modernization processes, as well as the initiatives of incomplete-and following (Habermas) pathological-modernity (p. 431-432).

Although Hong Kong has been elevated to the rank of developed economies in 1998, its social-political milieus have experienced retrogression after 1997 as evinced by the deliberate attempt of the HKSAR government to slow down democratization and the depoliticization of the third sector (vestige of civil society in HK consisting of charity organizations that provide a range of educational, health and social services) through enlisting it in the marketization of voluntary services as a part of state-initiated policy initiatives (e.g. participation in post-secondary education expansion) (Tung, 2000). Economically, Hong Kong has successfully assumed its transition into a post-industrial knowledge-based economy and faces similar economic woes of the developed world (e.g. unemployment problem) where the hope is to find a solution through education, and hence giving rise to the lifelong learning imperative. On top of this, the cultural dimension has achieved the most distinctive character of postmodernity leading to Boshier's (1997) claim that Hong Kong is unarguably the "futuristic metropolis in South China that, in many ways, is more postmodern than most western cities". This assertion is supported by Mathews and Lui (2001) who places consumption, which they mean as taking in of goods and experiences from a wide selection of choices, as a part of daily life in Hong Kong connected with meaning making and expression of individuality. Amidst these

postmodernist manifestations in the economic and cultural dimensions, there is clear existence of modernism alongside it. The postcoloniality of Hong Kong, for example, can be regarded as being trapped within Habermasian modernity of unfulfilled political liberalization. The undemocratic polity arising out of the 'State-New Elite' domination of policy-making and the adoption of market model in social policy contribute to further contraction of civil society, especially with respect to its ability to organize for social action to counterbalance the excesses of the state-market alliance.

Individualism takes on dual meaning: a postmodernist conception based on exercise of freedom to mold personal identity through cultural consumption; and a modernistic notion implying maximization of one's chances of economic success (the term egoistical or utilitarian individualism coined by HK sociologist Lau Siu-Kai). Both notions of individualism are materialistic in orientation and are connected to the operation of markets that have restricting effect on the individual's lifeworld[3]. In Habermasian notion, "the lifeworld-which he sees mainly as the arena of the personal in which people live with and communicate with others-has been 'colonised'....Habermas sees the world of everyday consciousness as having been invaded by the impersonal logic of the market place, by the power of political and economic institutions (Williamson 1998:27). Research on the value orientations and life satisfaction of the Hong Kong people suggests that postmodernity is not significant but there are some people who hold high orientations toward postmodern values and they are generally less happy (Cheung and Leung, 2002).

The ambiguity of social condition highlighted in the above manifests as similar contradictions found in the educational dimension. The education reform proposals of 2000 (Education Commission, 2000c) aim to prepare the education system for meeting the challenges of globalization but traditional (entrenched) views and expectations of education and learning have yet to adapt to these changes (Fok, 2002). Educational policymaking remains highly top-down and controlled by the

bureaucracy-New Elite coalition despite the rhetoric of system-wide changes to the educational structure, content and assessment of learning promulgated in the reform proposals. These contradictions mirror aspects of the polity and society, where democratization is hindered by the twin forces of market and conservative values of predominantly business interest in a unique adaptation of neoliberal and neoconservative ideologies in Hong Kong after 1997. To sum up, the structural changes in HK's colonial and post-colonial developments (Table 3) point to a state of eclectic postmodernism and ongoing modernism. Postmodernism in Hong Kong can be conceived as a new cultural paradigm consistent with the post-industrial society; resulting thus in a triple phenomena of style (e.g. consumption culture), method (critique of such consumption as a socio-cultural practice), or epoch (post-industrial society) following the analysis of Morrow and Torres (1995). Other than this, aspects of its polity, society and institutions such as education remain distinctively modernist. This assumption extends to lifelong learning in HK where AE and CE are pursued overwhelmingly for vocationally oriented and personal development purposes. Edwards and Usher (1997) in their theorization of learning as consumption consider the nature of these pursuits to be 'serious leisure' (rational recreation aimed at self-improvement and continuous with work) representing a modernist discourse of education. The postmodern form of 'contemporary leisure' (pleasurable and identity-creating learning that is discontinuous with work) is embedded within social-cultural practice of consumption and does not fulfill any goals of social policy. It is obvious that conceptualizing lifelong learning in Hong Kong should tend toward the 'serious leisure' type of consumption.

As Hong Kong has effectively left the industrial society behind with less than 7% of employment in manufacturing sector (Census and Statistics Department, 2002), a conceptualization of social and cultural relations in education should take into account the emergence of the 'knowledge economy' where 'knowledge' has replaced 'old capital' consisting of labor and land. In this, there needs to be some rethinking about identities formed on the basis of their relation to 'old capital', such

Table 3 Pre and Post-handover changes in the HKSAR

Milieu	Pre-handover (Until June 30, 1997)	Post-handover (As at 2004)
Political	✧ Undemocratic colonial bureaucratic rule unhindered by an indifferent metropolitan (bureaucratic polity)	✧ Undemocratic bureaucratic-managerialist rule subservient to a central authority though nominally autonomous
	✧ Business elite participation through co-option into colonial power structure (administrative absorption of politics)	✧ Capitalist class-state alliance under the notion of HK patriots ruling HK and a united front strategy of co-opting traditional leftists, professional and administrative elites and other conservative forces in society into the political and consultative machinery of the HKSAR Government (New Elite)
	✧ Fortuitous distance between polity and society (minimally integrated social-political system)	✧ Non-benign distance between government and society perceived as detachment of government from wishes of the people
	✧ Legitimacy largely unchallenged and maintained through a 'minimalist government' stance and delivery of essential social services, e.g. housing	✧ Legitimacy openly challenged after series of policy implementation fiascos and inability to respond to crisis of economy and demand for democratic reforms
	✧ Failure to establish democratic institutions and inadequate instititutionalization of middle-class interest	✧ Deliberate attempt to restrain further democratization
Social	✧ Atomistic Chinese society where loyalty is to one's family and individuals are devoted to pursuit of self-interest (utilitarian familism; egoistical individualism)	✧ Reconceptualization of 'family' needed in post-industrial HK as dependence on family and its related network has waned
	✧ Pragmatic and amoral ethos	
	✧ Social policy reactive and ad-hoc (incrementalism)	✧ Right to social welfare enshrined in the Basic Law but provision of social services is increasingly being marketized e.g. health
	✧ Class-based analysis thought to be less relevant	✧ Social stratification of increasing importance due to widened gap between rich and poor
	✧ Social mobility high (HK experience)	✧ Social mobility stagnant
	✧ Conception of equality and justice under the notion of 'fairness'	✧ Emergence of scapegoatism towards underprivileged and marginal groups in society
		✧ Policy to encourage development of a utilitarian notion of civil society performing roles assumed by state or market
Economic	✧ Laissez-faire and positive non-intervention policy	✧ Deliberate intervention to restore economic order (Asian financial crisis) and promulgation of economic development strategies
	✧ From entrepot economy to manufacturing to service economy	✧ Post-industrial knowledge-based economy with high value-added service sector
	✧ Economic restructuring from 1990s and integration of economy with southern China resulting in manufacturing sector unemployment	✧ Economic dependence on China and positioning of HK as its most advanced service-oriented economic city
	✧ Fiscal surplus, unemployment cyclical	✧ Fiscal deficit, unemployment endemic in youth and middle-aged workers
Cultural	✧ Cultural consumption is not characterized by class subcultures of protest and criticism	✧ Popular culture and commodities encountered in daily life work at the level of the local, national and transnational and are variably articulated
	✧ Popular culture as an articulation of HK identity and reflection of HK ethos	✧ Popular media exemplify commodified consumption of culture; inability to establish a viable public sphere
	✧ Cultural politics of decolonization and postcolonization enacted through popular media and reassertion of HK self-identity as vanguard against mainland China's neo-colonialism	
	✧ From modernity to postmodernity	✧ Post-modernity in full-flair facilitated by globalization trends
Education	✧ From quantity to quality concerns	✧ Concerns for quality, quantity and 'New elitism'
	✧ From universal primary education (1971) to 9 years compulsory education (1978) to higher education expansion (1989-1994)	✧ Mass higher education through expansion of further education (Associate degrees)
	✧ Adult and Continuing Education are marginalized and neglected in education policy-making	✧ Lifelong learning serves as guiding principle for education reform
	✧ Institutionalization of adult higher education though Open University of HK	✧ Full mobilization of continuing education sector in post-secondary education expansion
	✧ Predominantly government-funded	✧ Emergence of self-financing institutions and courses
	✧ Apolitical construction of the curriculum and instruction	✧ Cosmopolitan-nationalistic tensions in the construction of the curriculum and instruction
	✧ Bureaucratic-controlled process of educational policy-making	✧ Bureaucratic - 'New Elite' dominated process of educational policy-making
	✧ Policy characterized by sequential expansion, technicist mentality and human capital theory-guided	✧ Policy informed by neo-liberal and conservative ideologies of the 'New Elite'

as along class line. Classical reproduction theories of education, which stress the link between class, culture and the mode of production, have been criticized as deterministic (following structural Marxism) and focusing narrowly on a "strict correspondence between education and the functional imperatives defined by the relations of production" (Morrow and Torres, 1995: 439). Since the knowledge economy is defined by a new relation between 'knowledge' and 'identity', the constitution of class structure by the mode of production becomes questionable. In addition, human agency is neglected in such an account, which denies the possibility for people to act in order to resist or to change situations imposed by one social class exercising moral or cultural influence on society (hegemony). This has therefore omitted the possibility for a Gramscian style 'counterhegemonic education' in AE that can serve as a liberatory strategy to gain control over structure by human actions, or in other words, to reconcile the structure-agency dialectic as a sociological problem. In reaction to both criticisms from within critical social theory itself and postmodernism's attack on totalizing metanarratives, the solution lies in a reformulation of reproduction theories from "relatively closed structuralist models based on economic and class determination to relatively open-integrative-reproductive ones based on parallel determinations stemming from class, gender, and race (p. 438). Thus, Morrow and Torres (1995) contend:

> Despite the various criticisms and qualifications of the original "correspondence principle" for economically based models, the general notion of social and cultural reproduction has remained-despite appearances-a central assumption of critical pedagogy and critical sociologies of schooling. To be sure, this has required fundamental revisions involving the incorporation of concepts of agency and resistance along with the diversification of causal nexus of power to include nonclass forms of exclusion and domination. As well, the metatheoretical status of such theorizing has shifted from that of a totalizing (functionalist) structuralism to that of a more fallibilistic, historically specific structural method (p. 439).

The revisionist critical social theory elaborated above is consistent with structuration theory, which is suitable as a framework for understanding change in

contemporary societies qualified to be called 'post-industrial' such as Hong Kong. However, there are two propositions within the Western model that are inconsistent with Hong Kong society. First, gender, race and culture have been proposed as autonomous sites for analysis of power/knowledge regimes other than class in the context of multicultural, multiethnic and gender-conscious Western societies (Morrow and Torres, 1995; Cunningham, 2000). In Hong Kong, there is little relevance for this type of theorization as the population is predominantly Chinese (96%) and the culture is receptive to both Chinese and Western influences. The issue of gender difference in participation is understudied but is likely to reveal inequality as a function of marital effect on women's life chances (Sodusta, 2002) and the intergenerational difference in women's participation in learning. This supposition is supported by findings of surveys on participation (Chan and Holford, 1994; Chung et al., 1994; HKU-SPACE, 2001; HKU-SPACE, 2003b) that show women to have higher participation rate than men among the younger age cohort, who are presumably unmarried or have fewer family responsibilities vis-à-vis middle-age women who are constrained by family commitments and had experienced unequal access to initial education that inevitably also affected their life chances (Hong Kong Women Development Association, 2001). In this regard, there is also very little theorization of a male dominated discourse of knowledge and power as espoused by feminist theory in the West. Similarly, there is the conspicuous absence of a critical analysis of the curriculum that would reveal a Western-influenced construction of knowledge across many disciplines, or so-called imperialism of Western thought. These altogether would suggest the existence of scope for exploring alternative forms of exclusion although theorization of this nature appears to be premature at present, and in which case, class-based analysis would continue to retain its significance.

Second, the consideration of class as a structural force in society-polity relation is a recent development in local sociology from the 1990s. In studying modernization process in Hong Kong, the first generation of Hong Kong sociologists

such as Lau Siu-kai had underscored the importance of a family-centered strategy for pursuing economic interest (utilitarian familism) which later transformed into a self-centered economic orientation (utilitarian individualism) that fits well with the laissez-faire economic policy of the colonial regime (Lau and Kuan, 1988:54-56). Within this conception, the normative economic orientation of utilitarian individualism is regarded as an unspecific attribute of the populace and is not connected with the structural location of the Hong Kong people. Society and polity are regarded as separate from each other (minimally-integrated socio-political framework), where the colonial regime is perceived to be detached from the ordinary life of the people (bureaucratic polity) and the government has deliberately prevented itself from interfering in economic activities except for maintaining order (positive non-intervention). Concurrently, rapid economic growth during the 1980's had provided for an abundance of opportunities to which a positive correlation between hard work and economic fulfillment becomes self-evident and constitutes a homogenizing experience for everyone (the Hong Kong experience). These were the conditions set in Lau and Kuan's thesis of social and political development in Hong Kong that precludes any need for inclusion of class in the discussion, and leads to the view of the Hong Kong Chinese society as a "homogenous community characterized culturally by the utilitarian-familistic ethos and structurally by the familial resource networks which together generated a depoliticized population" (Leung, 1996:32). The second generation of sociologists questions this assumption of homogeneity and brought back the notion of 'class' in order to provide a structural approach to their analysis. Wong and Lui (1992a; 1992b) demonstrate empirically the differential societal outlook (beliefs and attitudes) and choice of coping strategies among subjects who belong to different occupational groups (or classes). This class difference is shown to affect people's social mobility opportunities, or life chances. They then set out to explain social orientations and social actions on the basis of differences in class structure and class mobility experience which are captured succinctly by Leung (1996) as follows:

> If class positions benefit some and disadvantage others in terms of life chances, and if owing to the lack of mobility opportunities people tend to be confined to their class position over a protracted period of time, this can be expected to inculcate in class members orientations and actions that reflect entrenched class-related privileges and constraints. The argument is then taken a step further: Such class-based orientations and actions are the stuff for class formation; they are the platform for articulation of class consciousness, the advancement of class solidarity, and mobilization for collective class action. In short, the social-mobility study generates the empirical substance for the authors to address the significance of class as 'structure' (structuring life chances and orientations) and as a social-political force (class formation and the associated collective action). It serves as the theoretical axis of their class analysis (p. 34).

Related to the class analysis, Wong (1992) also conducted a study on how class-based difference in social mobility could affect views on social inequality. It was shown that there is a general optimism expressed about abundance of opportunities in society but that a pessimistic view is elaborated by subjects about their personal opportunities in it. This disjunction between an optimistic social ideology of 'openness' and a pessimistic personal experience does not however translate into lower life satisfaction or discontent with social inequality predisposing to social conflict and instability. The paradox has been interpreted to mean that individuals are prepared to subsume their personal experience within the social ideology of abundant opportunities, and would actually motivate themselves in the face of adversity to continue to work toward attaining social advancement rather than putting the blame on social injustice[4]. This leads then to an exploration of the values attached to work which can be approached from socio-economic and cultural perspectives. Lui's (1992) study showed that work is interpreted in economic and instrumental terms where pecuniary interest assumes more importance than the intrinsic or moral value of work. His finding is congruent with a strong desire for socio-economic advancement of the Hong Kong people based on their self-centered economic orientation found in the class analysis study. The cultural factor is also deemed to have an influence in molding the Chinese work ethos as confirmed through the study of Huang et al. (2000). Values of functionalism (stresses purpose,

practicality, and utility over idealism), long-term orientation, hard work, endurance and credentialism are consistent with the normative economic orientation of the Hong Kong worker while collectivism, though cited as a cultural value of work, ranks lower in Hong Kong than Taiwan. This can be regarded as a reflection of the differential impact of tradition on formation of social-economic values in these two Chinese societies, which raises the question of the relative importance of culture in determining value formation. A question arising from this is that, if tradition (culture) alone cannot account for much of value formation, then where lies the residual explanation?

For sociologists who are interested in studying the modernization process in East Asia, an assumption about a contribution from culture to this process is inherent in any theories they propose. The East Asian developmental model consists of several theories which hope to explain for the economic success of countries (Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore and South Korea) that share a common cultural heritage defined as post-Confucianism and had developed closely similar social-political institutions and patterns of governance. Tsang (1994) summarizes these studies into two major categories: the culturalist and the institutionalist theses. In the culturalist thesis, economic success can be explained by a common cultural denominator while in the institutionalist thesis, success can be attributed to either of two reasons: (a) geopolitical factor which sees East Asian economic development as an extension of postwar capitalistic developments worldwide supported by the United States as the dominant capitalistic power (world system perspective); and (b) nature and policies of the state (state theory). The state theory also assumes three important features: developmental-interventionism, bureaucratic authoritarianism and state patriarchy, which altogether push to promote economic growth under a stable political environment. While the state theory may appear outdated now in view of these countries having attained the status of developed economies, the similarity of its features to the work values of individuals (e.g. developmentalism or strong commitment of the state to economic growth is similar to the individual work value

of functionalism) lends support to the assumption put forth earlier about value contiguousness of 'self' and 'culture'.

Although the culturalist thesis and the institutionalist thesis have often been dichotomized as two distinct explanations for social-economic-political developments in East Asia, their inter-relationship has not been appreciated but is apparent, as evidenced by the similarities between state developmentalism and individual functionalism cited above. The contiguousness of the two values, an institutional and a cultural one, can be explained by the fact that institutions are in fact cultural artifacts and are the consequence of accumulated cultural processes. This means that the study of values should try to maximize on the explanatory power of both theses. However, the cultural contribution to the discussion has to be qualified by a careful look at the actual contributions of cultural values in shaping actions. For example, the study on entrepreneurial ethic of the Hong Kong Chinese by Lui and Wong (2000), which is connected to their study on class analysis and work ethic, demonstrate that the desire to start one's own business should not be conceived as a normative value in the economic domain which prescribes a means to an end. Rather, entrepreneurialism should be viewed as 'a repertoire of economic actions' which the individual draws from culture to enable him to choose the best option to climb up the social ladder. Entrepreneurial ethic can serve to illustrate the dialectical relation of structure and agency in a way where culture does not necessarily define what course of action an individual should take but nevertheless does provide a reserve for guiding possible action. To support their contention that entrepreneurialism is 'a strategy' rather than 'the strategy', Lui and Wong were able to show that apart from entrepreneurship, the other strategies for social advancement include education and bureaucratic-managerial careers. The choice between entrepreneurialism and management is a function of the individual's social structure (class position) and mobility experience. In this regard, the administrative-managerial-professional strategy based on the pursuit of studies and credentialism

can only be adopted by those who have prior human capital. This issue on its own can be a significant research topic in lifelong learning in Hong Kong.

The relationship between class and culture in Hong Kong is different from a Western point of view, such as Bourdieu's reproduction theory that links culture, class and domination together. Class in Hong Kong is useful to the extent of defining an individual's position based on wealth and is not associated with particular forms of cultural consumption. This is due to the fact that upward mobility is open and membership in the upper class is fluid and not delimited by possession of cultural capital. Concepts such as 'distinction' are irrelevant because the upper class has little by way of cultural capital to establish the link between 'high culture' and class position (Mathews and Lui, 2001:8). The homogenous cultural consumption and lack of a protest element in popular culture bespeaks the absence of class subcultures in Hong Kong and downplays any significance of class consciousness and class conflict which are the staple of a conflict theory-based analysis of society (Leung, 1996:72). There is congruence between this homogenous cultural consumption and the social ideology of 'openness' discussed above, both of which point to the common underlying culture of the Hong Kong Chinese (i.e. utilitarian, self-centered and materialistic) and project an image of a common Hong Kong identity. The focus on personal, immediate and mundane interests (e.g. economic betterment) often acts to obscure other higher-order needs of society as a whole (e.g. democratic government), and tradition only serves to reinforce this orientation through its emphasis on work, and the attendant values such as functionalism and credentialism. As such, the analysis of class has been met by a constant gravitation toward the non-structural view originally espoused by Lau Siu-kai despite the later structural revision made by Thomas Wong and Lui Tai-lok in attributing different social orientations and actions to class positions of individuals based on their occupational categories (adaptation of Goldthorpe's class scheme).

The structural analysis of class in Hong Kong which bears this imprint has continued with the same line of research to look at the efforts of the middle class (or service class) in mobilizing social, economic and cultural resources for their own economic advancement (Wong, 2004). Mindful of the lack of institutionalization of middle class interests through the political process and the fragmentary nature of middle class participation in politics, the structural analysis of class has not been imputed with the notions of power and domination, and has neglected study of the capitalist class which has enjoyed political favor by being co-opted into the power structure of the colonial regime. While Wong and Lui's analysis made in the early 1990s may have particular validity for the pre-handover context, the formation of a 'New Elite' and its rise as a significant force in the polity during the aftermath of the HKSAR establishment has the consequence of downplaying the significance of class altogether in discussions of power and domination. The 'New Elite' is constituted by various sectors in society that are supportive of the HKSAR regime and the idea of one-country, two-system principle enunciated by Beijing. Its backbone is the capitalist class which represents big business interest in Hong Kong, and whose concern for economic prosperity and political stability augers well with the conservative stance favored by Beijing in the governance of the HKSAR and its attitude toward democratization. This capitalist core is augmented by a constellation of conservative forces in society loyal or sympathetic to Beijing's point of view- e.g. left-wing labor union activists, traditional leftists (or nationalists), professional and administrative elites, and business people-and has the effect of blurring distinctions made along class lines when situating the locus of power. The post-colonial power configuration thus constituted has the effect of elevating capitalist-business interests to the position of supremacy over the interests of the middle and working classes much more than during the colonial days.

The successive policy initiatives of the HKSAR government are clear manifestations of this kind of bias toward protecting big business interests (e.g. refusal to legislate on fair competition laws and propping of property market on

pressure by property developers' cartel), which has left the middle class further disenfranchised politically amidst their embattlement by the impact of the economic recession from 1998-2003. The working class has suffered the most during this post-handover recession characterized by middle-age labor force displacement from the job market, stigmatization of social welfare recipients, and severe widening of the gap between rich and poor as evidenced by the highest Gini coefficient of 0.525 recorded locally in 2001 (Census and Statistics Department, 2002). Successive culmination of public discontents into massive rallies in July of 2003 and 2004 can be understood through the background provided herein. The discontent with the HKSAR government's failure to address problems of people's livelihood had to a large extent contributed to this mass mobilization for protest action, though being concealed behind the facade of two bigger political issues that affect HK people's freedom and democratic aspirations: legislation on anti-subversion laws in 2003, and in 2004, Beijing's ruling out of full-scale direct elections by 2007. However, the relatively peaceful show of public indignation and its inability to turn into a form of social movement suggest that the political culture of apathy and the concern for getting on with economic life in the pre-handover era has persisted through the post-handover period.

Bringing in the functionalist orientation of the Hong Kong people to explain on this, it probably means that their concern for good governance may be related to the hope for improvement to their own economic plight rather than signifying support for the ideals of democracy. This line of interpretation is reminiscent of "the view that a pragmatic emphasis on social stability and an instrumental concern for self-interest, rather than the support for the principle of democracy, continued to characterize the Hong Kong people's approach to politics and government" (Leung, 1996:62) inferred from research findings of the late 1980s. It also suggests that the social ideology of 'openness' has remained largely intact, which continues to push Hong Kong people to adopt strategies for achieving economic success-through entrepreneurialism or study-but now with the latter clearly predominating over the

former under the call for lifelong learning by the government as Hong Kong's economy requires a flexible and highly-adaptable workforce to serve in its service sector. Indeed, survey finding has shown that people from lower socio-economic background are more supportive of the education reform and they retain belief that education can help their children to move up the socio-economic ladder (Wong et al., 2002). The phenomenal expansion of CE since the 1990s, and even under the recession is suggestive that the public is largely convinced by prospects of learning to their economic well-being. One consequence arising from this, however, is that if the general perception of decrease in opportunity for social advancement is true in present day Hong Kong due to deterioration of the economic environment, then lifelong learning will not necessarily bring about social mobility in the manner that hard work had conferred on workers in the 1980s. Already, there are studies of career mobility process of overeducated workers in advanced economies (e.g. Canada) that suggest overeducated workers do not differ much from their undereducated counterpart in occupational mobility behavior (Ng, 2000). Since earlier study by Chung et al. (1994:126) has suggested that CE can facilitate career and job change under economic restructuring with expansion of new sectors, a repeat of the same study would be worthwhile to do in light of the changes to the economic environment from more than a decade ago. This would help to understand the relationship between career mobility and lifelong learning in Hong Kong.

Class and culture-based approaches to theorizing AE and CE in Hong Kong using borrowed reproduction theories therefore fall short of the ability to account for idiosyncrasies of social relations in lifelong learning. This is due to the indeterminate nature of class as a social structuring factor and the lack of correspondence between class and culture in theorizing domination. In this connection, the concept of lifelong learning as an aspect of social policy needs to be brought up for consideration. Education is an area that the colonial government has had a history of active intervention (Tsang, 1994) to which expansion of provision was credited with equalizing the trend in educational participation between the rich

and the poor (Post, 2003). Though Hong Kong is certainly not a welfare state, the government has financed social and infrastructural programs amounting to welfare in the areas of housing, health and education. The post-handover context has additionally given rise to the notion of welfare as a right of citizens enshrined in the Basic Law of the HKSAR rather than simply a state responsibility (Chow, 2001). Due to the combination of demographic (aging population), economic (structural unemployment of low-skill workers) and social-political (rising expectation about social welfare, waning of family-related support network) factors, the HKSAR government faces far greater challenges to welfare provision than its colonial predecessor. For social policy researchers, the Hong Kong model is not a residual welfare regime but one that lies between 'market' and 'state' (Wilding and Mok, 2001) and is considered neither as 'welfare state' nor 'welfare society' (Wong and Chau, 2002).

Among areas of social policy, survey has found that most people would consider education to be the government's responsibility, even more than for social welfare (65.6% vs. 39.4%) (Wong and Chau, 2002). This implies that the cultural importance attached to education is shared by most people and their high expectation would make it difficult for the government to relegate responsibility to the market, at least for compulsory education and tertiary education. The basis for drawing education into the discussion of social policy formation is that it has long been used by governments as an instrument to solve social problems, to redistribute resources, and to help develop human capacity to take advantage of resources (Quigley, 2000). In the developed economies of the West, social policy has shifted from the liberal-welfare state model to the market model, and lately to the 'third way approach'. Each stage of these swings is informed by a political philosophy that the government (ruling party) claims reference to, thus forming its ideological basis for action. Social policy in effect would prescribe the roles of the state vis-à-vis the market and the civil society in affecting the lives of people (life chances).

Before the handover, social policy formation in education was largely the result of anticipated needs determined by the colonial bureaucratic administration rather than the articulated needs of the people. The introduction of 9-year compulsory education in 1978 and the expansion of higher education to cover 18% of the relevant age cohort in 1991 are examples of this kind of bureaucracy-driven policy-making which had made impacts on educational stratification and helped to pre-empt widening of income gap (Post, 2003). Compared to planned programs of intervention to effect social change in the West (e.g. affirmative action in US; access in UK), the local policies have arisen mainly as a response to the exigencies of social conditions (in both cases to promote social stability during the aftermath of the 1966-1967 riots and the 1989 confidence crisis) rather than being able to trace its formulation to a higher-level ideology that attempts to address issues of equity and choice. Therefore, the social stratification concern is of lesser importance than the social stability outcome of these policies for the bureaucratic colonial administration afflicted with a terminal sense to its right to rule.

The post-handover HKSAR administration operates within a different paradigm as its power configuration of 'State-New Elite' coalition readily considers economic issues to come first among other matters because uncertainties associated with the transition have ended and the goal should now be directed at building the HKSAR under the principle of 'Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong'. Though space here does not allow for a detailed discussion of policy-making in lifelong learning, it needs to be mentioned that policy-making in postcolonial Hong Kong has resurrected the elements of ideology, long-term orientation, and articulated vision and mission for education that is normative to educational planning in other countries. Thus, the HKSAR government's education reform (1999-2000) can be characterized as falling within the category of national development planning in education (Thomas, 1992), a higher level project that the earlier education reform of the 1980s had failed to attain (Education Department, 1982). Similar to other developed economies in the region (e.g. Singapore and Taiwan), the education

reform in Hong Kong has adopted 'lifelong learning' as a paradigm shift in educational thinking to embrace the challenges of globalization and developments in information technology (Mok, 1999).

While the concept of lifelong learning may represent a common theme agreed by those in power, there are different beliefs from within. There is a soft ideologically-oriented neo-conservative strand that attempts to instill nationalism and affinity with Chinese values (Tung, 1997) and resurrect elitism in education (Tung 2001b) while at the same time advancing another major strand that clamors for quality assurance, increasing opportunity for study, curriculum relevance and functional skills to serve the needs of the knowledge-based economy (Cheng, 1999; Wong, R, 2001). Amidst these two, the educational bureaucracy is concerned with financial efficiency (such as closing down of public-run adult evening education courses due to cost consideration) (Legislative Council, 2003b; c) and bureaucratic-rational approaches for implementing the reform initiatives (such as the EMB's four directions for expansion of post-secondary programs) (Leung, 2002). Given that education has been considered a responsibility of the state, the reform also calls for a new approach to funding based on private participation in running schools (e.g. community colleges for AD programs and direct subsidy schools) and community-wide mobilization of resources (Education Commission, 2000c:24-25). This new approach to funding points to the government's strategy of moving toward a market-based model of social policy in education for the future; and as explained above, signifies the gradual retreat of the state from educational provision and the grooming of the third sector (non-profit making and voluntary organizations) as its surrogate (Figure 9).

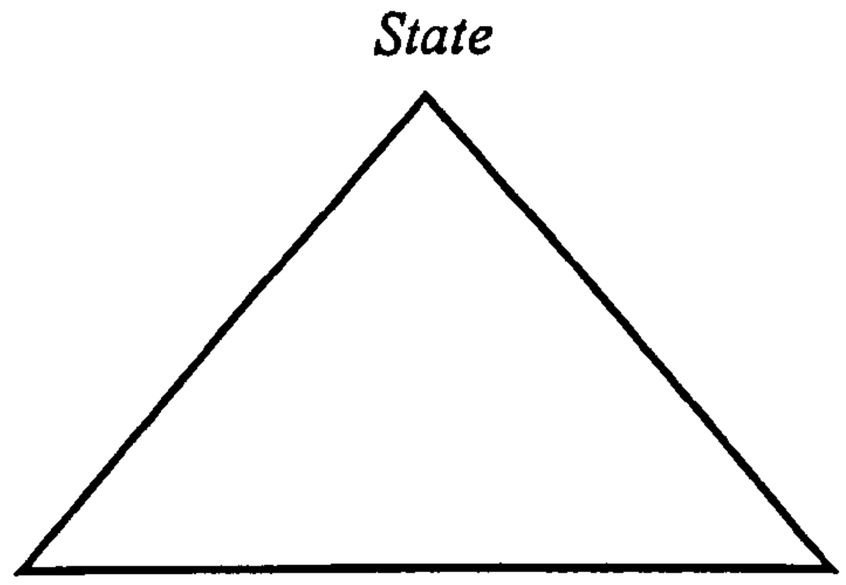


Figure 9 Structures of society

While the neo-liberal reforms in the West have created quasi-markets out of state functions in education, the approach in Hong Kong has been to transform the third sector into quasi-market entities themselves[5] (Tung, 2000). The significance of this shift is different from the context in the West, which is often dubbed as the 'failure of the welfare-state' and has had wide-ranging moral and social implications on its population. In Hong Kong, it can be taken as an extension of the refinement of markets in the economic and social life of its citizens, to which social exclusion is a misnomer that needs to be replaced by the notions of private/public investment and return on education (see Figure 5, p. 43). The ingredients for marketization have always been present in Hong Kong (i.e. laissez-faire economic policy, high level of individual achievement drive, and functional orientation) and it is just a matter of how far the government wants to go. The social policy of the HKSAR government on education is therefore market augmenting and can be viewed in the light of neo-liberal assumptions of individualism, rationality and the market. This brand of neo-liberalism in Hong Kong was not born out of a reaction to the failures of the welfare state for this had never existed, but rather representing a generic coping strategy of the public sector which is faced with the difficulty of expanding postsecondary education and developing human capital with limited new money available at its disposal.

For the post-initial sector of education or CE, the government's position has clearly gone from a non-interventionist (pre-1998) to a promoter (1998-1999), and further on to an interventionist stance (2000-present). The overriding economic consideration for promoting lifelong learning to build a competitive workforce and the government's targeted funding schemes for subsidizing training courses in selected sectors that are important to the economy represent the main thrust of its social policy in lifelong learning. Despite these clear-cut objectives, other areas (such as pre-employment training and retraining) are the product of social welfare reform to cope with youth and middle-age unemployment problems where leftist labor unionists[6] within the ruling New-Elite have some influence on its formulation. This form of political settlement from within (i.e. negotiation of working class interest within the capitalist state) is circumscribed within traditional concern for social stability but not the value of equity, and it does not pose any challenge to the market-based model of social policy. The logic for such policy is aptly presented by Quigley (1993) who alludes to literacy education (adult basic education) in US connected to 'work for welfare' reform:

> The market seeks to provide literacy education in exchange for jobs and enhanced income for students. It essentially assumes that adults are driven by economic self-interest incentives and taxpayers seek a "pay back" to society by adding more taxpayers and reduced numbers of welfare recipients to the mainstream. Without market-based incentives, according to this model, it is assumed that illiterates will not come forward and society will carry them as a burden. (p.120)

While social policy appears to be the appropriate arena for discussing lifelong learning in Hong Kong, it needs to be supported by an institutional perspective to study the workings of AE and CE structures and their processes, as well as the relations between the state and the powerful groups in the lifelong learning collectivity (such as the university sector CE cartel-FCETI). A number of interpretations can be made out of the systems model which depicts the institution of AE and CE (see Figure 3, p. 23). Consensus theory fits well into this highly structured power hierarchy characterized by top-down and uncontested policy

decision-making (from Chief Executive to Education and Manpower Bureau to statutory and advisory bodies such as the EC and UGC) and ordered relationship of providers to the state bureaucracy. The latter is exemplified by the selective co-option of FCETI by EMB to spearhead the community college movement (acting as surrogate of the state) and the HKCAA's oversight of private CE and FE providers through quality monitoring (assertion of state authority). This structural-functionalist view would presuppose that formal rules (e.g. NLPHE Ordinance), roles (providers' defined niches sanctioned by the state), and conventions (channels of communication between bureaucracy and providers) are followed to maintain 'regulatory order'. It runs in parallel with 'market order' which is attained when the interaction of providers and learners approaches the perfect market condition. The complementarity of 'regulatory order' to 'market order' brings dual consequences, which may be market augmenting or market intervening, or both. Examples of the former include provision of information to learners and benchmarking of qualifications to enhance positive choice while endorsement and funding of courses in specified subjects may result in negative choice. At the subjective end of research inquiry, the structural-functionalist view conceives of the practitioners' subjectivities by their organizationally-determined roles, priorities and values. Given the organization's expectation for conformity among its members (CE schools are output-driven service units with tight administrative control intended to maximize their ability in generating income), there is no scope for reflection on practice of the sort that can bring about transformational change. The subjectivities of learners are also disregarded, having been subsumed under the notion of 'needs' to which the market can rightly mediate without involving the state.

Conflict theory would find unease in such omission about power difference and equity issues. The nature of the state's intervention to mold a surrogate state education in lifelong learning means that certain providers (surrogates such as FCETI members) are favored, and the dominance of the surrogates are maintained through measures that would further consolidate its advantage over other providers

(i.e. private providers). Ironically, this takes place when the state claims to be creating a 'level playing field' to sustain 'market order'. This form of analysis would view the state's involvement in the market not as neutral, but in a problematic manner that raises questions regarding the state's singular promotion of an economic agenda in lifelong learning and the interests served by such an agenda. Equity issues would connect to questioning the use of state power to perpetuate inequalities or allow the market to produce it. There are three levels of equity issues that can be identified from the supposed 'regulatory order': First, international collaboration where local and overseas institutions partner to launch overseas programs in Hong Kong. Equity issue arises when one side enjoys more advantage than the other in economic terms (share of profit) or in the control of the curriculum (Lee and Lam, 1994a:125). This latter has become the subject of inquiry by researchers studying the effect of exported distance education on local culture and how it affects development in the recipient country (Evans, 2001). A market-based model of provision is disinterested in addressing philosophical and political questions about the curriculum and its impacts on society. Second, treatment of private providers which is subjected to much stricter control by the state through quality monitoring of its provision by the HKCAA (Leung and Goodliff, 2001). When considered in the light of previous discussion of the quality of exempted courses (i.e. those run in university CE units) by Castro and Wong (1996) and the multiple definitions of 'quality' in higher education (Harvey and Knight, 1996), then differential treatment based on nature of the provider (whether exempted or registered courses) is questionable, and such discrimination hints to an a-priori assumption of difference of quality between the two which the state would assume the market cannot differentiate. This results in a case of 'regulatory order' having an adverse effect on 'market order' that further lends support to the surrogate theory proposed above. The views of private providers are summarized by Leung and Goodliff (2001) as follows:

> Both our institution clients *(referring to overseas universities)*, some private local providers, and even some students have wondered why

there are such discrepancies between requirements for registered and exempted courses...The concerns stem from the fact that just as not all registered courses have been found to be run satisfactorily, so too many of the exempted courses have presented problems for both overseas institutions and students. In addition, this kind of treatment gives the impression that government favours the local institution partner model rather than the private partner model.

Third, the provision of courses seen as meeting 'needs' are constraint by what is perceived to be marketable rather than by what is valuable to do. Rubenson (1989) contends that "the activities of adult education organizations have been a response to manifest social and individual demands rather than to the needs stemming from inequalities in society" (p.65), which implies that the market positively discriminates against those who are less able to take advantage of learning opportunities. The social policy of lifelong learning (e.g. Continuing Education Fund or CEF) in Hong Kong sets down criteria for state support of CE which not only limits funding to courses deemed beneficial for economic development, but also excludes participation by those who are not regarded as capable of contributing to the economy (age above 60), and mandates closure of those programs that are no longer considered relevant in meeting economic needs (e.g. evening schools teaching formal school curriculum)[7]. Since education has now been subordinated to the market, the job of AE and CE practitioners therefore requires more marketing skills than teaching/curriculum skills, which seems ironic because learning is supposed to assume a central position in lifelong learning and those in charge of planning programs should in principle have a deep understanding of learning. Conflict theory would conceive of the practitioners as struggling to make meaning of their role out of this inconsistency, especially the coercion that organizations place on them to ensure that their role as marketers rather than educators are played out. Value and role conflicts would therefore characterize the practitioners' practice as they react to the imposed values of the organization, and more distally, the declared values or policies of the state in lifelong learning.

A third approach of theorizing about social relations in lifelong learning is to draw on the revisionist critical theory of reproduction in education discussed earlier. In critical theory, there is an attempt to highlight human agency and to analyze forms of domination in the social structure, which nevertheless is not about exercise of power by the dominant class but rather on the mental conditioning or cultural influence it exerts on the whole of society. In lifelong learning, this would relate to the economic theme that is persistent in the policy initiatives of the government. Given the nature of the polity and the circumscription of state interests within the market, it makes little difficulty to understand that capitalist-elite interests are served by lifelong learning to socialize workers to the norms of the workplace under a multitude of fashionable management science and training-inspired terminologies (e.g. team learning, knowledge worker, etc.). This form of learning for work treats learners as objects to be continuously molded to suit the needs of the market and creates knowledge that is uncritical. It also develops in learners an individualistic personality supporting the status quo and does not elicit in them a sense of commitment to collective social life. For radical adult educators, two forms of AE are pertinent to correct this deficiency: counter-hegemonic AE and conscientization. The first can be attributed to Antonio Gramsci while the latter is credited to Paulo Freire. The former counts on AE to become a part of the social movement led by civil society to raise the level of consciousness of the populace whereas the latter focuses on emancipatory learning connected with authentic learning needs and curriculum (if it can be called in this way) formulated by AE educators together with learners to raise their awareness of oppression. Both cases can give rise to learning that is ultimately connected to action, and therefore could carry potential for changing the social structure.

Of the three forms of theorizing, structural functionalist theory clearly fits the mainstream practice of CE in Hong Kong while conflict theory (radical structuralist) has many assumptions that are inconsistent with the structural nature of Hong Kong society and the ethos of the people. Both theories are deterministic and lack proper

regard for human agency in explaining for social change. In the present study of values of AE practice, a macro-level theorization is preferred which subscribes to methodological collectivism (investigates objective dimension of social reality) that attempts to address the link between structure and agency. To this end, the revisionist critical theory mentioned previously is preferred as it can provide theorization that meets all three conditions below: (a) account for both structure and agency in social change; (b) establish relations between the institution of AE and CE and other institutions in society; and (c) identify hegemonic structure to replace traditional notions of class-based domination. Morrow and Torres (1995:38) emphasize that their critical theory is successful in explaining for educational reproduction and change because of two complementary research strategies used: (a) state hegemonic theories that identify the state as the mediating point through which various structural forces are regulated to create social order. Such theories are parallist (as opposed to class reductionist) in providing a fuller account of domination other than class; and (b) transformative resistance theories which are concerned with mobilization for counterhegemonic struggle by subjects who are capacitated to act against rather than just comprehend the nature of oppression. The use of social policy to highlight the role of the state is crucial for relating other societal institutions to lifelong learning and can help to make the framework for the institution of AE and CE as depicted in Figure 3 (p. 23) thoroughly comprehensible. The adequacy of this form of theorizing is assessed with reference to the following assertion made by Archer (1984):

> A macro-sociology of education thus involves the examination of two things and the relations between them. On the one hand, complex kinds of social interaction the result of which is the emergence of particular forms of education; on the other, complex types of social and educational structures which shape the context in which interaction and change occur...In other words, it is argued that an adequate sociology of education must incorporate statements about the structural conditioning of educational interaction and about the influence of independent action on educational change. (p. 3-4)

The discussions above have come a long way to set the ground for values elucidated in the present study to be explained by sociological theories that are sensitive to the local context. Following this, it will be necessary to offer explanations on how the formation of these values is related to culture (mainly for values on AE and program planning) and how it can contribute to the working of the market in CE (mainly for values on policy of lifelong learning). Discussions on the latter will also touch upon other concurrent features of neo-liberalism, such as individualism and rationality. A contribution from the institutionalist thesis (i.e. nature and policy of the state) is important for explaining the interactions of state-market-third sector and how this has shaped the CE practitioners' attitudes toward policy of lifelong learning; while the culturalist thesis can offer a basis for understanding practitioners' conceptions of AE and program planning based on traditional notions of learning and education, and also contemporary cultural values. It should be borne in mind that the two (culture and institution) are both parts of the broad social structure from which the values of practitioners emanated, and hence are complementary to each other.

Culture and the values of practitioners

Culture and learning

Similar to the existence of a set of values for work that is strongly influenced by culture (Huang et al., 2000), the Chinese have evolved cultural values of learning, teaching and education that are intertwined with the intellectual, political and social history of the country. These values are also held by countries that have been influenced by Chinese culture, notably in the East Asia region. Education and culture interact to affect societal development in a holistic sense, and hence the cultural values of education could serve to either facilitate or impede development. Zhou (1996:240-242) has explored this further by propounding on cultural traits that make up positive and negative elements of traditional culture. To him, the Asian

stress on learning is classic and represents what he calls 'deep-rooted appreciation of the value of education'. Other aspects which he regards to have a positive effect on education are: high expectation of the young; emphasis on the group rather than the individual; stress on spiritual rather than material dimension of development; examination-performance-based meritocracy; and legitimization of authority. It is not difficult to appreciate their similarities to some of the work values such as: collectivism, credentialism and authoritarianism. In fact, both educational and work values are required to complement each other in bringing about beneficial effects on development. For example, a focus on the work value of functionalism would need to be balanced by values of moral education to prevent build-up of excessive materialistic orientation. It is in the spirit of balancing the two that the Education Reform proposals attempt to re-construct education:

> Education in Hong Kong is endowed with some very fine traditions. Our education system is infused with the essence of eastern and western cultures, preserving the basic elements of traditional Chinese education while absorbing the most advanced concepts, theories and experiences from modern western education. Parents and the community attach much importance to the education for our young people. (Education Commission, 2000c:29)

Teaching and learning roles are socially constructed and again are also deeply rooted in traditional culture. The stereotyping of adult students as favoring one particular kind of instructional methodology and mode of learning (face-to-face lecture and rote learning) have been refuted by studies which show that most adult learners can cope with alternative approaches to learning and study if challenged. Venter (2002:98-100) contends that both past learning experience and cultural tradition predispose Hong Kong learners to favor directed learning, but that learners can be brought up to recognize other learning styles and approaches with the support of the teacher. This is supported by the study of Ng et al. (2002) which showed that adult learners differ in their conceptions of teaching and their role as learners, to which two groups could be clearly discerned: didactic/reproductive and facilitative/transformative. As both groups aspire to have support from their

teachers, positive working relationships with students can be optimized to leverage change toward more learner-centered model. In some instance, students are even more forward-looking in their views of learning such as on the inclusion of values education in open and distance learning courses where course coordinators and tutors were found to hold reservations while students themselves were generally supportive of the idea (Taplin, 2002). In this light, the Education Reform proposals' attempt at changing conceptions about teaching and learning is thus a necessary step to free learner's agency within the educational process:

> "Teaching" and "cultivation" have always been placed at the centre of traditional Chinese education. The dissemination of knowledge has gradually become one-way transmission, and the attention is put on schools and teachers...The situation is in conflict with the principle of developing students' self-learning ability, exploratory skills and creativity...In a knowledge-based society, students would no longer receive knowledge passively. Through the process of learning, they also continuously construct and create knowledge. (Education Commission, 2000c: 40)

In discussing cultural influences on learning and education, there needs to be a realization that the complementary nature of work and educational values working in tandem would help to create conditions for the pursuit of developmental goals that are inherently modernist in outlook. When applied to CE, the same modernist inclination would give rise to learning referred to earlier as 'serious leisure'. This includes learning for self-development, career advancement and job-related purposes which make up 68.4% of reasons for study in the OUHK survey (OUHK, 2000) and 56.1% in the HKU-SPACE survey (HKU-SPACE, 2003b). The nature of the lifelong learning pursuit is described in the Education Reform proposals thus:

> The aim of continuing education in Hong Kong is "to enable learners to constantly upgrade themselves and to promote their all-round development. For the society as a whole, continuing education helps to enhance the quality of people that is crucial to the society's future development". Connected to this aim, the objectives are: "to help learners realise their own potentials and enhance personal qualities; to

help learners acquire the most-up-to-date knowledge and skills they need to stay competitive in a globalized economy; and to provide opportunities for learners to acquire the necessary academic, professional and vocational training and qualifications to fulfill their personal aspiration and the requirements at work." (Education Commission, 2000c:33)

Lifelong learning undertaken for enriching social life and more meaningful life figures minimally among reasons cited by learners, 6.3% in the HKU-SPACE survey (HKU-SPACE, 2003b), which point to the non-significance of 'pleasurable leisure' or pure consumption form of learning in Hong Kong. It may be assumed that the social ethos of individualism could have exerted a significant negative influence on this form of lifelong learning pursuit that developed economies of the West have displayed much curiosity to learn about. The OECD states thus:

> "The interest of (Japanese) people in lifelong learning is oriented more toward leisure-oriented and culture/sport oriented activities....which have become a synonym of 'lifelong learning' itself, and learning activities for economic purposes are quite often unconsciously excluded from the scope of lifelong learning. Although 'fun and leisure' have been emphasised, culture/sport-oriented and leisure-oriented learning activities are not considered as just for fun and pleasure in Japan but as valuable practices for character building, the quality of life and self-fulfillment". (Kaoru Okamoto cited by OECD, 1995:18)

The cultural values of education and learning in Hong Kong, especially of lifelong learning, are therefore essentially modernist and committed to the development of the person within the parameters of development of the economy.

Culture and education policy

The above discussion on cultural conceptions of teaching, learning and education is useful in informing about the kind of culture-specific bias which may either serve as a beneficial factor for change or act as an impediment to it. Examples of this are the dual nature of Asian values on educational and economic

developments as enumerated above by Zhou (1996). Culture provides for a reserve to inform action but cannot ultimately define nor restrict parameters for taking action, especially when society is subjected to modernizing forces that impact on its traditional values. For example, traditional Chinese culture emphasizes collective interest over that of the individual's own interest but little of this is manifested in the character of the Hong Kong people who as previously suggested harbor a strong individualistic ethos in both their economic and social lives. The utilitarian and materialistic ethos of the Hong Kong people are largely a by-product of the modernizing process starting from the 1970s, which in turn is intricately connected with what local sociologists call the 'Hong Kong experience'. As such, traditional culture has interacted with the circumstance of society to form local perspectives on educational issues that revolve around the individual. From an insider point of view (of one prominent figure of the Education Reform, Professor Cheng Kai-ming), these include cultural influences on the following tenets of education: (a) degree of individualism; (b) degree of conformity in performance; (c) expectation of efforts vs. innate abilities; and (d) moral education (Fok, 2002).

Fok in quoting Cheng claims that the Education Reform process represents a conflict and struggle between traditional values and Western values of education where parents and employers show inclination toward the former while educators favor the latter. Although culture can be cited as one axis where contestation of values had occurred, there is no hard evidence to support the type of East-West dichotomy of values assumed by Fok. Rather, public discussions on the aims of education have indirectly placed society's values of individualism (i.e. individualistic orientation and permissibility of state intervention on individual's effort) under scrutiny. This corresponds to a discussion of the first two tenets of education cited by Cheng but does not relate to questioning of traditional Chinese values on education. What is understood by Fok as advocacy for traditional Chinese values in education in the Education Reform proposals may instead be conceived as a conscious effort to balance the initiatives proposed for reforming learning and

structures of education, which satisfies mainly economic goals, with a supplementary focus on the development of moral and civic education to counter the excesses of materialism and to nurture civic virtues at both local, national and international levels (Education Commission, 1999b)[8]. As previously suggested, the scale and nature of the education reform of 1999-2000 belong to the category of national development planning, and hence emphasis on moral and civic education would be necessary to enable attainment of outcomes of national unity, cultural identity, and moral/social values that are commonly found in the educational policy goals of other countries (Thomas, 1992:20-25). The attempt at reaching a balance between training for skills and enhancement of inner qualities as well as reconciling social with individual needs are expressed as follows:

> Education serves the needs of both the society and the individual person. It does not only nurture talents for the general development of the society, but also provides room for everyone to exploit his potentiality...High demands are now placed on the individual's personal qualities; even the training for a specific vocation should now go beyond the teaching of skills and aim to enhance the inner qualities of a person. On the other hand, with the rapid development of information technology, the spiritual aspect of our life is being suppressed by materialistic influences. It is the society's expectation that education should enrich our moral, emotional, spiritual and cultural life so that we can rise above the material world and lead a healthy life (Education Commission, 2000c:38).

In downplaying the influences of traditional values on education, attention should be shifted to the value of individualism, which is a contemporary societal value in Hong Kong. As previously suggested, the Education Reform process raises questions about the individualistic orientation and permissibility of state intervention on individual's efforts. What is suggested here is that individualism as a contemporary cultural value of the Hong Kong Chinese is well understood when related to economic-social-political spheres of social life but not when spoken in relation to education. As a result, extensive discussions had arisen in the course of consultation on the aims of education. This culminated in what the EC later

describes as 'matters of principle', which it has purposely put into detail in the final proposals. Two of these, society's needs vs. individual's needs; and competition and fairness, are related to the first and second tenets of education cited by Cheng (2000; quoted in Fok, 2002). The first raises the question of whether education is for the development of individuals or for the welfare of the community, and the second, on the extent that education expects individuals to perform the same (Fok, 2002). In value terms, the first relates to the value of social cohesion while the second on values of equity vs. excellence (quality). The individualistic orientation, which encapsulates both the ideology of openness and opportunity (Hong Kong experience) and the highly economic, utilitarian and amoral approach to ethical values (situational morality) (Wong and Lui, 2000:13-14), has been given an extended interpretation specific to education. Thus, the Education Reform proposals speak of both behaviorist and humanist philosophies (Education Commission, 2000c:38) in its view of what education can do for the individual:

> Education must help everyone to make a living and to meet the demands of their work. It should enable everyone to achieve their own success and contribute to the economy. This is the "training" aspect of education. Education must also help people enjoy their work and live a meaningful life. Education enriches a person's cultural, intellectual and spiritual facilities, spurring him to continuously raise and to pursue his goal in life. This is the "enlightenment" aspect.

The equal emphasis given to 'training' and 'enlightenment' is akin to what Podeschi (2000) describes as a behaviorist-humanist merger in the field of AE following Knowles' proposition of the concept of andragogy. By this, he means that the technical rationality of the behaviorist philosophy is combined with affective self-fulfillment of the humanist philosophy to give rise to a functionalist form of humanism as distinguished from a radical (informed by conflict or critical theory) form of humanism. This new philosophical orientation can also be conceived as the merger between an old form of economic individualism (represented by utilitarian individualism that drives achievement motivation for work and study) with psychological individualism (humanistic philosophy concentrating on individual's

development for self-actualization), the product of which matches the bureaucratic-managerialist push for efficiency, self-motivation and skills specialization. Such form of 'bureaucratic individualism' is significant because it permeates institutional life to affect how practitioners would conceive of their practice. Relating this to AE and CE specifically, there is the danger that "humanistic packaging of behaviorist conceptions of knowledge can become even more seductive to adult educators seeking quick responses to societal and institutional pressures" (p. 624). In this light, the finding that no humanist-behaviorist predilection exists among CE practitioners surveyed in this study is consoling. However, the decline of humanist philosophical orientation with increase in age and experience (presence of compounding effect) peculiar to male trainers in this study may hint to some element of cynicism arising probably as a response to the persistent lack of opportunity for pursuing humanist beliefs in the training context.

On the other significant matter of principle relating to individual's effort and grounds for government intervention, the Education Reform proposals recognize that competition is continuous with the individualistic ethos (Education Commission, 2000c).

> Competition is the hallmark of Hong Kong and one of the key factors of success of East Asian economies. In a traditional Chinese society, people are steeped in the concept of the old civil examinations which focused on competition and selection as the main motivation to learn. Education in Hong Kong maintains a strong emphasis on hard work and the belief that ineptitude can be overcome through diligence, and people think that one's own efforts will supplement any lack of natural endowment. (p.39)

Yet in allowing competition to rein free without at the same time promoting equity, success would come at a great price.

> However, in the traditional system of education, the success of a few outstanding students is built upon the majority of students...Such a competitive mechanism can only produce a small number of

distinguished talents and will not give Hong Kong a competitive edge. It has undercut social equity and has divided society...The reform package put forward by the EC aims to instill a new concept of competition and to introduce a new competition mechanism that takes account of selectiveness, fairness, social equity and the "no-loser" principle...The focus of the reform is put on enhancing the learning environment of all students and the overall quality of the school system while protecting and promoting good traditions. (p. 39-40)

Public views on the desirability of government intervention to assist individual's effort and thus to promote the value of equity are largely negative. This has been affected by what the public perceives as an adverse effect of equity on quality (such as watering down of standard) (Wong et al., 2002). Several surveys corroborate this line of thinking as attested in a range of opinions coming from the public, the educated elite and CE students. Wong and Chau (2002) found that although 65.6% of citizens regard that education is an area of social policy where the government bears major responsibility, only 15.7% would agree that individual's achievement in it justifies government intervention by way of additional provision or policy to help under-performers. In a survey on the opinion of the educated elite toward expansion of postsecondary education opportunities, respondents were undecided as to whether the government should help those who do not meet minimum entrance requirement (49.3% in favor vs. 42.6% against) but were overwhelmingly in favor (91.6%) of upholding quality by not admitting students who do not meet minimum entrance requirements (Chinese University Alumni Association, 2001). Students in open and distance education also accorded higher priority to quality value (37%) than the equity value (6.3% for openness of entry) (Open University of Hong Kong, 2000).

Individualism as a societal ethos commands over contemporary cultural values in Hong Kong with effects felt on every domain or sphere of social life. Its deep roots lie in the regulation of economic behavior but have similarly influenced political behavior and the moral outlook of the Hong Kong people. Thus, instrumentalism, economic orientation and amorality are intertwined as

demonstrated by Wong and Lui (1992b) in their survey of Hong Kong people's views of capitalistic ethos and conceptions of the 'good society'. In that study, the majority of subjects (cutting across class line) support competition and espoused a capitalistic profit orientation. They also considered that 'equality of opportunity' is more important than 'equality of condition'. Given the primacy of economic self-interest, ethical concerns are relegated to the background where consideration of these can be evaded or deferred; and situational morality rather than universal principles of morality is applied where ethical issues are required to be arbitrated. This feature of the individualist's conception of morality can be assumed to have influenced the way CE practitioners in this study show their preference for the equity value only when it relates to CE. At the policy level, the same ethos of individualism is assumed to work to influence policymakers' views of what constitutes as appropriate policy issues and its solutions.

Apart from threshing out the dominating factor found in cultural values of Hong Kong society, discussion of cultural influence on education policy needs to take note of the way in which a particular mindset is applied to understand change in society. In this regard, the Education Reform proposals view three levels of changes occurring in Hong Kong: (a) economic (economic restructuring and impact of economic globalization); (b) political (reunification with China and the exercise of local autonomy); and (c) social (income disparity between rich and poor). These changes are simultaneously ongoing, together with the major transformation brought about by information technology (p.28). There is keen awareness that the changes are not specific to Hong Kong, and that ultimately, Hong Kong should seek its place in the world. Thus the Education Reform proposals (Education Commission, 2000c) state:

> As an international city, Hong Kong is experiencing the same changes...Our relationship with the Mainland is closer than ever before. We should therefore enhance our understanding of our country, our culture, and strengthen our sense of belonging and commitment to our country. Hong Kong's long term objective is not

> only to become one of the outstanding cities in China, but also a democratic and civilized international city embracing the essences of the East and the West. (p. 28)

Given this positioning, the priorities of education have thus been stated in a non-contextual form. Education of the subject is expressed in broad terms such as 'enabling students to enjoy learning', 'enhancing students' effectiveness in communication' and 'developing students' creativity and sense of commitment' (p. 30). It may be apt to ask why such positioning has been chosen and to whose benefit it would mainly serve. This requires going back to the notion of education as an area of social policy, and to which policy analysis can be suitably applied to study the intentions, outcomes and objectives of policies, and behind those lie values. In relation to AE (though not limited to it), Griffin (1987) contends that "the benefit of social policy analysis model is the emphasis it would place on the need to relate policies one to another" (p. 10). Furthermore, he asserts that:

> Policy analysis models, are more likely to be constructed on the assumption that objectives are always mutually related: adult education could scarcely be conceived as a form of social policy separate from policies relating to employment, education or welfare itself. At the most general level all social policies are determined by economic and political factors of the social structure, ultimately by such apparently remote sources such as international division of labour and the changing nature of the state and the forms of its intervention...The ultimate determinants of social policy in any field, are the state of the economy, the role of the state, and the political process itself (p.10-11).

By following on Griffin's note, the institutional thesis is brought in to provide additional explanation on the formation of values of practitioners. In relation to the study of values from policy, this involves analysis of the role that the state wants itself to play and how it would define its role relative to the market and tertiary sector. To Ball (1990:1), policy operationalizes and validates values. Education policy therefore relates to the ideal society as projected by a dominant ideological system (e.g. Thatcherism in Britain). Ball uses a typology of three

educational ideologies to represent the spectrum of beliefs, values and tastes found in policy-makers which he argues is necessary because of the internal conflict and disagreement from within the state (p.5-7). In this typology, he identifies three broad groups of people: the cultural restorationist (politicians), the educational bureaucrats, and the progressive educators (professionals). The values professed by these groups are respectively freedom of choice, efficiency, and quality; and their beliefs lie respectively within market forces, good administration and professional experience. The use of such an approach to analyze educational policymaking in England is necessary in order to take into account the nature of partisan politics, left-right political ideologies, and tensions of conservative-progressive inclinations found in the political life of the country. In the same vein, educational policy making in a highly participatory democracy such as the United States would have to take into account the national and local political cultures in assessing its influence on educational policy making both at the national and state levels (Marshall et al., 1989).

Relating this to the context of Hong Kong, which has under-developed democratic institutions and lacks a popular basis for participation in educational policy formulation, policy-making becomes then the exclusive domain of the educational bureaucrats, and lately after the handover, also of the New Elites. Although large-scale consultations were held to seek community views during the Education Reform process, criticisms had been leveled at the preformed nature of the policy agenda by educationalists (such as notable Hong Kong historian of education Anthony Sweeting) who regard the type of questions posed to the public as 'closed' rather than 'open-ended' (Forrestier, 2002). This naturally raises the issue of whose values are being validated in educational policy making. Citing the education reform process as an example, there is clear tension between neo-conservative and progressive forces in their struggle to define 'quality' value and to accommodate 'equity' and 'choice' values in education[9]. The former is represented by a minority of conservative business people while the latter includes those who are primarily

behind the Education Reform process. Contrary to policy reform in education in other jurisdictions, marketization has not been made a significant issue as the reform is not about privatization. There is an invariable position occupied by the educational bureaucrats whose concern major is the pursuit of economic 'efficiency' value, and their views have find acceptance among the New Elite. The ensuing alliance of bureaucratic-progressive forces, whose views ultimately prevailed in the Education Reform proposals, enjoys broad support from the majority of business groups, employers (Education Commission, 1999b) and the community (Wong et al., 2002); and their bottom line for conceiving change and taking action can be traced to the fulfillment of primarily economic objectives (i.e. to enhance competitiveness)[10]. Policy making in Hong Kong is therefore influenced by an economic culture rather than an ideological (as in England) or political (as in the United States) one.

The concern of the New Elite for equality of educational opportunity[11] is likely to emanate from their desire to achieve social order and stability that can contribute to the continuous pursuit of economic development. This assumption would be in line with the way ethical matters are customarily dealt with by the Hong Kong Chinese. Leung (1996) describes this as the paradox of the utilitarian upholding of social order for the pursuit of individual materialist interests, which illustrates the application of situational morality:

> One essential characteristic of the Hong Kong people's situational morality is that acts which buttress the social order are deemed as moral. This observation seems to suggest that Hong Kong people do care for the collective interest and that the thesis of situational morality is at odds with Wong's [Thomas Wong] thesis of amoral individualism. The contradiction disappears, however, when we consider the value of social order to the Hong Kong people. Order is the basis of Hong Kong's prosperity and is treasured primarily for its role in facilitating the individual's pursuit of wealth (p.54).

The form of thinking elaborated above that has arisen from a coming together of bureaucratic efficiency value with the New Elite's conception of quality and

choice values in education represents an approximation of the neo-liberalist view of education in the Hong Kong context. This neo-liberal view of education is even more relevant to CE than to education in general where in the latter marketization is not an issue. CE exhibits the following characteristics: voluntary participation in learning; cost sensitivity from both user and provider point of view; and market behavior in the choice of courses by learners, which are constitutive elements for the proper functioning of the market. It can be said that a free market had reined in CE during the late 1980s to 1999 until the HKSAR government made it an instrument of social policy under the banner of lifelong learning. During the free market period, expansion of provision to satisfy unmet needs was the main concern and this was undertaken through experimenting with new approaches to widen participation, such as: importation of overseas qualifications, top-up or degree conversion programs, open entry via distance learning programs offered by the OUHK, access programs, twinning and articulation arrangements, programs offered in Chinese as the medium of instruction, etc. This was a period when the mainstream universities went from elite to mass higher education and was matched by the realization that a service-based economy would need more skilled people in the workforce. While the problem of inequality of participation in higher education was largely overcome for school-leavers from that point of time, mature adults who were denied the chance to enter higher education were enabled to obtain a second-chance through the programs offered in CE schools of the universities, the OUHK and other private providers. In this light, the achievement of that period can be regarded as advocacy for the value of 'equity' although practitioners tend to see it as an emphasis on 'choice' (Lee and Lam, 1994a:43-44). Although no public money was given to CE to achieve the expansion, the reality of hidden subsidies from money intended for formal education within the institutions does certainly qualify the outcome to be treated as an exercise in fostering the 'equity' value.

Despite this impressive performance, the official view on such activities in CE was that it belonged to the sphere of the market and that it would be advisable

for government to leave it in that way. This was indeed the position formulated by the University Grants Committee (1996) following the outcome of an earlier commissioned study led by a group of university-based economists (Chung et al., 1994). Such laissez-faire or minimal-interventionist policy is based on the assumption that returns on education from CE would accrue mainly to individuals and hence it would be appropriate to treat CE as a form of private investment. Public subsidy was ruled out as argument "based on externality arising from market failure and equity considerations is much weaker than the case for formal education" (Chung et al., 1994:127). The decisions to require the OUHK and the CE schools of universities to become self-financing were informed by this official position. As a consequence, maximization of surplus (profits) becomes a major institutional priority to which the value of financial 'efficiency' emerges to take prominent position thereafter. Due to the assigned location of CE in the market, both the UGC and the universities were not interested in scrutinizing the quality of CE programs. As such, CE programs were not included within the 1st round of the TLQPR (1995-1997) but instead minimal legislation by way of the NLPHE was introduced by the government in 1997 to augment market order. Although the said legislation has required providers to meet the criterion of parity between local and home provisions for overseas qualifications offered in Hong Kong, the responsibility for determining quality still resides with the learners who as Chung et al. (1994:124) put it "are usually rather demanding in getting their money's worth from the courses they enroll. Intense market competition for students provides the bottom line for quality control in continuing education". One effect of CE expansion during this period is the further isolation of CE practitioners from mainstream academia as they lose their quasi-academic status of extra-mural or extension educators to become full-fledged marketers. Within an academic community still elitist in outlook and well funded by public money at that time, CE courses and their non-traditional student body were oblivious to the mainstream. Given such condition and the refusal of policy direction by the government (Holford, 1998), it was neither viable nor possible for CE practitioners to espouse the value of 'quality', and this was believed to have

contributed toward various criticisms of low quality such as those made by Castro and Wong (1996).

The present stage of CE development involving full-scale marketization, integration with mainstream higher education, emphasis on service to clients, quality evaluation, and closer working relations with the government is the product of engaging with new opportunities arising from the Education Reform's incorporation of CE into the educational structure and the Chief Executive's policy of post-secondary expansion. To meet the new challenges, different values are required to be espoused by CE practitioners; and connecting this to the strategic compliance approach of practitioners discussed before, the consequential realignment of values is calculated to bring about legitimacy and acceptance of CE in the evolving educational scene. The foremost value to be espoused is 'quality' because evidence of its attainment would help to give CE units a credible status within the parent institution and the higher education scene. To this effect, the inclusion of CE schools within the ambit of the 2nd TLQPR exercise (2003) has certainly helped to achieve this objective. There are also government-initiated quality imperatives such as the common descriptor system for Associate degrees (AD) and the Qualifications Framework (QF), to which forms of academic evaluation such as benchmarking and accreditation would become a regular exercise, and which in turn would require CE practitioners to readily articulate quality as a feature of their practice. As a pragmatic reaction to the operational environment of the market, financial 'efficiency' value is preferred but learner-centered 'efficiency' value is less likely to be given full support. This is because the notion of accountability to stakeholders has neither been imposed from within the institution nor from outside. Since CE units do not receive public funds, they are unlikely to be subjected to the kind of management reviews (1997-1998) required of universities by the UGC to prove their accountability to the public. Institutional management board's scrutiny of efficiency is focused at monitoring for sound financial and development planning with consequence on institutional health rather than in examining effectiveness of the

institution's strategies for adopting new technologies in teaching and learning, new modes of program delivery, new curriculum design, etc., which would benefit the learners (clients). In other words, current mechanism used to monitor learner-centered 'efficiency' is still controlled by the producer and does not serve user's interest. As such, CE practitioners' commitment to improving teaching and learning, enhancing program flexibility, and other aspects of efficiency defined from user's point of view will remain to be seen.

It can be argued that CE has gained legitimacy within the educational structure through its tactical alignment with values of the bureaucratic-New Elite alliance. Thus, efforts of CE schools to establish their own institutional quality assurance mechanism meets the bureaucratic requirement for quality evaluation while the ability of CE sector to run postsecondary education under self-financing mode satisfies financial efficiency considerations of the government. The progressive movement to construct diverse educational structure and enhance learners' choice espoused by the New Elite in the Education Reform proposals is easily co-opted by the CE sector to highlight its past and present efforts in enhancing participation through part-time programs and AD programs, respectively. To match the change to interventionist policy by the government on CE since 1999 and the intense competition brought about by further proliferation of providers and courses in the market, CE units have adopted managerialist strategies to ensure clear focus on output-driven performance, i.e. creation of surplus or profit. This form of maximization cannot be subsumed under any of the four values of educational policymaking as it represents a pure market activity. In channeling surplus from CE units to their parent institutions which is commonplace nowadays due to the reduction in university funding, both efficiency and equity issues would arise as issues of accountability to learners (value-for-money) and fairness of treatment (vis-à-vis government-funded formal education) would be subject to questioning. Choice is a value that is less likely to be espoused because part-time courses have not experienced any significant growth as compared to AD programs where growth has

been phenomenal[12]. This latter due to its relatively recent history in the local educational scene has to rely on articulation of the quality dimension (i.e. the extrinsic worth of the program, such as recognition by employers for employment purpose and by universities for further study) to gain public recognition with consequence on the loss of significance for the choice dimension (i.e. diversity in its curriculum and other intrinsic worth of the program)[13]. Since the choice value has been traded for the quality value, similarly, the equity value is also lost in this process.

To some, the expansion of postsecondary education can be considered as another major exercise in enhancing the ability of the poor to gain entry into higher education because research has revealed them to have benefited less from the higher education expansion of the 1990s than the rich (Post, 2003). In reality, the implications of closing down adult evening schools, selective funding of courses (e.g. the six sectors in CEF), and regulatory discrimination on providers, all have an adverse effect on choice, and also on equity. Contrary to what educational bureaucrats in the EMB claim about retention of the notion of equality of opportunity for study after replacement of one form of education by another (e.g. CEF and Workplace English Campaign subsidized language courses can replace English language courses leading to public examinations such as GCE in adult evening schools), it can be said that equity or justice will not be served in this manner. As Walford (1994:14) contends, equity goes beyond the obvious and measurable differences appreciated by the notion of equality. To him, "it goes beyond the legally agreed ways of acting toward each other and investigates the justice of the arrangements leading up to actions and resulting from actions". Since the notion of justice changes in time and with social structure, it must therefore be based on what society considers as just, or in other words, the cultural conceptions of justice. This in the West is easily understood as based on democracy, while in Hong Kong, can be interpreted differently with ramifications of situational morality certainly to be found in it.

The value preferences of practitioners on policy of lifelong learning in this study clearly reflect many of the constraints and exigencies imposed by the market-based operational environment. The institutional thesis is applicable to explain for value formation because the institutional arrangement for AE and CE (see Figure 3, p. 23) is a design of the bureaucratic (exemplified by EMB and its associated education policy-consultative agencies) and interventionist (the social policy agenda of lifelong learning enunciated by the Chief Executive) state which defines parameters of operation for the market and the third sector. This represents the macro-level influence which is also complemented by a meso-level influence that is outside the scope of this study. However, what is certain is that the managerialist strategy focusing on maximization of surplus has forced CE practitioners to relinquish their last vestige of an academic's role to turn them into full-fledged academic capitalists. This assertion is supported by observation that apart from some staff in the OUHK who are associated with its Center for Research on Distance and Adult Learning (CRIDAL) (Carr et al., 1999), very few other staff in CE schools of the universities has demonstrated active interests in researching on aspects of instruction, delivery, assessment, and counseling of adult learners, a phenomenon which seriously undermines their credibility to be called educators. In this connection, the case of a recent research output written mainly by CE practitioners of one university sector CE school in Hong Kong has been criticized as essentially superficial and restricted in its focus, written mainly to summarize what it had achieved in program expansion rather than advancing serious scholarship (Boshier, 2003).

Market and the values of practitioners

The foregoing discussion has shown that individualistic ethos and situational morality form the basis of both the cultural and institutional theses used in

explaining the formation of values of practitioners on AE and their attitude toward the policy of lifelong learning. The said individualistic ethos is consonant with methodological individualism which focuses on individual motivation and behavior toward achievement. Pratt (1997) regards this form of individualism as one of the three defining features of neo-liberalism, together with rationality and market (p.34).

While contemporary cultural values in Hong Kong as influenced by the individualistic ethos clearly contribute toward defining the local variant of neo-liberalism, there is also a less salient but more persistent traditional cultural value that makes its imprint through defining rationality. Social psychologists who study Chinese modernization suggest that there is a continuity of Chinese thought patterns steeped in historical and intellectual traditions that predispose the Chinese to hold rational views about the world and of change. The four characteristic elements of such a Chinese rational worldview according to Metzger (cited in Inkeles, 1997) are:

1. Utopianism: a way of defining the goal of human life
2. Epistemological optimism: "holding that the total, objective, systematic understanding of human life can be obtained to guide action."
3. History: viewed as a teleological process moving inexorably toward the ultimate goals of humankind.
4. Agency: there is a socially visible group, usually seen as the intellectuals, who can grasp the right theoretical system (t'i-hsi) and use it to influence the course of development of China, and perhaps the whole world. (p.80-81)

The Chinese rational system of thought is wholly consistent with how education is viewed and the way the Education Reform has been carried out, where the process was steered by a select few from the New Elite who seemed to hold the mandate to act on behalf of the community. This thought pattern is modernist in character and has undoubtedly cast its influence in restricting individual's behavior along rationally-defined modes of conduct in various spheres of social life. Based on this, the feature of rationality can be assumed to be at work among the Hong Kong

Chinese. As pointed out earlier, the market which is the third feature of neo-liberalism, is part of the economic life in Hong Kong and constitutes the arena for CE practice. For CE practitioners, individualism and rationality would make up the cultural predispositions for conceiving practice within a market context. To this end, research should focus on comparing the match between practitioners' values and those of the market.

Cultural politics and educational policy making

A point consistently made in the above is that cultural influences on practitioners' values of practice and policy are continuous with the limiting effects of the societal structure. This latter refers to the institution of AE and CE, and the values appertaining to the functioning of that institution, which belong to the sphere of political life. In the political domain, the lack of democracy has profound influences on educational policy-making. There is above all no effective mechanism that could enable alternative viewpoints other than those of the New Elite and business interests to be taken seriously in the committees and advisory bodies responsible for educational policy making. The culture of conformity is strong even among people working in the education field, as Holford (1998:149) observes, "Hong Kong's educational managers are adept at reading policy signals; and they tend to act accordingly". Such was also manifested in their attitude toward the Education Reform of 2000.

> The post 2000 years have so far been characterized by the lemming-like behaviour of many local politicians and not a few educators, as they line up to spout politically-correct slogans and to support the official line on education reform." (Anthony Sweeting quoted by Forrestier, 2002)

The absence of a viable public sphere and an undemocratic legislature mean that the values of democracy and equity cannot be projected in juxtaposition to the values

favored by the market, i.e. quality and efficiency (administrative and economic dimensions). To ameliorate these shortcomings, space for alternative discourse would need to be opened up so that lifelong learning could be connected to its wider socio-cultural context; to embrace issues such as equality of access to learning opportunities, equity in funding and course provision, learning and social mobility, and discourse of power relations in learning (e.g. in the contexts of training and human resource development). While these issues are not new to AE and CE practitioners in the West, they are very much needed to breathe new life into the monotony of a single discourse of lifelong learning in Hong Kong. The interplay between the different elements of culture (societal structures, values, power loci, etc.) in influencing policy is to referred to as cultural politics, and according to Apple (1996:21), is also "about the resources we employ to challenge existing relations, to defend those counterhegemonic forms that now exist, or to bring new forms into existence".

As this study is about situating values of AE and CE practice within a cultural frame of reference, the conceptions of change made to the values of practice and on policy of lifelong learning should be understood in terms of an interaction at the interface of structure and agency. By adopting revisionist critical social theory, a two-culture model of domination and oppression can be advanced to explain for the basis of value formation in AE and CE and the structural hegemony prevalent therein. In Hong Kong, hegemonic structures would best be conceptualized as continuous with the dominant social structures (e.g. the social ethos of individualism). That is, the possibility for multiple cultural hegemonies in the West (i.e. based on class, race, gender, etc.) is replaced locally by the concept of dominant and subdued cultures, which is closely similar to the two-culture notion of oppression and false-consciousness assumed by Freire.

The fostering of alternative discourse in lifelong learning is however not an easily attainable objective. Although the undemocratic polity does not create

conducive condition for the expression of non-mainstream views and has transformed the vestige of civil society (referring to third sector) into a compliant apparatus of the state, it is market forces that have exerted significant effect on the practitioners to constrain their choices of roles and practice models in AE and CE. Market forces act at every stage-macro (social policy), meso (organizational mission), and micro (individual practitioner's practice) levels, to cause a downward hierarchical transmission of its utilitarian and pragmatic values based originally in the sphere of economic life. According to Rubenson's (1997) second-generation lifelong learning discourse (1980s and after), the determination of education by economic principles has caused these values to be extended to education and learning. On the other hand, cultural predispositions (i.e. social ethos of individualism and situational morality; traditional notion of rationality) serve to reinforce what the institutional conditions (market-based social policy and institutional priorities) have imposed and thereby giving rise to the structural hegemony of only one form of lifelong learning discourse, the 'human capital model' (see WCCES definitions of lifelong learning above) or 'serious-leisure' type of learning (Edwards and Usher, 1997).

This singular discourse amounts to a dominant discourse that is taken to be part of the dominant culture of society. Two liberatory strategies, conscientization or counterhegemonic education, should be targeted at helping practitioners become aware of the psychological constraints that limit their appreciation of societal forces at play in creating this hegemony. There are two approaches that can be adopted by practitioners to match the liberatory strategy in question. Thus, alignment with the subdued culture by finding alternative discourse emanating from this source would be the right strategy to take for raising consciousness and demonstrating solidarity with like-minded people. This is done with the view of amassing strength to form a critical mass that could catalyze the consolidation of various subdued voices in society into a viable form of civil society, or the building of the counterhegemonic structure. Conscientization can be achieved by going through a permanent process

of critical reflection on practice to uncover what Freire calls 'oppressive structures' with the objective of transforming these and thereby achieving emancipation.

A more up-to-date interpretation of conscientization can be made from both professional and philosophical points of departure. In the former, critically reflective practice "encourages more inclusive, collaborative, and democratic forms of adult education...One consequence of this realization is that we learn humility regarding the possibility of our ever "getting it right," of ever attaining a peerless state of perfect grace as practitioners in which we consistently exemplify an adult educational methodology *par excellence*" (Brookfield, 2000:47). From the standpoint of doing philosophy of AE, the placing of philosophical pluralism in a professional context is thought to preserve and expand creative individuality of practitioners in their institutional life, or what can be regarded as the pursuit of democracy in the workplace (Podeschi, 2000:625). Both professional and philosophical propositions advanced herein require practitioners to take part in the action. For this purpose, serious academic scholarship through engaging in research and membership of an academic community would seem to provide a good way for the exercise of criticism and critical self-reflection, and to inculcate a sense of shared purpose moving beyond mere common interest. In this latter, the researcher's community is likened to a worker's study circle where knowledge generation could be geared toward helping self and others to overthrow false consciousness and to overcome problems arising from the hegemony of structures. The nature of the subdued discourse in education and the potential for carrying out research inquiry on AE are discussed below.

Despite the popular conception of education and educational practice in Hong Kong as being characterized by functional orthodoxy, there is a submerged discourse of education that offers a critical voice amidst the official exhortation of virtues of learning for raising individual's competitiveness in the knowledge-based economy. The few local academics who had presented a dissenting voice to official

promulgations on lifelong learning and the Education Reform proposals are a negligible force but their views are important to provide for an alternative analysis of educational policy. They call into question the dominant discourse of education formulated by the alliance of state-New Elite and business interests to serve plain economic goals, and the way educational policies are made and implemented.

At the level of educational aims, which the Education Reform proposals and key persons behind it (Cheng, 1999; Wong, R. 2001) had reiterated for the need to meet challenges of developments in information technology and globalization, Choi (2001) named two sacrifices made by education while responding to these challenges: First, the gradual relinquishing by government of its role in providing for education and replacing it by 'community-wide mobilization' as called for in the proposals; and Second, the adoption of managerialist strategy in running education. In the first case, education has increasingly become a private investment and the 'users-pay principle' is put into good use to pass on responsibility to learners. Expanding on Choi's contention about managerialism, the providers' drive to achieve legitimacy through enhancement of the quality of their provision has seen CE schools spending considerable efforts in quality assurance endeavors that involve audit of process but not of outcomes (e.g. Second TLQPR exercise and institutional quality assurance procedures for program approval and ongoing monitoring of delivery). The quality of the learning experience has yet to be demonstrated for the myriad of CE course provisions, especially the mainstay of certificate and diplomas. On operational efficiency, as CE schools move toward achieving economy of scale in operations, increasing use of management information systems, business planning models and marketing strategies skew emphasis toward system level considerations at a cost to its constituents. The emphasis on technical rationality is both pervasive and dehumanizing.

The manner that the Education Reform process went about was also subjected to criticisms that reveal some inherent contradictions. Despite the rhetoric

of democratic consultations carried out in three stages, instances of domination and sidelining of voices were rife[14]. The Education Reform proposals as the final product have been criticized as no more than a piece of exhortation document polished to achieve public relations effect. Anthony Sweeting (quoted by Forrestier, 2002) claimed that the document contains a major contradiction in itself because on the one hand it criticizes the shortcomings of mechanisms (mainly traditional emphasis on assessment and lack of interfaces at various educational stages) while on the other hand chooses to focus narrowly on remediation of these issues without exploring the humanistic, cultural, and social goals of education. The lack of emphasis on the work of frontline educators in bringing about real changes to learning suggests that system-level changes are regarded to be more important than authentic efforts at the grassroots. This ignorance of the limitation of top-down style education reform is predicted to be deleterious to its long-term success, as past histories of educational change in Hong Kong amply demonstrates.

Educational policy-making, which has always come from a 'top-down' fashion in Hong Kong, does not accord importance to consensus building at the implementation stage. Politics has more influence than other factors when it comes to implementation of policy goals. On the controversy surrounding funding of sub-degree programs, the political clout looms larger than the real issues when government pronounced in the name of economic efficiency that all sub-degree provisions will be treated alike, and hence executing the withdrawal of funding from sub-degree programs run in the UGC (the two former polytechnics) and the VTC sectors (UGC, 2002, Legislative Council, 2003d). The opposition was cast in the image of a protectionist group concerned mainly about loss of jobs. The implications of the demise of state-funded vocational education and the quality of private provision as a substitute failed to make major issues during the controversial row that followed. This raises serious doubt as to whether the debates in education are informed by real issues of educational significance or just about sectoral interests.

Morris and Scott (2003), writing from the viewpoint of implementation theory, contend that it is possible for top-down policy approach to bridge distance between intent and action through consensus building between policymakers and key stakeholders. This has so far not happened in Hong Kong. As they argue, "the government has prompted an extensive discussion of values in education, perhaps with the hope of securing implementers' adoption of the values that it hopes to promote, but without the kind of managed implementation programme that might see those values translated into action" (Morris and Scott, 2003). In CE, it is not so much for the lack of initiative that has created problem for implementation but rather it is the lack of coordination. For example, there is no shared value among providers as to how post-secondary education should be funded and provided for (i.e. providers' positioning relative to each other). What emerged subsequently is a market of private provision which has been criticized as lacking in order and having expanded too fast. Latest developments in postsecondary education reveal very clearly that the state-sponsored surrogate education system at this level is taking shape[15].

Although the bureaucratic-managerialist state is able to expropriate power back into its hands for policymaking, policy implementation in education however reflects the limitations of political structures and processes of the HKSAR government. Despite the post-handover government's determination to achieve implementation of its policies more than its colonial predecessor, its internal working is hampered by political constraints endemic to the post-colonial political system. Morris and Scott (2003) have identified the post-colonial governance structure as a 'disarticulated' and 'polyarchic' political system. This has several implications for policy making and implementation in AE and CE. Firstly, policy does not emanate from a single source of authority. Postsecondary education development after 1999 has at least been influenced by three sources of policy decisions, i.e. Education Reform proposals' recommendation for higher education

development, Chief Executives's 60% target for postsecondary schooling, and the EMB's four directions to administer the postsecondary education expansion. Secondly, the power to decide on policy and steer its development is often unclear. The EC continues to include qualifications framework in its working agenda but the matter has slipped out of its hands into other bodies such as the MDC and the proposed Steering Committee for the Qualifications Framework. Thirdly, power and politics decide which party has more say in translating intent to action. The bureaucratic machinery of the EMB has strengthened its control over CE and postsecondary education through a combination of incentive-based control strategies and selection of specific interest groups as partner (e.g. FCETI). The pre-eminence of EMB has rolled back scope for consultation between policy-makers and stakeholders at the implementation stage, and replaced that with the hegemony of bureaucratic authority. Fourthly, the lack of coordination between government departments means that lifelong learning policy remains fragmentary. Five policy bureaus (education, commerce, economic development, home affairs and health and welfare) are responsible for administering programs and funding schemes for adult learning, of both formal and non-formal forms (see Table 19a-c, p. 284). Their lack of coordination and failure to share a common vision has led to lifelong learning being regarded at times as a social policy, a policy of education, or as a policy for economic development in the Chief Executive's policy address. These policy themes make their way into the official agenda as the need arises in relation to changing priorities of the government from year-to-year (Tung, 1999, 2000, 2001a, 2003, 2004).

While a top-down policy approach is much maligned by critics, entrenched social conceptions of education and educational practices are equally inextricable of the blame, as exemplified in the case of continuous teacher education. Ho and Yip (2003) in their analysis of options to reform in-service education of teachers (INSET) in HK has identified a top-down and inflexible policy as the main obstacle for change. Despite the fact that HK spends generously on INSET to place it

favorably at par with OECD countries, much of the fund was spent without focus and it failed to create among teachers a sense of ownership. This view echoes sentiments expressed by Choi (2003) on the instrumental purpose of further teacher education that serves mainly higher-level policy goals. On the more useful form of teacher development such as sabbatical, there is a common perception among teaching staff that application for study leave would not be approved and the current scenario in most schools corroborates this assumption. However, if given the chance to take partial or no-pay study leave, Ho and Yip found that a majority of teachers surveyed would express interest to do so. The benefits of allowing teachers to take periods of time-off from work are believed to outweigh the costs of additional expenditures incurred (e.g. money for partial pay and employing temporary teachers) and administrative difficulties (e.g. teacher's discontinuity with changes in policy and curriculum). It is further argued that teachers who are allowed to take study leave can be able to gain valuable life experience, find ways to relieve their work-related stress and boredom, and thus return to their teaching in more fulfilled and capable states. The process could also generate jobs through the creation of substantial number of temporary teaching posts or filling of places vacated by those who have decided not to return to the teaching profession.

While such a sensible proposal may bring substantial benefits to teachers without perturbing current levels of expenditure in INSET, Ho and Yip (2003) pointed out that "many parents, employers and educational administrators are reluctant to believe that giving teachers time off to study will guarantee the improvement of classroom teaching in quality and relevance". This reservation within a large segment of educational stakeholders is socially bound, and reflects how professionals in education, and the bureaucrats and lay interest groups view educational issues differently. While counting on the prevailing trend of lifelong learning to give INSET a push in HK, it is deemed necessary that a comprehensive, flexible and compulsory policy should be formulated with concrete support from society to ensure its success (Ho and Yip, 2003). In this relation, employer's attitude

of indifference toward training is a much bigger issue to which official appeal for more support to be given to employees in terms of time and encouragement has not been responded to so far (Tung, 2000).

Apart from academics, adult educators with an interest in the various forms of AE (e.g. adult evening school, retraining program) have also expressed critical views about the policy initiatives. They are mainly concerned about equity and equality issues affecting marginalized groups in society. The low level of funding available to support elderly learning, the abolition of public-subsidized adult evening courses, and restrictions imposed on applicants to the CEF by age, employment and nature of courses had been repeatedly berated by the HKACE. More moderate critics associated with the leftist HK Federation of Trade Unions had voiced out the need for comprehensive human resource policy rather than piecemeal approach to retraining, skills-upgrading, and pre-employment training administered by separate government or quasi-government bodies (ERB, VTC and EMB/Labor Department respectively) (Hong Kong College of Technology, 1997b). They also objected to the use of a funding principle linked to employment performance of trainees as this would further push training agencies toward running courses with high chance of employment success, and might administer entry selection to guarantee the desired outcome. On adult education in general, they thought that much still needs to be done in helping new immigrants to integrate into society, in rectifying the bias of the NLPHE Ordinance, and in formulating a comprehensive policy of adult education (Hong Kong College of Technology, 1997a). Kung (1991) who is associated with the largest AE organization operated by the Catholic Church (CARITAS), has very earlier on brought up the issue of equality of educational opportunity to argue that lifelong learning should receive better resources and training for personnel relative to the abundance seen in the formal education sectors (schools and universities). He also called for research to be done on AE topics by university-based academics as a way to enhance understanding about the field.

The foregoing reveals that a corpus of alternative educational discourse indeed exists and could provide a critique of the various weaknesses, contradictions, and omissions relating to but not limited to the following: educational aims; the Education Reform process; policy implementation; social conceptions of educational practice and policy; equity and equality concerns in AE.

Notes

1. From qualitative methodology used in interpretive policy analysis, values and beliefs, together with feelings, are abstractions which give expressions to human meanings elaborated in concrete forms (artifacts), such as language, objects and acts. These three major categories of human action are in a symbolic (representational) relationship with values, beliefs and feelings (see Figure 8, p. 57). In this conception, the cognitive, moral, and affective dimensions of human meaning making are respectively represented by values, beliefs and feelings (Yanow, 1999). This definition sets values and beliefs apart as two separate entities, which differ from the main definition given above that subsumes beliefs within values. It serves to show the difficulty of defining values amidst various forms of interpretation by scholars in different disciplines, each with their particular focus on an aspect of interest to their own study. A theoretical consensus is thought to be built around the original definitions given by Rokeach where values are "abstract ideals, positive or negative, not tied to any specific object or situation, representing a person's beliefs about modes of conduct and ideal terminal goods" (Rokeach, 1968 cited in Connor and Becker, 1979:72). Following from this, beliefs although distinct from values, are a subordinate concept that helps to clarify values held by individuals and relates mainly to the moral dimension of human meaning making.

2. These models are elaborated as the officially endorsed working definitions of lifelong learning in the 12th WCCES conference. Details can be found in: http://12wcces.cujae.edu.cu

3. "The lifeworld is constituted of the thoughts, ideas, feelings, identities and beliefs of individual people. A full description of it would clarify how people make sense of their past, how they see themselves in time. It would extend further to clarify how they see the future, how they co-ordinate their present-day preoccupations with their hopes for the future. Both descriptions, adequately carried out, would reveal the ways in which people interpret their experience in the light of knowledge and frameworks of understanding available to them in their society" (Williamson, 1998:24).

4. Quoting Wong (1992): "Our respondents may not have believed in the complete equality of classes, openness and fairness of their society...but they believe it to be the case to such a degree that they will strive hard to better themselves and their families. As a consequence, they have borne what Sennett called 'injuries to class': blaming themselves for their inadequacy, lack of acumen, their failures, rather than doubting the social ideology or beliefs." (p. 231)

5. Two of Hong Kong's oldest charity and voluntary services organization, Po Leung Kuk (PLK) and Tung Wah Group, have teamed up with CE schools of the universities (FCETI member HKU-SPACE and the CUHK) in running AD programs. The Catholic educational services CARITAS (itself a FCETI member) has also actively expanded courses at AD level. These organizations enjoy preferential treatment by easily succeeding in applying for land grant and capital loans from the government to fund their expansion of sub-degree or AD programs which private operators can hardly compete with due to the reputation of these organizations and the political favor that FCETI had won from the EMB through active lobbying efforts.

6. Two left-wing labor union leaders, Tam Yiu-chung and Cheng Yiu-tong have been members of the Executive Council (equivalent to the Chief Executive's Cabinet). Tam Yiu-chung is also chairman of the quasi-government body, the Employees Retraining Board (ERB).

7. The lack of support by the HKSAR government on elderly learning is criticized as serious by the Hong Kong Association for Continuing Education (HKACE). Funding for elderly learning in 2004 is a mere HK$380 million which benefits some 6000 elderly people. Given that the elderly population is in the region of 1.1 million and one-fifth of whom are estimated to be interested in learning, the amount of funding is evidently inadequate (Ta Kung Pao, April 13, 2004). On adult evening schools, after the total cessation of government funded operations in 2003 (HKCT and PLK took over operations until 2005), the situation appears similarly bleak for private-run adult evening schools. The government's intense promotion campaigns for work-related programs (Yi-Jin and YPTP) targeting those who failed in the HKCEE exam have seriously undermined the recruitment base of private-run adult evening schools. Educators have criticized the government for misguiding students to choose the more expensive options such as Yi-Jin which cost more than HK$30,000 a year in fees compared to ca. HK$6000 for the adult evening schools. The attraction of Yi-Jin lies in its articulation to AD and the broad-based training offered vis-à-vis the traditional HKCEE route offered in adult evening schools (Sing Pao, September 2, 2004). However, for employment purposes, traditional qualifications such as HKCEE are still sought after by employers rather than its government claimed equivalent (Yi-Jin). Due to the high fees charged by contractors (e.g. PLK raised fees from HK$1,120 to HK$7,600 or 6 times after taking over operations from the government) and the more than 30% students who are without any income,

accessibility to the traditional HKCEE route would become more difficult for the poor. The HKACE's request to have adult evening education included under CEF has been met with outright rejection by the EMB, which claims that decrease in enrolment (from more than 10,000 to ca. 6000) is an indication of adult evening education not being able to meet the demand of training needs in the knowledge-based economy (Ta Kung Pao, June 21, 2004).

8. Two of the six visions of the Education Reform relate to moral and civic education. The Education Reform aims to achieve the vision where moral education is acknowledged and the education system is capable of preserving rich tradition but at the same time also exhibiting cosmopolitan features and cultural diversity. The Education Reform proposals state thus:

> Moral education will be acknowledged as playing a very important role in the education system, and having an important social mission. Students will experience structured learning in moral, emotional and spiritual education to help them develop a healthy outlook to life. As an inseparable part of China and an international city, Hong Kong will have an education system that preserves the good tradition of our nation but which at the same time gives our students an international outlook and enables them to learn, work and live in different cultural environments (Education Commission, 2000c:35).

9. The conflict of views between traditionalist and progressives is captured in the foreword to the Education Reform proposals by the Chairman of the EC, Antony Leung:

> During the consultations, there were concerns that the Education Commission was, in the name of equity, proposing reforms at the expense of the elites. Critics were also worried that while learning should be enjoyable, academic standards would be sacrificed. We must emphasize that the enhancement of the standard of students in general is never in conflict with the nurturing of academic excellence. Instead, we believe that all students have vast potentials, and education enables them to fully develop. Excellence is essential for the society, but a monolithic educational system can only produce elites in the very narrow sense of the word. The elites we need today are multifarious, and only a multifarious educational system, with diversified curricula, teaching methods and assessment mechanisms can produce the multi-talented people expected by the society. Similarly, learning should be enjoyable, and it does not follow that students will not work hard. It is only through hard work that they will derive satisfaction and joy. "All-round development" is never the excuse for the lowering of academic standards, but rather the call for students to achieve a wider spectrum of competencies.

10. In fact, the Education Reform's influential figure, Prof. Cheng Kai-ming, when responding to query about the kind of person the education system would like to mold, said that it would be neither possible nor desirable for Hong Kong to attempt to groom through education a single type of individuals (Education Commission, 1999b). This augurs well with the business sector's request for graduates equipped with the right dispositions that would meet employers' demand for highly adaptable and multi-skilled workforce. The remarks from a representative of the Employer's Federation of Hong Kong during the consultation session on the Aims of Education states:

> To start with, employer's expectations are basically very simple. We rely on the schools and universities to give us qualified and competent persons meeting the business needs, I guess just as simple as that. And we also believe the ultimate aim of education is to develop a person. Now at various stages of the education system; graduates are made available to the labour market...So we cannot actually give a generic description of the type of people that we want, likewise, what the education system can provide. Current system as we can see appears to focus heavily on training for examination results, and tends to ignore the development of the individual, so we hope that the aims of education can put a bit more emphasis on the development of the person...The education system is in reality providing quality human resources to employers. Schools and universities should prepare students at an earlier stage to ensure the smooth integration to the business community.

In other words, training for skills and enhancement of inner qualities though emphasizing the learner's development has an ulterior motive in making him a malleable object for the service of economic goals. This functionalist view is the basis for the hegemonic control over education which can be distinguished further into state-hegemony in school and higher education and non-state hegemony in CE. In the latter, acquiescence by learners in the culture of job-related training has pre-dated the government's lifelong learning policy and initiatives. So much of CE in Hong Kong is undertaken and paid for by the employees themselves. In a survey of working adults, 29% would choose to use their disposable income for study more than for savings (27.2%) (Recruit, May 14, 2004). Employers' support for training is notoriously lacking and this fact is backed up by survey findings and anecdotal accounts. For instance, students had rated employer's support as their main choice (37%) for support needed (Open University of Hong Kong, 2000) and this does not seem untoward given the majority of employers (61.4%) have not made any mention of government funding on training (e.g. CEF) to their employees (Recruit, June 11, 2004). The robust participation in CE can therefore be accounted for by the individual's personal drive for success as part of the ethos of individualism. The difference of training culture between Hong Kong and the developed economies of the West also brings into question the relevance of hegemony in so far as it is assumed to be imposed by the state-business alliance on workers.

11. Alan Lung, Vice Chairman of the Human Resource Committee of the Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce, was quoted as saying that the Chamber "always supports the more egalitarian approach to education in Hong Kong, at least within the HR Committee. In the past thirty years [sic] mainly from less well-off families have successfully used education as a means for social and economic advancement. And in a recent report published by, actually commissioned by the Education and Manpower Bureau and done by Coopers and Lybrand, actually pointed out that the decline in the standard of education, may be the direct result of the overly restrictive, command and control mode imposed by the bureaucracy. And it was not an upward mobility actually made very good economic sense [sic], and as pointed out by Coopers and Lybrand's report, the decline in education standard is probably a direct result of the bureaucratic structure, and not a result of the sort of more egalitarian approach." The need for education to help "create opportunities and facilitate social mobility" is also reiterated in the foreword to the Education Reform proposals by the Chairman of the EC, Antony Leung. In fact, Post (2003) argues that the expansion of postsecondary education (associate degrees) to 60% of the relevant age group should be seen as contributing to the prevention of further loss of educational opportunity for the poor as his empirical study has shown that the poor were less able to partake of chances to enter university compared to the rich after the move toward mass higher education in 1991.

12. Prof. John Leong, President of the OUHK, criticized the uncontrolled expansion of post-secondary education as a waste of resources and duplication of effort by providers. The government's decision to make all sub-degree programs self-financing including those previously receiving public funding in the Hong Kong Polytechnic University and City University of Hong Kong has forced these two institutions to also enter the market. The fierce competition has led to price reduction and aggressive business-style marketing by some private providers, which raised the alarm on quality (Mingpao, February 18, 2004). In fact, the growth in self-financing postsecondary education is seen as drastic because there has been an increase of providers from 11 to 20 in 3 years time (2001/2002 to 2003/2004) with courses growing from around 30 to more than 100. The same period has seen postsecondary education participation rate gone up from around 30% to 48%, which is only 12% short of the target set by the Chief Executive to be attained in 2010 (Ta Kung Pao, June 23, 2004).

13. While lauding their own successes in opening up alternative paths to traditional post-secondary schooling with programs that provide flexible and broad-based education, providers are honest to confess about their inability to overcome the public's entrenched notions about the educational process and outcome. Taking the AD as an example, a common aspiration of students to articulate into degree studies has required curriculum design to be aligned with pre-requisite rather than broad-based subject concerns. This subversion of the program's philosophy caused no manifest unease for the providers whose greater interest is in ensuring

a marketable product. In the consultancy report of the AD commissioned by the EMB, the consortium of providers expresses that the success of the AD hinges on articulation to university study but is equally aware that this would not be possible for the majority of AD graduates (FCETI, 2001:31). However, "the reality is that no institution offering the AD programmes in Hong Kong dares to go against the over-riding public sentiment and publicize the above message. On the contrary, every institution is trying its best to publicize the articulation pathways that they have arduously built up with other-mostly overseas-universities. This tends to reinforce the perception that AD award is just a way-station and not a standalone, viable educational attainment" (Lee and Young, 2003).

14. During the process of consultation on 'Aims of Education' (1st stage), there was a handpicked panel of people representing business and commercial interests who were invited to express their views before open discussions were started. In a way, this had conditioned the nature of the ensuing discussions involving the audience (public) (Education Commission, 1999c). In the same venue, attempts to raise controversial issues for questioning were thwarted by branding them as irrelevant. For example, the question asked by Chinese University education professor Tsang Wing-kwong about the contextual definition of the aims of education and the manner of achieving consensus should there be conflict of views was immediately rebuffed by EC member and reputed architect of the Education Reform, Professor Cheng Kai-ming, as irrelevant and he refused to give a reply to such question. In the process of consultation on 'Framework for Education Reform" (2nd stage), there was a selective recruitment of representatives from the CE sector, mainly from FCETI, to lead the seminar discussions on continuing education (1999e).

15. The shape of surrogate state education at the postsecondary level has become clearly revealed as the aim to reach the 60% target gets closer. The market originally consisted of three tiers: first level, CE schools of universities (all FCETI members except CARITAS and VTC); second level, established private colleges (e.g. Caritas, HKCT); and third level, private operators. As of summer of 2004, only the first-tier institutions are experiencing an expansion due to their self-accrediting status, established reputation and stronger leverage in getting government loans and grants. The second-tier institutions are non-self accrediting and hence are subject to control by the HKCAA. Although they have acquired charity status and been long time players in the AE and CE fields, their resources and reputations cannot match with the first-tier institutions and hence have a lower leverage in obtaining government grants and loans. Alongside them, there are two established charity organizations (PLK and Tung Wah Group) which have chosen to partner with tier-one institutions. The third-tier institutions are subjected to full market-forces with neither resources, reputation nor real experience to back them up. When faced with intense market competition, they can only choose to reduce prices as their best or sole option. It

is conceivable that as the market reaches saturation and maturity, the third-tier institutions will face obsolescence and only the surrogate state education will prevail. The state retains control over them through mandating a common curriculum (common descriptors for AD), funding of students (by recoverable student loans), and quality audit (TLQPR and joint quality committee of the universities for first-tier institutions and HKCAA quality audit for tier-two institutions). The road taken by providers in this regard bears some semblance to the manner that private colleges (e.g. Baptist College) were absorbed into the aided (public) sector during periods of educational expansion in the past (Sweeting, 1995). However, this time it is without the money but has a nominal more than substantive significance.

Chapter 3

Methodology

Strategies for achieving purposes

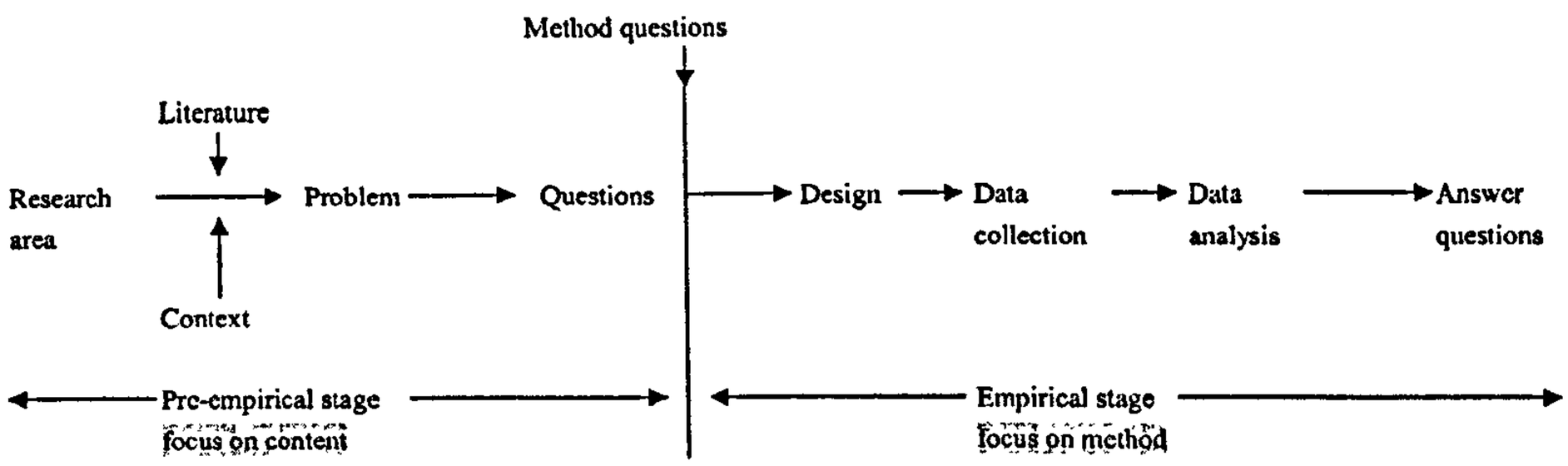
The assumptions underlying this study for conducting research on practitioner thinking are stated in the background section in Chapter I. It assumes the value system of practitioners and other practice-related orientations (such as towards the policy of lifelong learning) have structuring properties on the actions of practitioners. The focus of study on these structures necessarily implies attention to the macro-level of analysis, with borrowing from a range of social theories to try to explain for the characteristics of these structures and their interactions. However, it does not assume that practitioners' actions are wholly deterministic or predictable as in structural functionalist theory. Rather, the 'duality of structure and agency' of the latter is replaced by the 'duality of structure' proposed under structuration theory. Structuration theory is able to offer a transformational dialectic that gives recognition to the spatial precedence of structure over agency, but at the same time recognizing that social structures exist only in so far as they are continuously reproduced by human actions (i.e. the creative side of the duality).

Although this study assumes a less deterministic view of human nature following structuration theory, it nevertheless still subscribes to the view that motivation for human social action lies with 'values' more than with 'interests'. Personal values are considered as social constructs which members of a society internalize to help them in making decisions and taking actions. In the practice of AE, the practitioner's working philosophy is an example of personal values used in the professional domain in a non-specific sense. In contrast, the attitude of practitioners toward the policy of lifelong learning is an application of values in a specific sense, and this contains some element of interests within it. Thus, there

needs to be a distinction between 'pure values' measured in the former and 'values incorporating element of interests' in the latter. These two concepts have been elaborated in Chapter II in connection with discussions on 'espoused theory of action' versus 'theory-in-use'.

This study stresses an inclination towards the objective end of the subjective-objective continuum for classifying social inquiry. It is different from the objective position of structural functionalist in that it assumes also a subjective end lying in the creative action of individuals in the meso-level (organization). Thus, this macro-level analysis will be complementary to any study which may be done in the future that involves a meso-level analysis of values of practitioners in the organizational context. At the ontological level, the present study assumes a realist view in that it hinges the grasping of values and their measurement on externally-derived categorizations or classifications of these values. In this regard, the values of practice are measured as working philosophy consisting of a profile of five philosophies of adult education. Similarly, the values of policy on lifelong learning are measured as preference for a set of four values of educational policymaking across four policy domains. Turning to the epistemological level, this study assumes a positivistic position in that it has employed deductive reasoning. Following on the research problem, it attempts to build a description of practitioners' values by using preformed categories and classification schemes to generalize on findings derived from subjects to the population. It also identifies some independent variables (relating to practitioners' characteristics) and seeks to explore the relationship between these and the dependent variables (the values measured), with the objective of explaining. Translating from epistemology to methodology, the deductive approach of the former is matched by the use of quantitative methods which yield data in numbers and are amenable to statistical analysis. The goal of the analysis is to achieve generalizations or so-called 'nomothetic orientation' (Morrow and Torres, 1995: 28-29).

The above summarizes the paradigm of this study which encompasses ontology, assumptions about human nature and action, epistemology, and methodology. It sets out what is assumed about the social world (e.g. structure-agency relationship), the nature of social inquiry (i.e. subjective-objective continuum), and about what constitutes the proper techniques and topics for inquiry (Punch, 1998: 28). After considering paradigm, the next stages are content and method which together make up the study proper. The model of research provided by Punch (1998) can offer a useful schema for relating content to method through data, a central link between the two in an empirical study (Figure 10).



Adapted from Punch (1998)

Figure 10 Model of research

Content refers to the research area, and to the research direction in that area identified as a topic. The topic is framed as a general research question (or problem) that is further subdivided into specific research questions. In the pre-empirical stage of this study, the literature is reviewed to provide an up-to-date understanding of research on AE and CE practice and to take note of the direction where research effort should be expended. In this connection, practitioner thinking was identified as a research priority. The literature review is complemented by the investigator's own experiential or field knowledge of AE and CE practice to provide further input into the development of general and specific research questions. This leads to the decision to study practitioners' values on 'practice' and on 'policy'. The context is also specified at this stage so as to define the spatial and temporal limits of the study.

For this study, the context refers to AE and CE practice in Hong Kong of the period from 1990s to the present. The reason for deciding on this contextual definition is discussed below in conjunction with the discussion on the significance of the study.

Moving on to the empirical stage of research, attention is focused on the design, data collection and data analysis. This stage is also called the 'method' stage and it shares a tight connection with the 'content' stage through the research questions. Thus, Punch puts a lot of emphasis on the quality of the research questions, which he suggests can point to the data that will be needed to answer the questions. He uses the concept of 'empirical criterion' to denote whether research questions exhibit linking of concepts and data prior to data collection and analysis (Punch, 1998: 46-48). This basically is a matter of operationalizing concepts (non-empirical definitions of a phenomena) to constructs (cognate empirical definitions of that phenomena) in order to render them measurable and interpretable. In this study, the first and the third research questions clearly state what it is trying to find out about values. Since values are a concept that is not directly measurable, the research questions have specified the form of empirical data expected to make the questions clear, specific and answerable. In order to effect transition from pre-empirical to empirical stage, research design is crucial to bridge the transition from research questions to data by providing the necessary conceptual framework, the tools for data collection, and the procedures for data analysis. The three can be understood in terms of a coupling between strategy and purpose. Figure 11 (p. 135) shows the steps involved in operationalizing the concepts of values on policy and practice into measurable and interpretable constructs (operational definition of the concept). It should be noted that separate conceptual frameworks are used for studying values on policy and practice. Each of the two conceptual frameworks has its own approach for categorizing or classifying values and therefore can show the way to the type of measurement instrument required and the relationship between variables. These conceptual frameworks have been developed at the same time as the research questions and help to clarify the questions.

Measuring values in education

Quantitative approaches for the measurement of values regularly use either content analysis or survey method for data collection. Content analysis involves the use of objective and systematic rules to identify, code and categorize communication content so that the data can be summarized and analyzed. When applied to the study of text, content analysis can be both quantitative and qualitative depending on whether the purpose of analysis is to produce quantifiable output by dealing with manifest content only or to include also its qualitative features such as latent content. A good content analysis is done by formulating explicit rules for the various procedures or steps of analysis, and these rules are consistently applied for categorizing the content. One important usage of content analysis is to reflect attitudes, interests, and values (cultural patterns) of population or groups (Berelson, 1952 cited in Wang, 1994: 18). An example of this would be the study of policy text as a reflection of the values of policy-elites. Since the focus of the present study is on the attitude of CE practitioners toward the policy of lifelong learning, content analysis will not be of much use. However, if the analysis were to be about the values of organizations where CE practitioners work, content analysis would then become an appropriate research method to use. In this relation, Kabanoff and Holt (1996) had applied content analysis to study changes in organizational values over time by the use of both single values and value structures to track patterns of value change between organizations. This form of research would be useful to help understand how value change in CE organizations impact on its members (i.e. CE practitioners).

The use of survey instruments to measure value has been reviewed by Lee (1997: 114-115) who listed a total of 15 scales that are representative of a variety of perspectives and orientations. There are differences in the way values are defined in these instruments as well as their scope and focus. More importantly, the scales are constructed with a bias toward Western values although some claim universal

validity (Rokeach's Value Survey). Thus, for specific research theme and context, value questionnaires are routinely constructed from pre-existing instruments or by drawing from theoretical insights of these instruments to generate new ones. Examples of value questionnaire construction in lifelong learning include Yang's (1996) questionnaire to study adult students' value system of supplementary education and its related behaviors and attitudes.

The questionnaire survey method is used in this study, to which an existing instrument (PAEI) and a purposely designed questionnaire (Values on policy of lifelong learning survey) are the main tools used for collecting data on AE and CE practitioners' values of practice and policy, respectively.

The issue of intercultural validity of the PAEI has not been verified so far as previous applications of the PAEI have all taken placed within the North American context. In adopting the PAEI for use in Hong Kong, support is sought from a series of cultural and social-political arguments. In terms of the cultural argument, the different strands of educational thoughts represented as five philosophies in the PAEI have recognizable equivalents in both classical and contemporary Chinese educational thinking in China Mainland, Taiwan and the peripheries (e.g. Hong Kong). The liberal philosophy that stresses on intellectual development and engagement with literary patrimony and knowledge of the classics has a long tradition in China in the form of grooming scholars through the imperial examination system. Its modern variant in the school system is evident by way of the strong emphasis placed on grade attainment in examinations by the Chinese, and which constitutes a conservative force in any attempt at reforming education in these Chinese societies. The behaviorist philosophy can find its support among vocational and training-oriented practice of AE and CE, of which modern enterprises in Chinese economies have readily embraced Western-inspired skills training and management focused-staff development as strategies for ensuring corporate competitiveness. The progressive philosophy, specially that informed by the teachings of John Dewey, has

been the most significant imported strand of educational thinking that had exerted its influence on the formation of modern Chinese educational thinking during its formative years (in the 1920s). In contrast to the teaching of education as democracy, Chinese socialists in their embracing of Soviet-style communism had championed proletariat education over progressive education in China's tortuous course of modernization. The humanist philosophy is only partly an imported philosophy as its central tenet of learner self-actualization and facilitative teaching style bode well with the genuine Confucian tradition of teaching and learning, which is to embrace all those who exhibit the learning habitus. The imported elements of this philosophy relate to the system for delivery of learning (e.g. open university) and some conceptual insights (e.g. self-directedness). Lastly, radical philosophy can claim to be an entirely foreign philosophy of education that elevates empowerment of learners and their emancipation as the prime mission of education and learning. Due to the varying degrees of democratization in Chinese societies, receptivity to this philosophy is expected to differ according to the level of social-political consciousness and ecological awareness of the populace. On the whole, these philosophies would appear to be familiar to AE and CE practitioners in Hong Kong.

The social-political argument is an extension of the cultural argument in that it assumes apart from what can be claimed as universal value of education, the other values are all relative to culture. In this sense, there are two possibilities for the distribution and significance of cultural values in education. First, some cultural values of education in society A may not be present in society B, and *vice versa*. This is true for example when making a comparison of educational values between pre-modern and modern societies or between modern and post-modern societies. Second, when recognizable equivalents of cultural values are present in different societies, then only the pattern of preferences would differ rather than the absence of certain values. This is likely to be the case when comparing educational values between modern societies. In the above discussion, it is shown that the educational values in Hong Kong, which is a modern Chinese society with some post-modernist

character, does exhibit the cognate equivalents of cultural values of education in North America. The presumed common denominator is the character of modern societies whose ethos mirrors one another, especially in relation to how materialist values influence fundamental social goal, and personal ends. Thus, there is a strong linkage between people's values and social-political-economic development in the manner of a reciprocal cause and effect relations. This linkage which also posits a linear and non-accidental course of social development forms the thesis of a globalization theory which has been empirically tested in a large number of countries around the world's six continents during four successive waves of World Value Surveys (WVS) conducted from 1981-2000 (Ingelhart, 2000). The results of the WVS suggest that value orientations are closely similar in developed countries, and also in less developed countries, but not between these two groups. Hence, given the well-developed capitalist market economy of Hong Kong, its high individualistic ethos, and the open receptivity to foreign ideas, the value orientations of Hong Kong people are likely to gravitate toward the general direction assumed by its counterpart in the developed countries.

Belief clarification and AE philosophy

The study of values in AE requires an inquiry into beliefs that needs also to be followed by an exposition of the practitioners' philosophical orientations. On belief analysis in AE, Apps (1973) proposed that answers to the following questions should be given:

(a) What do we believe about the adult learner?

(b) What is adult education trying to accomplish and why?

(c) What is to be learned in adult education?

(d) What do we believe about how adults learn?

(e) What should be the role of the adult educator?

These questions are intended to help adult educators identify their beliefs about: (a) the learner; (b) overall purpose of adult education; (c) subject matter; (d) learning process; and (e) role of the adult educator. By searching for contradictions among and through discovery of the bases for beliefs held, the practitioner will be able to make judgments which either reinforce these beliefs or result in new synthesis.

Elias and Merriam (1995) introduced an approach to study the practitioners' philosophical orientations through a category of five philosophies of AE, viz.: liberal, behaviorist, progressive, humanist, and radical (Table 4). The adoption of a philosophical stance by practitioners can be achieved by: (a) choosing one of the philosophies or by determining one of the philosophies as being consistent with one's practice; (b) formulating one's own philosophy by combining elements from any selection of these five philosophies; (c) drawing on the theoretical basis of these philosophies to build one's personal philosophy.

Apps's belief clarification leads to a working philosophy of AE, and this are in line with Elias and Merriam's approach in identifying a personal philosophy of AE. In the definition of values in Chapter II, the combination of belief with philosophy constitute an espoused theory of action which practitioners see as an image of themselves (see Figure 4, p. 33). The design of the Philosophy of Adult Education Inventory (PAEI) by Zinn (1991) is based on the expansion of App's guide questions for belief clarification into a set of 15 questions related to practice, and to each question are offered five options of response to match choice for the five philosophies. The ability of PAEI to reflect AE practice concerns is thought to be high as "philosophical orientations are rooted in philosophical practice and derive more from concrete experiences in organizational settings than from logical analysis or the evaluation of abstract philosophical arguments" (McKenzie, 1985).

Table 4 Philosophies of Adult Education

	Liberal Adult Education (Classical, Traditional)	Behaviorist Adult Education	Progressive Adult Education	Humanist Adult Education	Radical Adult Education (Reconstructionist)
Purpose	To develop intellectual powers of the mind; to make a person literate in the broadest sense – intellectually, morally, spiritually, aesthetically.	To bring about behavior that will ensure survival of human species, societies, and individuals; to promote behavioral change.	To transmit culture and societal structure; to promote social change; to give learner practical knowledge and problem-solving skills.	To enhance personal growth and development; to facilitate self-actualization.	To bring about, through education, fundamental, social, political, and economic changes in society.
Learner	"Renaissance person"; cultured; always a learner; seeks knowledge rather than just information; conceptual, theoretical understanding.	Learner takes an active role in learning, practicing new behavior, and receiving feedback; strong environmental influence.	Learner needs, interests, and experiences are key elements in learning; people have unlimited potential to be developed through education.	Learner is highly motivated and self-directed; assumes responsibility for learning.	Equality with teacher in learning process; personal autonomy; people create history and culture by combining reflection with action.
Teacher	The "expert"; transmitter of knowledge; authoritative; clearly directs learning process.	Managers; controller; predicts and directs learning outcomes.	Organizer; guides learning through experiences that are educative; stimulates, instigates, and evaluates learning process.	Facilitator; helper; partner; promotes but does not direct learning.	Coordinator; suggests but does not determine direction for learning; equality between teacher and learner.
Methods	Dialectic; lecture; study groups; contemplation; critical reading and discussion.	Programmed instruction; contract learning; teaching machines; computer-assisted instruction; practice & reinforcement.	Problem-solving; scientific method; activity method; experimental method; project method; inductive method.	Experiential; group tasks; group discussion; team teaching; self-directed learning; individualized learning; discovery method.	Dialog; problem-posing; maximum interaction; discussion groups.

* Descriptions excerpted from Elias and Merriam (1995).

Cultural values and education policy

Marshall et al. (1989) were interested in finding out which cultural values had made their way into policymaking in education; and primarily on how it has affected the policy elites' perception of policy choices. The core values of education policy embody the political ideology and philosophy of the American nation, which reflect its national culture. The distinctive use of structural policy analysis approach can give insight on the use of policy as a control mechanism. This is different from policy analysis, which is interested in the intent of policymakers or how a policy can solve an educational problem. Control mechanisms of great value diversity require finding classes of regularities of policy actions through the use of a taxonomic framework. As Marshall et al. (1989) contend, "policy taxonomies, like the assumptive worlds used to guide decision-making activities, exist in the minds of the key actors within each state's policy-making community. In other words they are structures of thought rather than objective physical phenomena". (p.57) Through the use of policy elites as subjects, their study had yielded data to substantiate the structural scheme produced:

> Our elites' assessment gave us data to identify a taxonomy of seven control mechanisms, thirty- three program approaches, and four values. Differences within these sets should not confuse the fact of the common structure of internally logical connections between units of analysis. This structure and its subsets could be used for similar policy analysis yesterday and tomorrow; only the distributions of actual policies within each set would alter with time. The structure of the taxonomy should remain. (p.166)

The four basic values do not have a force of its own to determine policy action, selection of policy choices by policy actors is the product of conflict between two socio-cultural values - meritocratic culture and democratic culture (p.166-167). In the North American political context, this is understood in terms of a bureaucratic-participatory tension typical of Western democracies. Under it, the meritocratic value prevails only when citizens are indifferent or when they support

official policy goals. To illustrate this point, an executive (bureaucratic) decision to provide education for an underprivileged minority group (equity value) may be seen as not benefiting the majority, who will then exercise their right through elected officials (legislators) to oppose it (choice value). The relationship between values and the taxonomy, and the cultural influences is described thus:

> In short, the contrasts of value and reality found in the structure of our taxonomy are products of the meritocratic and democratic cultures that have shaped them. The cultural paradigm enables us to understand that state policy-makers deal with these polarities not simply in a structured way – hence the taxonomy – but they also must operate strategically by satisfying the four major values at the same time. (167)

Marshall et al.'s research focused on several themes that proceeded in a hierarchical manner as follows: (a) first, how the national culture had affected policy priorities in education; (b) second, how state level cultural values had created distinct state priorities; (c) third, how cultural values had influenced the value preferences of policymakers; and (d) fourth, how the policy choices of elites were related to the political culture. Interest of this study is on (c), but the subjects of study are AE and CE practitioners. Due to the fact that policymaking in Hong Kong is predominantly an elite and bureaucratic activity, and that policy is normally taken as a given rather than something to be contested, the focus of this study will be to look at the extent of practitioners' acceptance of values espoused in official policy of lifelong learning in Hong Kong. Based on the definition of values in Chapter II, the study of practitioners' values on policy is an attempt at clarifying their attitude or which can be regarded as the application of their espoused values in abstract cases (see Figure 4, p. 33).

Research design

The discussion of research design is a crucial step in shifting the researcher's attention from content to data, or it represents the induction of the researcher into the

empirical world. As can be seen from Figure 10 (p.124), the design connects research questions to data, and according to Punch (1998:66-67) the design of a study includes 4 ideas: (a) strategy; (b) conceptual framework; (c) sampling; and (d) tools and procedures in data collection and analysis.

The strategy is the rationale behind the way research questions will be answered. In this study, a non-interventionist and non-experimental strategy is employed which relies on practitioners to respond to a questionnaire survey for elucidating their values. There are two strategies involved; one is concerned with comparisons to find out the differences in value preferences and orientations while the other is concerned with correlating these values with the practitioners' background. These strategies are related to the research questions, which seek to address how the profile of values appears and also how the formation of these values can be explained. As such, whether the strategy is of comparison or correlation, indicators for value measurement represent criterion variables while practitioners' background characteristics constitute the predictor variables. Strategies are tightly coupled to the purpose of the study as shown in Figure 11. It can be conceived as a three-stage process directed at answering the research question, which proceeds from conceptualization to operationalization, and finally to measurement and interpretation.

The framework of study refers to the two conceptual frameworks for values on policy and practice. There are two working definitions, one for value preferences and another one for value orientations. In the former, the definition of values relates to the espoused theory of action which includes belief and philosophy. In the latter, it relates to attitude only (see Figure 4, p. 33). Both definitions are essential for clarifying the research questions and work hand in hand with the strategy to achieve this purpose. The remaining issues of sampling and data collection and analysis are discussed below in connection with measuring values on practice and policy.

(a) Values on 'policy'

	Purpose	Strategies		
Conceptualization ↓	Developing conceptual framework	Review literature →	Define concepts →	Determine framework for studying values on policy of education
Operationalization ↓	Developing instrument	Identify issues to fit into framework →	Develop items for survey instrument →	Test for validity of constructs
Measurement and interpretation	Describing value preferences	Identify predictor and criterion variables →	Describe data →	Analyze data (Correlation, multiple regression, ANOVA, non-parametric tests, factor analysis)

(b) Values on 'practice'

	Purpose	Strategies		
Conceptualization ↓	Developing conceptual framework	Review literature →	Clarify terms and concepts	
Operationalization ↓	Locating instrument	Select suitable survey instrument →	Test for validity & reliability	
Measurement and interpretation	Describing value orientations	Identify predictor and criterion variables →	Describe data →	Analyze data (Correlation, multiple regression, GLM, ANOVA, non-parametric tests, factor analysis, reliability analysis)

Figure 11 Coupling between strategy and purpose in the study of values on lifelong learning (a) policy and (b) practice

Measuring values of practitioners on practice

Instrument characteristics

The PAEI is an established questionnaire used in many North American graduate school programs to teach students how to clarify their beliefs about AE and to develop a personal working philosophy of AE. The questionnaire has at least three main sources: a 1983 version in Zinn's doctoral dissertation, a 1991 version in a book chapter (Zinn, 1991), and a 1994 revised version (Zinn, 1994). For the purpose of this study, the 1991 version was used. The PAEI is available in the public domain through a teaching site developed by Dr. James Smith who teaches an 'Adult Education Course in Agricultural and Extension Education' jointly at the North Carolina State University, the Utah State University, and the Texas Tech University. Both the PAEI and the score sheet are available at: http://www.cals.ncsu.edu/agexed/ace523/class2.html

The organization of the instrument is in the form of a 15 item statements, where each item has five options to complete the statement. The five options represent the five AE philosophies, and responses are expected to be given for each (Table 5). Scores are measured on a 7-point Likert scale (1=strongly disagree, 4=neutral, 7=strongly agree). The 75 responses are entered into a scoring matrix to be tallied to yield 5 final scores for the 5 AE philosophies. Each final score has a maximum of 105 and a minimum of 15. For interpretation, Zinn (1991) states that "a score of 95-105 indicates a strong agreement with a given philosophy; a score of 15-25 indicates a strong disagreement with a given philosophy. If your score is between 55 and 65, it probably means that you neither agree nor disagree strongly with a particular philosophy".

Table 5 Items for Philosophy of Adult Education Inventory (PAEI)

1. **In planning an educational activity, I am most likely to:**
   - begin with a lesson plan that organizes what I plan to teach, when and how. (liberal)
   - clearly identify the results I want and construct a program that will almost run itself (behaviorist)
   - assess learners' needs and develop valid learning activities based on those needs (progressive)
   - consider the areas of greatest interest to the learners and plan to deal with them regardless of what they may be (humanist)
   - identify, in conjunction with learners, significant social and political issues and plan learning activities around them (radical)

2. **People learn best:**
   - from an "expert" who knows what he or she is talking about (liberal)
   - when the learning activity provides for practice and repetition (behaviorist)
   - when the new knowledge is presented from a problem-solving approach (progressive)
   - when they are free to explore, without the constraints of a "system" (humanist)
   - through dialog with other learners and a group co-ordinator (radical)

3. **The primary purpose of adult education is:**
   - to develop conceptual and theoretical understanding (liberal)
   - to develop the learners' competency and mastery of specific skills (behaviorist)
   - to establish the learners' capacity to solve individual and societal problems (progressive)
   - to facilitate personal development on the part of the learner (humanist)
   - to increase learners' awareness of the need for social change and to enable them to effect such change (radical)

4. **Most of what people know:**
   - they have acquired through a systematic educational process (liberal)
   - they have learned through a trial-and-feedback process (behaviorist)
   - is a result of consciously pursuing their goals, solving problems as they go (progressive)
   - they have gained through self-discovery rather than some "teaching" process (humanist)
   - they have learned through critical thinking focused on important social and political issues (radical)

5. **Decisions about what to include in an educational activity:**
   - should be based on careful analysis by the teacher of the material to be covered and the concepts to be taught (liberal)
   - should be based on what learners know and what the teacher believes they should know at the end of the activity (behaviorist)
   - should be based on a consideration of the learners' needs, interests and problems (progressive)
   - should be made mostly by the learner in consultation with a facilitator (humanist)
   - should be based on a consideration of key social and cultural situations (radical)

6. **Good adult educators start planning instruction:**
   - by clarifying the concepts or theoretical principles to be taught (liberal)
   - by considering the end behaviors they are looking for and the most efficient ways of producing them in learners (behaviorist)
   - by identifying problems that can be solved as a result of the instruction (progressive)
   - by asking learners to identify what they want to learn and how they want to learn it (humanist)
   - by clarifying key social and political issues that affect the lives of the learners (radical)

7. **As an adult educator, I am most successful in situations:**
   - where the scope of the new material is fairly clear and the subject matter is logically organized (liberal)
   - that are fairly structured, with clear learning objectives and built-in feedback to the learners (behaviorist)
   - where I can focus on practical skills and knowledge that can be put to use in solving problems (progressive)

- that are unstructured and flexible enough to follow learners' interests (humanist)
- where the learners have some awareness of social and political issues and are willing to explore the impact of such issues on their daily lives.

8. **In planning an educational activity, I try to create:**
   - a clear outline of the content and the concepts to be taught (liberal)
   - a controlled environment that attracts and holds the learners, moving them systematically towards the objective(s) (behaviorist)
   - the real world – problems and all – and to develop learners' capacities for dealing with it (progressive)
   - a supportive climate that facilitates self-discovery and interaction (humanist)
   - a setting in which learners are encouraged to examine their beliefs and values and to raise critical questions (radical)

9. **The learners' feelings during the learning process:**
   - may get in the way of teaching by diverting the learners' attention (liberal)
   - are used by the skillful adult educator to accomplish the learning objective(s) (behaviorist)
   - provide energy that can be focused on problems or questions (progressive)
   - will probably have a great deal to do with the way they approach their learning (humanist)
   - must be brought to the surface in order for learners to become truly involved in their learning (radical)

10. **The teaching methods I use:**
    - are determined primarily by the subject or content to be covered (liberal)
    - emphasize practice and feedback to the learner (behaviorist)
    - focus on problem-solving and present real challenges to the learner (progressive)
    - are mostly non-directive, encouraging the learner to take responsibility for his/her own learning (humanist)
    - involve learners in dialog and critical examination of controversial issues (radical)

11. **When learners are uninterested in a subject, it is because:**
    - the teacher does not know enough about the subject or is unable to make it interesting to the learner (liberal)
    - they are not getting adequate feedback during the learning process (behaviorist)
    - they do not see any benefit for their daily lives (progressive)
    - they are not ready to learn it or it is not a high priority for them personally (humanist)
    - they do not realize how serious the consequences of not understanding or learning the subject may be (radical)

12. **Differences among adult learners:**
    - are relatively unimportant as long as the learners gain common base of understanding through the learning experience (liberal)
    - will not interfere with their learning if each learner is given adequate opportunity for practice and reinforcement (behaviorist)
    - are primarily due to differences in their life experiences and will usually lead them to make different applications of new knowledge and skills to their own situations (progressive)
    - enable them to learn best on their own time and in their own way (humanist)
    - arise from their particular cultural and social situations and can be minimized as they recognize common needs and problems (radical)

13. **Evaluation of learning outcomes:**
    - lets me know how much learners have increased their conceptual understanding of new material (liberal)
    - should be built into the system, so that learners will continually receive feedback and can adjust their performance accordingly (behaviorist)
    - is best accomplished when the learner encounters a problem, either in the learning setting or the real world, and successfully resolves it. (progressive)
    - is best done by the learners themselves, for their own purposes (humanist)
    - is not of great importance and may not be possible, because the impact of learning may not be evident until much later (radical)

14. My primary role as a teacher of adults is to:

- systematically lead learners step by step in acquiring new information and understanding underlying theories and concepts (liberal)
- guide learners through learning activities with well-directed feedback (behaviorist)
- help learners identify and learn to solve problems (progressive)
- facilitate, but not to direct, learning activities (humanist)
- increase learners' awareness of environmental and social issues and help them learn how to have an impact on these situations (radical)

15. In the end, if learners have not learned what was taught:

- the teacher has not actually taught (liberal)
- they need to repeat the experience, or a portion of it (behaviorist)
- it is probably because they are unable to make practical application of new knowledge to problems in their daily lives (progressive)
- they may have learned something else which they consider just as interesting or useful (humanist)
- they do not recognize how learning will enable them to significantly influence society (radical)

Excerpted from Zinn (1991), p. 59-75.

Sampling

Subjects were groups of students undertaking studies in a 1-year part-time Diploma in Adult Education and Training program offered by HKU-SPACE during the academic years 1998-2002 (5 cohorts). They were mostly company-based trainers (with or without related administrative/management duties) while some others who had no training experience were taking the program with a view to become trainers after completion. The researcher taught theories of adult learning and philosophical foundations of AE to the said groups of students and the use of PAEI constituted a routine part of teaching. The regular class size was 50-60 students and therefore accumulation of results from the 5 cohorts was of sufficient sample size to satisfy statistical inference from subject to population. Convenience sampling, as used here, had to be justified in terms of feasibility for the researcher to complete the study within constraints of time, money and access to subjects. For all these considerations, the students in the Diploma program suited very well as subjects for the study. Two issues of concern relating to ethics and representativeness of sample were tackled as follows:

In terms of ethical concern, the apparent power differential between the researcher as teacher and the respondents as students situated in an institution-based formal curriculum could have exerted an undue influence on the response given by the latter. Given this, it is important that the researcher should in no way compel the students to participate in the study by taking advantage of his position as subject teacher. He should do his best not to influence their preferences of the philosophies and should reveal fully the purpose of data collection and how it would be handled from analysis to reporting stages. When applied in the context of this study, the researcher had made it a point that the teaching objective of PAEI administration should first be satisfied. Therefore, it was only at the end of discussing the findings of the survey as part of regular teaching that he invited students to share their results with him on a purely voluntary basis. The purpose of the study was made clear at

that instant to students with assurance of both anonymity and confidentiality, as results could not be traced to particular subjects and only the researcher would have access to the data. There was also the promise of reciprocity in that those who want a report of the findings were invited to communicate with the researcher. The likelihood of the researcher influencing the results was remote given that responses to the PAEI required subjects to reflect about their past experience rather than engage in factual recall. Due care was also exercised in the prior lectures on AE values and philosophy so as not to create any bias toward particular philosophies or values that might have a carryover effect into this stage.

In relation to representativeness, it was deemed necessary for validity of statistical inference that the sample (respondents) should reflect similarity to the finite population (all students in the five cohorts) and the population of trainers/adult educators in HK. For this reason, four background variables (age, gender, level of education, years of experience) were collected from respondents and compared with background information known about the finite population. For comparison with the population of trainers/adult educators in HK, the findings of Lee and Lam (1994b) served as useful indicators of population characteristics. For meeting representativeness, it was necessary that the sample should reflect preponderance of the female gender, the thirty to early-thirties age group, and those holding a Bachelor degree educational qualification.

Procedures for data collection, reduction and analysis

The PAEI was self-administered by students in class with an allocated response time of 30 minutes including self-scoring (Zinn gives 20 minutes for responding to the instrument). Students were instructed not to focus on specific cases of learning and teaching but to reflect on general instances. It was also emphasized that there were no right or wrong answers. For response rate, it was expected that the response should be comparable to any other obtrusive data

collection approach on issues of lifelong learning in Hong Kong such as through telephone survey where greater than 50% response rate could normally be achieved (Chan and Holford, 1994; HKU-SPACE, 2001; HKU-SPACE, 2003b).

Data contained in the scoring sheets consisted of two parts: the main part was for AE philosophies and a subsidiary part was on the respondent's background characteristics. Data in the former was in the form of interval scale, and the latter, in the form of nominal and ordinal scales. In order for data from five cohorts to be pooled together, these were cross-tabulated and subjected to chi-square test of homogeneity. Due to the small number of cases in some cells, the levels of some of the respondents' background variables were collapsed to allow for more meaningful analysis (e.g. age from six to four levels; years of experience from five to four levels). Following data reduction, these were inputted directly into the SPSS spreadsheet.

Data analyses were done using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, version 11 (SPSS) computer software. The four stages in the analysis of the main data were: (a) Descriptive analysis, which consisted of graphical (pie-charts) and statistical approaches (calculation of mode) to describe the respondents' background variables and to compare it with the finite population; (b) Comparison between groups, which used one-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) with post hoc test (Tukey's hsd) to determine differences between the philosophies; (c) Multivariate relationships, which used multiple linear regression (MLR) to study the relationships between specific philosophies (criterion variable) and respondents' background characteristics (predictor variables) with the objective of finding out how the respondents' background characteristics could account for variations in the specific philosophy scores. The statistical analysis outputs for this interpretation were the R^2 and Beta weights of predictor variables. For those criterion variables that had a significant regression equation with the predictor variables, one-way ANOVA was then used to investigate differences within the levels of each predictor

variable. Where evidence of trend existed (e.g. decreasing or increasing trend across the different levels, or difference between one level compared to the linear combination of all other levels), linear contrast was also applied; (d) General linear model (GLM) or General Factorial procedure in SPSS, which extended the analysis to two predictor variables (two-way ANOVA) where possible interaction effects could be revealed by looking at profile plots of estimated marginal means of the two predictor variables. Parallelisms of the lines in the charts would indicate no interaction of the two factors.

For subsidiary data analysis, a bivariate linear correlation matrix of AE philosophies was produced with Pearson's correlation coefficients calculated for each pair of comparisons. Factor analysis was used to verify the underlying constructs of the PAEI. Extraction and rotation of factors were carried out by default instructions (i.e. for extraction, Principal Component Analysis (PCA) with the number of factors determined by an initial eigenvalues of greater than 1; and for rotation, VARIMAX method to yield orthogonal or uncorrelated factors. Only factor loadings of >0.40 (absolute value) were retained for interpretation. Reliability analysis was done by calculating a single Cronbach's alpha, thereby assuming unidimensionality of measurements in the PAEI. All statistical inference of significance were set at $p<0.05$. However, test results with probability of <10% were also singled out for interpretation but these were undertaken with caution.

Measuring values of practitioners on policy

Instrument development, characteristics and piloting

Marshall et al. (1989) have provided a model for the study of education policy that properly accounts for influences of social and political values in policy actions and the framing of policy decisions. In the model, a taxonomic framework is

constructed to serve as a theoretical tool for analyzing the transformation of cultural values into policy. It is used to identify the prevailing policy choices and the values embedded in these choices. In terms of the approach to its construction, the framework is classified as a theoretical taxonomy which involves the identification of classification categories for describing and accounting for the ways policymakers think about possible education policy alternatives. The categories must be both exhaustive (covering all elements) and mutually exclusive (particular policy approaches as belonging to one and only one category), which means the categories must have one characteristic to encompass all the elements (p. 58-59). In their study, the seven policy domains capture the ways policymakers think about policy alternatives while the values embedded in these policy choices are encompassed by the four basic values. The core or basic values of education policy are defined by Marshall et al. (1989) and Sergiovanni et al. (1999), and the underlying social and political values of each are identified in Tables 6 and 7.

To adapt the four values for use in the present study, the said values have to be redefined to fit the market mode of operation in CE. Levin's (2000) definition of values of education in the market fits this purpose. Since the value of social cohesion had not been emphasized in Hong Kong, it was not included as a basic value in this study. Instead, the four original values espoused by Marshall et al. were retained. The three steps for constructing the taxonomic framework are: (a) selection of policy domains; (b) identification of policy approaches; and (c) determination of value survey items.

Policy domains are arenas for action, which are also called policy mechanisms. Decisions in one domain are made with little concern for the other domains (Marshall et al., 1989:60). In their study of cultural effect on education policy, Marshall et al. had identified the following seven policy mechanisms: school finance (how money and human resources are allocated), school personnel training and certification, school testing and assessment (consequences of exam, distribution

Table 6 Dimensions of values in educational policy making (Marshall et al. 1989)

Values	Underlying social and political value	Definitions	Strategies
Choice	Democracy, popular sovereignty	Presence of a range of options for action, as well as the ability to select a preferred option	Educational vouchers; decentralization of budget and management decisions; alternative program development; flexibility in institutional planning
Efficiency	Values underlying the effective pursuit of popular sovereignty	Minimize costs while maximizing gains in order to optimize program performance (economic form) Mandating of means for an authority system to oversee and control the exercise of power and responsibility at subordinate levels (accountability form)	Expansion of governmental authority to achieve efficient control
Equity	Individual's worth and society's responsibility to realize that worth, social democracy	Use of public resources to redistribute public resources for the purpose of satisfying disparities in human needs	Elimination of inequality in education opportunity; provision of special educational resources to disadvantaged groups
Quality	Crucial importance of education for the future citizen's life chances	Mandate the need for certain standards and that public resources are applied to achieve these standards	Increasing money and resources; increasing minimum requirements for staff qualification; increasing no. of required courses in curricula

Table 7 Other definitions of the dimensions of values in educational policy making

	Sergiovanni (1999)		Levin (2002)
Values	**Underlying social or political value**	**Definitions**	**Definitions**
Choice	Popular democracy	Investing in stakeholders rather than an authority the power to decide what is best for education	Providers have to provide alternatives in both variety and form that meet participant demand to a much greater degree than the present system
Efficiency	Concern for accountability or getting one's money's worth	Accountability manifested in the form of product testing (students), program budgeting (objectives) and adoption of systems analysis management designs (emphasizing efficiency in operation)	Ease of movement from one type of training or education to another and to take the combination that is desired. Reduction of overlap of lower quality. Newer forms of education and training and expansion of high-demand subjects and types that respond quickly to client pressures rather than being subject to institutional constraints and political obstacles.
Equity	Fair play and equal opportunity	Fairness in sharing the resources available for education	Increase access to productive investments in education and training for the less-advantaged. Providers to create education and training choices that will be more accessible and responsive to the needs of those who were traditionally under-represented
Excellence	Fitness-for-purpose variably interpreted according to their own rhetoric by advocates of the other 3 values.	Educational institutions' ability to achieve its objectives in a high quality way or ability to have its product (students) measure up to standards of good work	
Social Cohesion			Education to provide a common educational experience so that learners will accept and support a common set of social, political, and economic institutions

of test data), school program definition (control over program planning and accreditation), school organization and governance (authority and responsibility of stakeholders), curriculum materials (textbooks, instructional materials), and school buildings and facilities (physical infrastructure). In selecting policy domains for incorporation into the taxonomic framework for AE and CE policy, some adaptations had to be made due to the difference in focus between school education and AE and CE. Thus, only four policy domains were used in this study, and these were derived by: (a) eliminating school personnel training and certification and school buildings and facilities; and (b) amalgamating school testing and assessment with curriculum materials. The four revised policy domains were then given operational definitions so that appropriate policy approaches could be matched to each of them (Table 8). Identification of policy approaches is based on the understanding that within each policy mechanism (domain) can be found policy debates and decisions focusing on a number of competing policy approaches with "unique mix of public resources, social values, and assignments of governing authority for dealing with problems"(Marshall et al., 1989:61). A policy approach is taken to mean an initiative that has been proposed or implemented by the government. It may also include other initiatives proposed by stakeholders that have gained some degree of acknowledgment by government but falling short of adaptation. The main sources for locating the policy approaches are the CE's policy addresses, policy documents, legislation, bureaucratic decisions and operational requirements of government funding schemes for AE and CE (see Appendix I, Tables 17 and 18, p. 276-277). A list of the policy approaches identified is shown with their corresponding policy domains in Table 8.

Determination of value survey items depends heavily on the related literatures to weigh up the relative importance of policy approaches and to decide on the final wording for these items. The said literatures include newspaper articles, conference proceedings, contributions in books chapters, research reports, monographs, and special supplements or commemorative issues published by AE

Table 8 Policy domains in adult, continuing, further and professional education (incorporating part-time higher education)

Policy domains	Operational definitions	Policy approaches
Finance	Determining scope of state responsibility in funding vis-á-vis market and not-for-profit sector. For state-funded provision, how funds are distributed and how resources are allocated to institutions; and which type of individual's learning can be subsidized by public money	♦ Equalize funding by course nature – e.g. most sub-degree and postgraduate courses to be self-financed so as to subject traditionally gov't funded sector (UGC, VTC) and market-led sector (CE/private operators) to same market forces ♦ Mix models of funding - e.g. at the postsecondary level, a higher education sector (degree programs) that is gov't funded exists side-by-side with a further education sector (sub-degree and AD programs) that is essentially self-financing ♦ Link funding to output – e.g. retraining courses operated by ERB must achieve 70% employment rate among its participants to continue further intakes ♦ Target special groups – e.g. selected trades are chosen for inclusion in 'Skills Upgrading Scheme' based on importance to economy and hence members of these trades can receive subsidy for learning ♦ Finance particular functions – e.g. sub-degree courses with huge start-up costs but which can show demonstrated need can continue to receive gov't subsidy ♦ Offset costs – e.g. self-education allowance for tax exemption purpose to encourage learning ♦ Fix amount of funding – e.g. principle of subsidy under various learning schemes works on a maximum entitlement basis ♦ Build new capacity – e.g. grant to OUHK for creating electronic library
Program	Setting minimum requirements for program recognition and defining standards (accreditation) of educational provisions	♦ Specify entry qualifications, subjects, and duration of study – e.g. formulation of 'Common descriptors for AD' which is recognized by Gov't for grant & loan & civil service appointment purposes ♦ Target special groups – e.g. specific training schemes tailored to the needs of unemployed youth (YPTP) and middle-aged workers (ERS) who show the highest unemployment rate among all age groups ♦ Set standards – e.g. Qualifications Framework and related QA mechanisms ♦ Benchmark programs – e.g. requirement in NLPHE Ordinance that overseas courses run locally should by equivalent to home provision ♦ Encourage flexibility – e.g. discussions on articulation and credit accumulation and transfer in the QF and related QA mechanisms ♦ Encourage diversity – e.g. EMB's four directions to expand post-secondary education opportunities which enlist participation from local, international, public & private institutions or educational providers
Curriculum, teaching, learning & assessment	Determining methods of instructional delivery that suit the adult learner and development of appropriate learning materials using relevant educational technologies	♦ Mandate exit testing – e.g. Funding scheme for Workplace English Campaign linked to benchmarked language testing of learners upon course completion ♦ Special materials – e.g. research into open and distance learning in adult learners and development of materials incorporating subject matter, technological & ethical concerns (undertaken by OUHK, not yet adopted as a policy approach) ♦ Curriculum adaptation – e.g. borrowing foreign expertise in certain subjects while being conscious about relevance of overseas courses to local context and paying attention to cultural sensitivity (not yet

Policy domains	Operational definitions	Policy approaches
		adopted as a policy approach) ♦ Curriculum development – e.g. co-opting of employers, trade & professional bodies in determining content of training programs for ERS and Skills Upgrading Scheme
Organization & governance	Defining the policy collectivity; setting of policy goals, agenda, priorities and implementation/monitoring strategies	♦ Increase power of state – e.g. EMB plays an enhanced role in coordinating & directing continuing education by way of funding scheme and course recognition policies ♦ Strengthen support infrastructure – e.g. setting up of a database on continuing education as vehicle for disseminating course information to learners ♦ Establish policy-making framework – e.g. MDC was set up to oversee policy development for manpower training and vocational education ♦ Establish regulatory framework – e.g. NLPHE Ordinance is intended to create a level playing field for providers, both public and private, engaged in running overseas courses ♦ Define policy actors – i.e. Who are appointed to advisory bodies? Whose views are consulted in CE? Which expertise is valued? ♦ Monitor institutional management (efficiency) – e.g. ERB is subjected to value-for-money audit ♦ Monitor institutional management (quality) – e.g. QF and related QA mechanisms would work to force non-self-accrediting institutions to demonstrate the soundness of their program provisions by submitting to institutional or program audit by HKCAA

and CE institutions. Journal articles are of limited significance because of the very limited research output on AE and CE in Hong Kong. Although the period of search was unlimited, only materials published after 1990 had been taken into account to help set the value survey items. This as explained in Appendix I is because the concerns of AE and CE are different between the 1980s and 1990s. There is however an extent of continuity between the periods from 1990 to the present as policy issues that had been addressed after 2000 could be traced to points raised by stakeholders or discussions made during the earlier period. For location of newspaper articles, three electronic databases were used: HK Newspaper Clipping Online (clippings of English newspapers by HKU Libraries covering the period 1970-1994); South China Morning Post Online Archives Search (covering 1993 and after); and WISE News (clippings of Chinese newspapers provided by Wisers Information Limited). The other materials had been located by searching the HK Collection subset of the HKU Libraries and the interlibrary catalogue of HK Academic Research Network (HARNET), using the following keywords combined with 'Hong Kong': 'adult education'; 'adult learning'; 'continuing education'; 'continuous education'; 'lifelong learning'; 'lifelong education'; 'distance learning'; 'distance education'; 'open learning' and 'open education'. A policy issue is considered important when it has been brought up and responded to by any of the stakeholders in the CE scene. The difference lies on whether the policy issue is substantive (i.e. one that had been debated) or proposed (i.e. one mentioned but had not been responded to), and only the former is of use in this study. Ultimately, judgment on the selection of policy approaches as value survey items and decision on the final wording of value survey items for use in the finished instrument rests with the researcher.

The final instrument has 24 pairs of comparison. The semantic differential measuring scale is originally used to measure affective responses to concepts in terms of ratings on bipolar scales defined with contrasting adjectives at each end and has a '0' (neutral position) in the middle of the scale (Osgood, 1969). For the

purpose of this study, each pair of comparison is measured on an adaptation of the semantic differential scale where contrast between two value survey items is rated from both extreme ends to the middle as: much, somewhat and little (Appendix II). This order of preferences carries numeric values of 3, 2 and 1 and the value survey item that is preferred is given a positive score while the opposite is automatically assigned the same score but which carries a negative value. Only one response is required in each pair of comparison because respondents are required to choose the value survey item they preferred rather than indicate the strength of their preferences for each of the two value survey items. The forced-choice intent of the scale design also explains why there is no neutral position allowed.

Each value survey item appears three times in random positions in the instrument to be paired with another value survey item of the same policy domain. In other words, the pairing is to force respondents to indicate their preferences when the four basic values of educational policymaking expressed in the same policy domain are juxtaposed against one another. With four basic values, six pairings are therefore possible within each policy domain; and with four policy domains, this adds up to 24 pairs of comparison. The logic behind the design of the present survey questionnaire is similar in all respect to the "Individual Value Systems and Education Policy-making" questionnaire except that the latter has 18 pairs of comparison with 36 value survey items as a result of dealing with only 3 policy domains (Marshall et al., 1989: 203-205).

The various terminologies used to denote the items measured have to be explained for reason of consistency and to avoid confusion of understanding. The measure can be understood at three levels: (a) level of measurement, it works as an indicator and is called a 'value survey item'; (b) level of statistical analysis, it is called a 'criterion variable'; and (c) level of structure, it is considered a 'value dimension in policy domain'. Usage of these terms in the following discussions will

be based on the definitions given here. A layout of the value survey items is shown in Figure 12.

Pilot testing was done on the finished instrument by administration to two groups of students. The said students were attending part-time programs in AE or lifelong learning in HKU-SPACE (76 students of which 57 were studying the Diploma in Adult Education and Training and 19 were studying the MSc in Lifelong Learning; 38 responses were received) and hence would to some extent be knowledgeable and receptive to discussions about the policy issues in lifelong learning in Hong Kong. However, the objective of the pilot testing was not related to ascertaining the validity of the questionnaire but rather in making sure its general features were acceptable to prospective respondents and that the language used was accessible to them. For this reason, the following five questions were asked during the pilot-testing stage: time spent to complete the questionnaire; clarity of instructions, clarity of value survey items, clarity of layout, and comprehensiveness of policy issues included. From responses collected, it was estimated that respondents spent an average of 18.9 minutes to complete the questionnaire. A clear majority (78.9%) agreed that the instructions given were clear, which was also the case with clarity of the layout (65.8%). Close to half of the respondents (44.7%) regarded themselves not to be in a position to determine whether any significant policy issues had been omitted, and this was expected beforehand. Respondents were more divided on their opinions as to whether clarity of some survey items should be improved, with responses to the affirmative, negative and neutral, and no response, appearing in equal proportions (34.2%, 34.2%, 31.6%). As a result, six of the value survey items had been rewritten or re-worded to take note of specific comments from respondents.

Figure 12 Values on policy of lifelong learning survey items

Value dimensions	Policy domains			
	Program	Curriculum, teaching & learning, and assessment	Finance	Organization and governance
Quality	Benchmarking programs to ensure recognition and fitness for purpose	Ensuring learning is useful, teaching is effective and proper support to learners is available	Allocating resources according to merit-based approach	Building a quality culture
Equity	Providing programs for marginalized and disadvantaged groups	Attending to special needs of particular groups of learners (eg. language, learning style, ability, etc.); giving emphasis to social relevance of knowledge apart from its technical/applied usages	Providing discriminatory funding for courses with identified need for public investment amidst self-financing imperative	Endeavoring wider representation in policy making process, non-discriminatory regulation of providers and collaborative partnership between local and overseas institutions
Efficiency	Achieving flexibility in admission and mode of delivery of programs	Introducing appropriate use of IT and adapting appropriate teaching and learning strategies	Ensuring program operation is cost effective and financially accountable	Establishing framework for policy consultation, coordination and regulation of adult, continuing, further and professional education
Choice	Enhancing diversity of program offerings	Recruiting subject expertise widely from as many sources of acknowledged authority, local and international	Operating programs under mixed funding models	Facilitating information availability to guide learner's choice of programs

Validity

For quantitative research with authentic design of measuring instrument, it is essential that the instrument should have validity. Validity is understood in the context of this study as both content and context validities. As with all measurements made on a survey instrument, an inference is made when the researcher tries to relate indicators (what is measured) to the underlying constructs (what is aimed to be measured). The indicators and constructs for this study are the 16 value survey items and the 4 policy domains, respectively. There are different focuses for the two forms of validities and each would require a different proof.

Content validity focuses on whether the full content of a conceptual description is represented in the measure. Punch (1998:101) describes content validity succinctly in the following manner: "A conceptual description is a space, holding ideas and concepts, and the indicators in a measure should sample all ideas in the description. Thus the two steps involved in content validation are to specify the content of a description, and to develop indicators which sample from all areas of content in the description". Therefore, to satisfy content validity, the manner for determining the 16 value survey items (indicators) is important. As discussed above, this involves a two-step process of finding the policy mechanisms (approaches) within each of the four policy domains (to be further sorted by the basic values they represent), and then deciding on the content (wording) of the value survey item. The essential qualities to be met are the comprehensiveness and exhaustiveness of the policy approaches (i.e. all the alternatives for policy approaches have been captured in the relevant policy domains), as well as the representativeness and importance of the value survey item among other possible identified alternatives. Clearly, the search strategy for policy approaches described earlier would indicate that the first quality had been reasonably satisfied while the second factor had also been duly taken cared of by the researcher through the exercise of professional judgment based on the strength of information on the relative importance of the policy approaches.

Construct validity focuses on how well a measure conforms to theoretical expectations. As Punch (1998:101) puts it: "any measure exists in some theoretical context, and should therefore show relationships with other constructs which can be predicted and interpreted within that context". The use of factor analysis is a popular but not the only approach to verify construct validity. The logic behind its use is that the relationships between variables and factors (constructs) can be analyzed statistically by way of looking at calculated factor loadings. Variables are more specific concepts that are concrete and observed and belong to a lower level of abstraction; factors are more general concepts that are unobserved and of a higher level of abstraction. In the present study, the 16 value survey items represent variables while the 4 policy domains make up the factors (constructs). A high factor loading for the variables would imply good progression in the level of abstraction from variables to construct. For this study, factor analysis was used to verify construct validity but the decision on number of factors to extract and rotate was guided by apriori conceptual understanding of the presence of the four factors.

Sampling

Subjects were AE and CE practitioners who had program planning/development or administration as their main duties. They would normally occupy the middle level of the organizational echelon and hold titles such as program manager, officer, executive, director or course coordinator/in-charge, etc. Both upper (management) and lower (support staff) level staff were excluded, as the former would have a different mindset for viewing policy issues given their focus on organizational rather than program level concerns; while the latter would not have an active interest in policy issues given their role as assistants to the practitioners. Sampling would also need to reflect the range of AE and CE providers in Hong Kong and should be comprehensive enough to include majority of practitioners who fitted the above description. As such, purposive sampling was used to sample the appropriate combination of subjects from four sectors: FCETI, OUHK, non-profit

making/quasi government, and private providers. This was deemed feasible as the size of the practitioner community was small and it was possible to obtain a list of names of practitioners readily. The actual process of setting the mailing list had to rely on published staff information included in program prospectuses and the researcher's own effort in contacting the relevant organizations. For the FCETI sector, CARITAS, VTC, HKIED and HKUST were not included as the first one was included under the non-profit making sector while the other three had only upper and lower level staff. As such, the FCETI sector in this study could be regarded as equivalent to the university CE sector. OUHK was set out separately because its missions were distinct from the FCETI institutions and its programs were delivered by distance learning mode while the FCETI institutions had retained face-to-face instruction in their part-time provisions. OUHK LiPACE, the CE school of OUHK, was however included under FCETI due to the same nature of program activity undertaken. For the non-profit making and quasi-government sector, this included the heads or principals of CARITAS schools and centers, the head of Art School, inspectors and education officers in the Adult Education section of the Education Department, and staff (manager, deputy manager and officers) of the Course Administration and Development Department of the ERB. Lastly, 24 private providers were included and these were selected based on the nature of their course provision (at least 1 part-time program), history of market presence (2 years) and frequency of advertising (at least once a month in Ming-Pao newspaper in the months of March to June 2002). These criteria were to ensure that prospective respondents would be knowledgeable about the policy issues asked in the questionnaire. Given the breadth of policy issues and the duration needed to complete the questionnaire, purposive sampling was therefore regarded as the best available approach to overcome constraints of time, money and access to subjects, which the researcher would otherwise have to face when using alternative sampling approaches.

In relation to the need to obtain informed consent, it was fairly straightforward that those who declined to participate in the study would simply opt not to return the questionnaire. The other concerns for full information disclosure about the study and guarantee of anonymity and confidentiality were addressed in the covering letter as explained below. The office address to which questionnaires were sent had an implied public nature and was unlikely to cause grievance about violation of privacy. The representativeness of the sample could be assured by comparing the returns from each sector with the original percentage of questionnaires distributed to each. The general characteristics of the practitioner population could also be extrapolated from information about course providers and participation in CE (see Fig 29, 30 in Appendix I, p. 251-252; Cribbin, 2002b). For rough indications of similarities between sample and population, the sample should show a preponderance of practitioners: who work in the FCETI sector; whose main program activity is in CE; whose discipline/subject areas are in business or language or IT; and whose main duties relate to program development/planning/administration.

Procedures for data collection, reduction and analysis

The 'Value on policy of lifelong learning survey' was administered by mail survey. The four-page questionnaire was sent out together with a cover letter to explain the purpose of the study (Appendix II). In the letter, practitioners were invited to provide their views on policy choices articulated in three important policy proposals/initiatives released earlier or at around the time of the survey, viz.: Education Reform proposals, EMB's four directions for expansion of postsecondary education, and Sutherland Report on Review of Higher Education. It was explained that the study of practitioners' value system through the questionnaire was related to such research theme. The letter also explained how the practitioners were located, that was through information regarding them available to the public (i.e. staff list in program prospectus). The nature of the study was clearly stated as a doctoral project

and it was mentioned that results would be used only for academic purpose. Assurances of anonymity and confidentiality were given as survey returns could not be traced to the respondents and only the researcher would have access to the data at all stages. Promise of reciprocity was also given such that those who would like to obtain a report of the findings could contact the researcher. The respondents were allowed 2-3 weeks to return the questionnaire, where they had the option to send it back by facsimile or through the stamped and self-addressed envelope provided by the researcher. Two weeks after the deadline, a recall attempt was made by mailing the questionnaire to the same mailing list but accompanied by a different covering letter. In the letter, it was explained to practitioners that due to the small size of the AE and CE community, a low response rate from them would adversely affect inferences that could be made from the findings. A response rate of at least 20% was set as the target. In setting this target, the experiences of other mail surveys directed at university academics on topics with and without immediate relevance to the respondents' welfare were consulted. An example is the questionnaire survey on academic freedom in Hong Kong done by Uldis Kruze (Pacific Rim Report No. 4, July 1997, University of San Francisco) which had a response rate of only 3% (30/1000 responses collected). On the contrary, for subject matter where the respondents have direct interest in, such as human resource development reform in universities, response rates are in the region of 20% (e.g. survey results collected by Academic Staff Association of the University of Hong Kong in 2004 on their members' views of staffing policy had a response rate of 19.3% or 146/756 responses). From these information, a 20% response rate for mail survey should probably be regarded as satisfactory in Hong Kong. This survey was conducted in July and ended in September 2002.

The response items of the questionnaire consisted of three parts: Part I was for the value survey items (which were paired alternately with another value survey item in the same policy domain but representing different value dimensions); Part II was for the respondent's background characteristics (gender, age, years of working

experience, program activity engaged in, sector, discipline/subject area/main duties); and Part III was for the self-reported ranked preferences of five AE philosophies. The data in Part I was in the form of ordinal scale; and for Part II, in the form of nominal and ordinal scales; while that of Part III was in the form of ordinal scale. Data in Part I had to be subjected to summation (3:1) of identical and repeating value survey items to yield a single criterion variable of value dimensions in specific policy domains. Thus, out of the 48 value survey items, 16 criterion variables were produced. Data reduction were done in EXCEL and transferred to SPSS spreadsheet for statistical analysis. Data for Parts II and III were directly inputted into SPSS.

The three stages in the analysis of the main data were: (a) Descriptive analysis, which consisted of graphical (pie-charts) and statistical approaches (calculation of mode) to describe the respondents' background variables. There was also a matrix of value preferences (16 criterion variables) which were the means of responses from CE practitioners; (b) Comparison between groups, which used non-parametric ANOVA (Kruskall-Wallis test) to determine differences between the value dimensions within similar policy domains; (c) Multivariate relationships, which used multiple linear regression (MLR) to study the relationships between value dimensions in specific policy domains (criterion variable) and respondents' background characteristics (predictor variables) with the objective of finding out how the respondents' background characteristics could account for variations in the criterion variable scores. The statistical analysis outputs for this interpretation were the R^2 and Beta weights of predictor variables. For those criterion variables that had a significant regression equation with the predictor variables, one-way ANOVA was then used to investigate differences within the levels of each predictor variable. Data analyses were done using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, version 11 (SPSS) computer software.

For subsidiary data analysis, a bivariate linear correlation matrix of value dimensions was produced. There were separate series to represent each policy

domain as value pairs could only be correlated within similar policy domain. Due to the nature of the data (ordinal scale), both Pearson's correlation coefficients and Spearman's correlation coefficients were calculated for each pair of comparisons with the objective of verifying consistency of statistical tests of significance across the two correlational methods. In a separate procedure to analyze difference in CE practitioners' preferences of philosophies of AE, non-parametric ANOVA (Kruskall-Wallis test) was used for group comparison as the data were in ordinal scale. Lastly, to verify the underlying constructs of the 'values on policy of lifelong learning survey' questionnaire, factor analysis was used but with careful consideration on the number of factors to be extracted due to the need to match with apriori conceptual beliefs. In this study, there should be four factors corresponding to the four policy domains. Other procedures and criteria for factor extraction and rotation, and interpretation of factor loadings as well as inference on statistical significance were the same as in the PAEI survey described above.

Significance and limitations

This is the first empirical study to investigate the values of AE and CE practitioners in Hong Kong. As such, it adds to the understanding of how these practitioners conceive of their practice and view the official policy on lifelong learning. Methodologically, it is the first study to use an established North American AE values measurement instrument for practitioners (the Philosophy of Adult Education Inventory or PAEI) in an Asian context. It can also claim novelty in the approach used for studying values preference of practitioners on the policy of lifelong learning. The significance of the findings goes beyond description of the values *per se*, and can reveal its importance in the way these results are linked up with social-cultural-political changes to provide comprehensive macro-level theorizations of practice. The context of the study encompasses a critical period of educational change and social-political-economic transformations occurring in Hong

Kong society (see Table 1, p. 37). For AE and CE, this period starting from 1990s to the present has witnessed several major transformations to the field of practice, such as: (a) merger of CE with part-time higher education and further education; (b) move towards full-scale market-based programming; (c) government intervention leading to sole economistic goals being pursued in CE; (d) replacement of AE and CE by lifelong learning as a socio-political concept. Changes in the different milieus are a reflection of both temporal and spatial synchronizations; the former means that change happening in any milieu affects the other milieus and *vice versa*, while the latter means that changes observed in Hong Kong have similar trends which can be found overseas. This spatial synchrony is best exemplified by concepts used to describe some of the trends observed - globalization of the economy, marketization of education, post-modern consumption culture, etc.

Change however is not synonymous with progress, as for example; the bias towards functional orthodoxy in AE and CE practice can be regarded as a corollary to the persistent lack of democratization experienced in the socio-political milieus, which is regressive rather than progressive in character. Thus, theorizing practice out of the findings could help to describe change in late modernistic societies such as Hong Kong to which impacts of globalizing tendencies and advanced capitalism are strongly felt. Giddens (1991) and Beck (1992) have introduced two major concepts that are useful for studying change in this period. These are: 'disembedding', or breakdown of tradition and consequent reliance on unstable expert knowledge systems; and 'reflexive modernity', or constant awareness about revisionistic tendencies of social life, institutions and the self, which lead individuals to consider their self-identity in a continuous fashion as demanded by the ever-changing knowledge environment. These two concepts are connected together by another concept called 'risk' which defines the character of society that is emerging. Lifelong learning in the knowledge-based economy can be regarded as an expert-based proposition endorsed by the government that introduces the urge for constant consideration of learning needs. In short, lifelong learning society is one aspect of a

risk society. This study may not be suited to search for evidence of 'risk' and engagement with it in the modern practice of AE and CE in Hong Kong. Research interest of this nature is probably better served by studying values at the presumed subjective end (i.e. the meso-level of analysis) where the creative actions of individuals in organizations take place

As with any research that strives to be value free, the limitation of this study arises from its inherent bias towards holding certain views about the choice of topic, how the research questions will be set and what recommendations will be made at the end of the research. This limitation, as Punch (1998:51) argues, is a problem common to all positivistic research and cannot be avoided. Thus, the views on paradigm elaborated above and its subsequent influence on the content stage involve making a value judgment by the researcher. Similarly, there will be a value judgment at the end of the research as the researcher makes known of his position after gaining a personal insight into the research process and deriving conclusions from it based on the findings. The choice of social theories used in theorizing AE and CE practices will ultimately affect the way conclusions are drawn about AE and CE practices as a social phenomenon. Regarding the empirical stage, although parts of it (e.g. data analysis) may claim value neutrality on the basis of objective rules such as measurement theory and statistical methods, however, these statistical tests and the theories behind them constitute a representation of the world which is itself a statement of values. Thus, it is doubtful whether the empirical stage can ever claim to be value neutral.

Chapter 4

Results

Philosophy of Adult Education Inventory

Descriptive statistics of study subjects

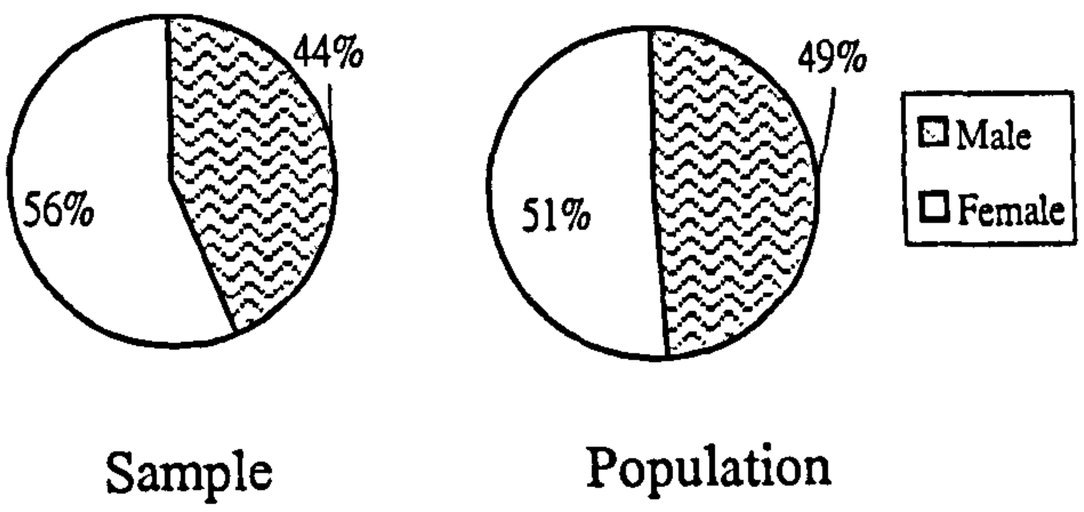
In-class administration of the PAEI accompanied by voluntary return of the questionnaires had elicited a response rate of 50.2% (N=131 out of 261 respondents). The educational qualifications of the respondents were mainly subdegree or various professional qualifications (49%) and followed by Bachelor degree (40%) and Master degree (11%). In terms of age distribution, the majority of respondents was in the range of 31-39 (37%), while those less than 30 and at 40 or above were 35% and 28% respectively. There were slightly more females than males (56% vs. 44%). The characteristics of the respondents compared to the class-based population (i.e. respondents plus non-respondents) were broadly similar in terms of level of education, age and gender (Figure 13).

From respondents' background variables (also called predictor variables), the modes indicated dominant group within each variables to be: female for gender; <30 years old for age group; Bachelor degree for level of education; and <2 years of experience for prior working background in AE and training (Table 9). The discussions that follow in Chapter V will be based on the peculiarities of the respondents' characteristics reported here.

Philosophical orientations of practitioners

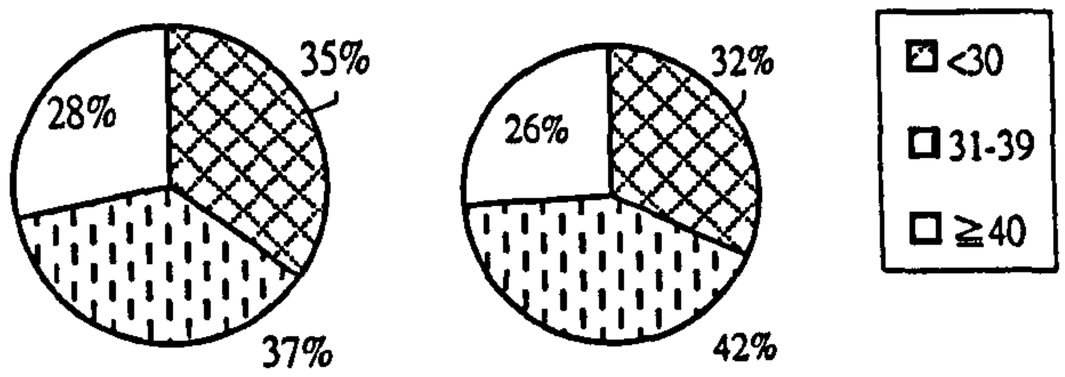
The profile of AE philosophies preferred by respondents was in the following order based on scores recorded for each philosophy: progressive (81.3) >

(a) Gender



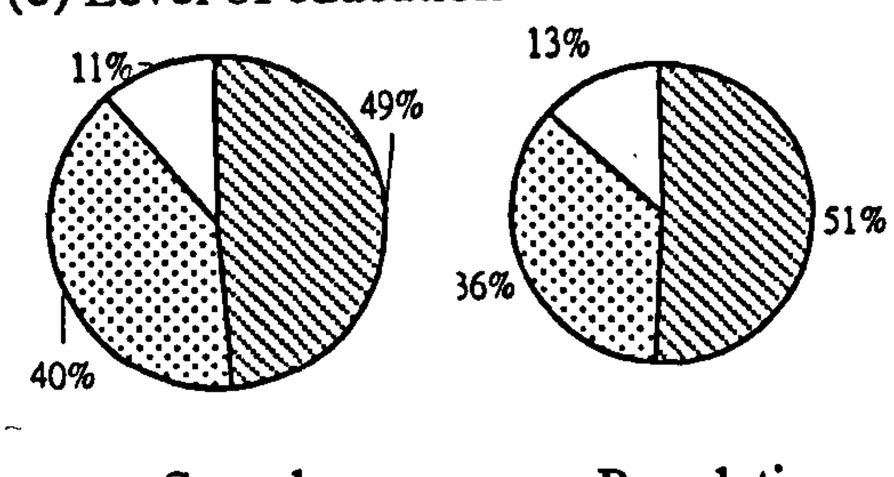
Sample Population

(b) Age



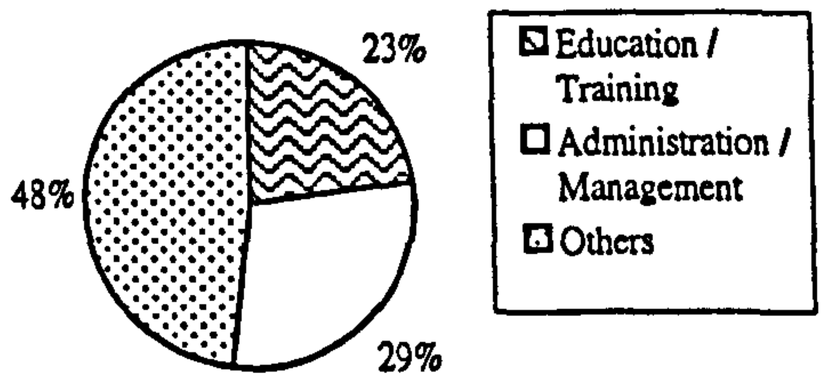
Sample Population

(c) Level of education



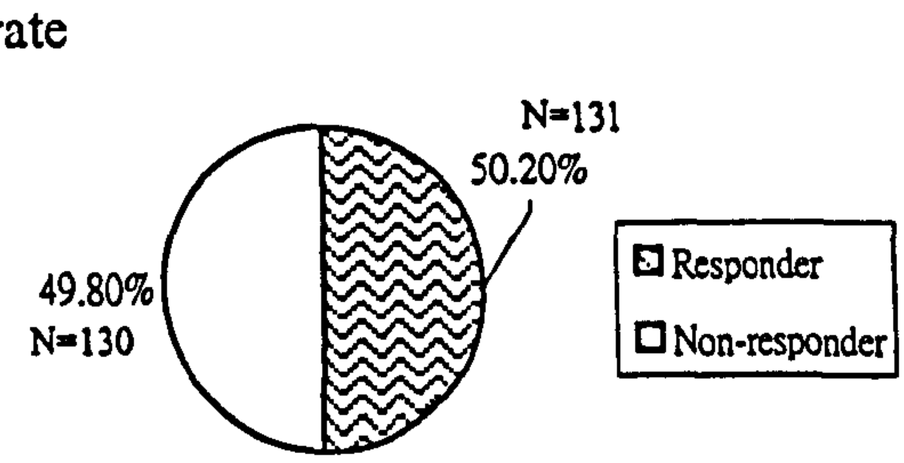
Sample Population

(d) Occupation



Population

(e) Response rate



Population

Figure 13 Comparison of the characteristics of sample to population in the PAEI survey

Table 9 Description of predictor variables for the PAEI survey

Predictor	Categories	Mean (Mode)
Gender	1 =Male 2 =Female	1.56 (2)
Age	1 = <30 2 = 30-34 3 = 35-39 4 = >39	2.41 (1)
Level of education	1 = Sub-degree 2 = Bachelor 3 = Master 4 = Professional qualification	2.16 (2)
Years of experience in adult education / training	1 = 0 2 = <2 3 = 2-5 4 = >5	2.60 (2)

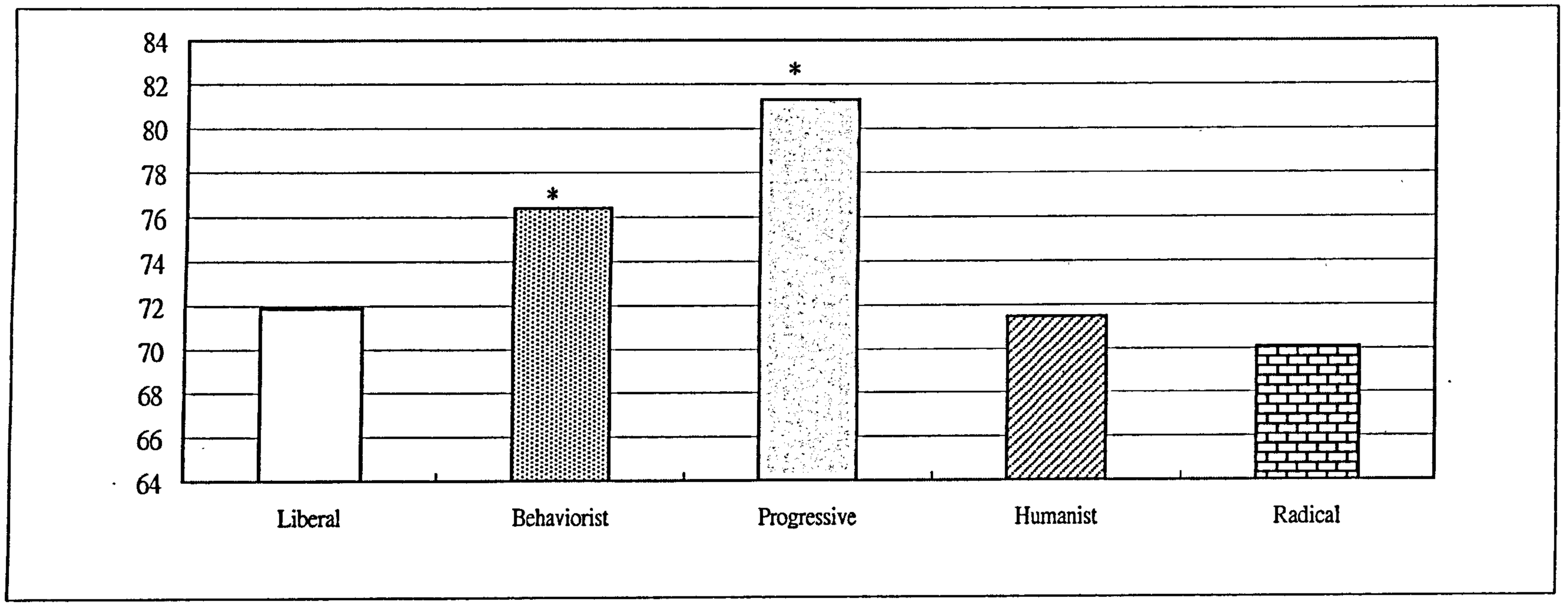
behaviorist (76.4) > liberal (71.9) > humanist (71.5) > radical (70.1) (Figure 14). The differences in philosophy scores were significant (ANOVA F (4, 660) = 30.9, p<0.001). Post hoc test by Tukey hsd showed that the progressive and behaviorist philosophies each differ with the other philosophies and in between each other (p<0.05).

Multiple linear regression analysis of humanist philosophy

The multiple correlation of linear combination of predictor variables (gender, age, level of education, years of experience) and the criterion variable (humanist philosophy) yielded an R=0.284, and R^2=0.081. The said multiple correlation coefficient of determination was significant (ANOVA F (4, 116) = 2.54, p<0.05) which meant that 8.1% of the variance in the humanist philosophy could be accounted for by its linear relationship with the predictor variables. The relative importance of the predictors could be assessed by their standardized weights (Beta) where the level of education appeared to be the most important although it had not reached statistical significance (p = 0.074) (Table 10).

Differences in humanist philosophy scores across predictor variables, and profile plots

Based on the significance of predicting humanist philosophy from the set of predictor variables, it was deemed appropriate to investigate the variations of this philosophy within each of the predictors (Figure 15). For gender, males scored lower than females and this was significant (ANOVA F (1, 127) = 6.256, p< 0.05). For age, there was an observed trend of decrease in score with increase in age (ANOVA F (3, 122) = 1.767, p=0.16; but linear contrast of decreasing trend p<0.05). For education level, a significant difference was observed in the subdegree group compared with the others (ANOVA F (3, 120) = 3.458, p<0.05); and linear contrast of subdegree with the other groups combined p<0.01). For years of



ANOVA F =30.9, d.f. = 4, 660, P<0.001

Post-hoc test by Tukey hsd *P<0.05, behavioral and progressive scores each differ with the other philosophies and in between each other (behavioral and progressive)

Figure 14 Philosophical orientations of respondents in the PAEI survey

Table 10 The results of the multiple linear regression analysis on 'humanist' philosophy in the PAEI survey

Model Summary

Model	R	R^2	Adjusted R^2	Std. error of the estimate
1	0.284	0.081	0.049	9.917

Predictors: (Constant), Years of experience, Level of education, Gender, Age group

Criterion: Humanist philosophy score

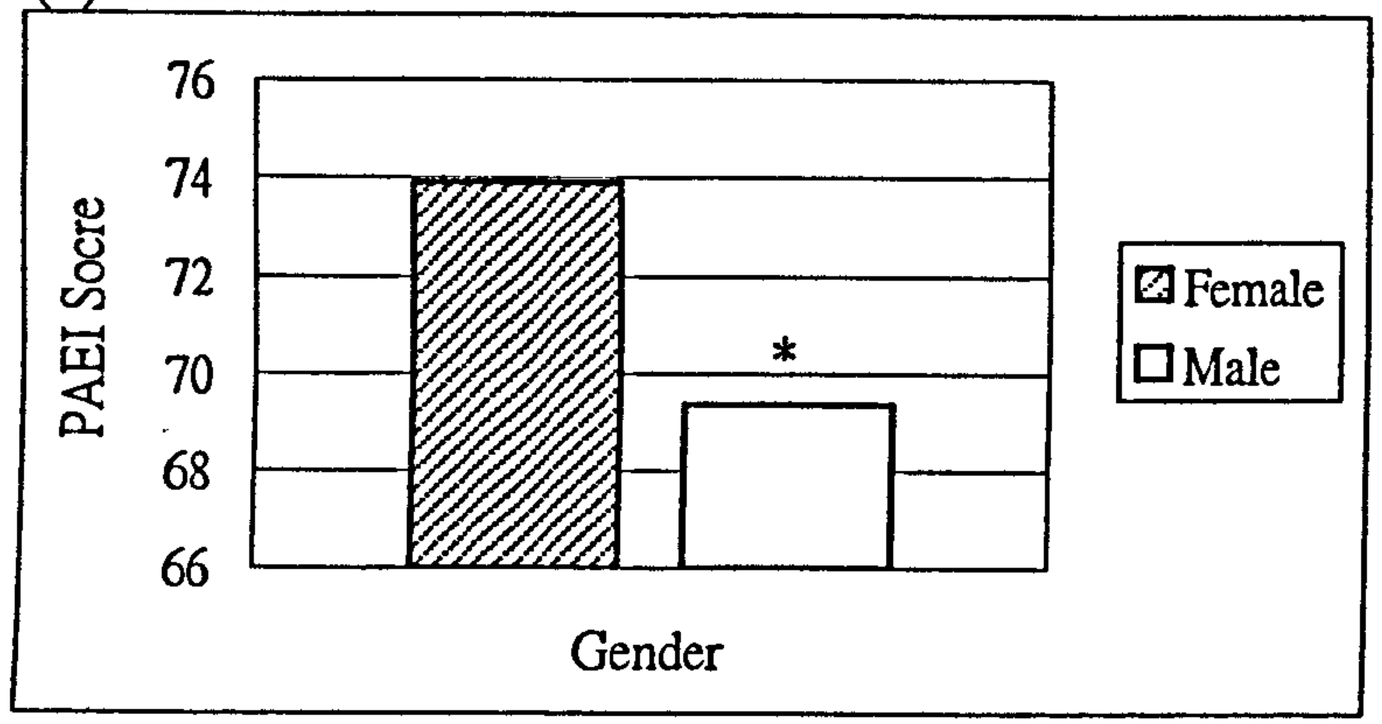
ANOVA

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Significance
1	Regression	999.179	4	249.795	2.540	0.044
	Residual	11408.507	116	98.349		
	Total	12407.686	120			

Coefficients

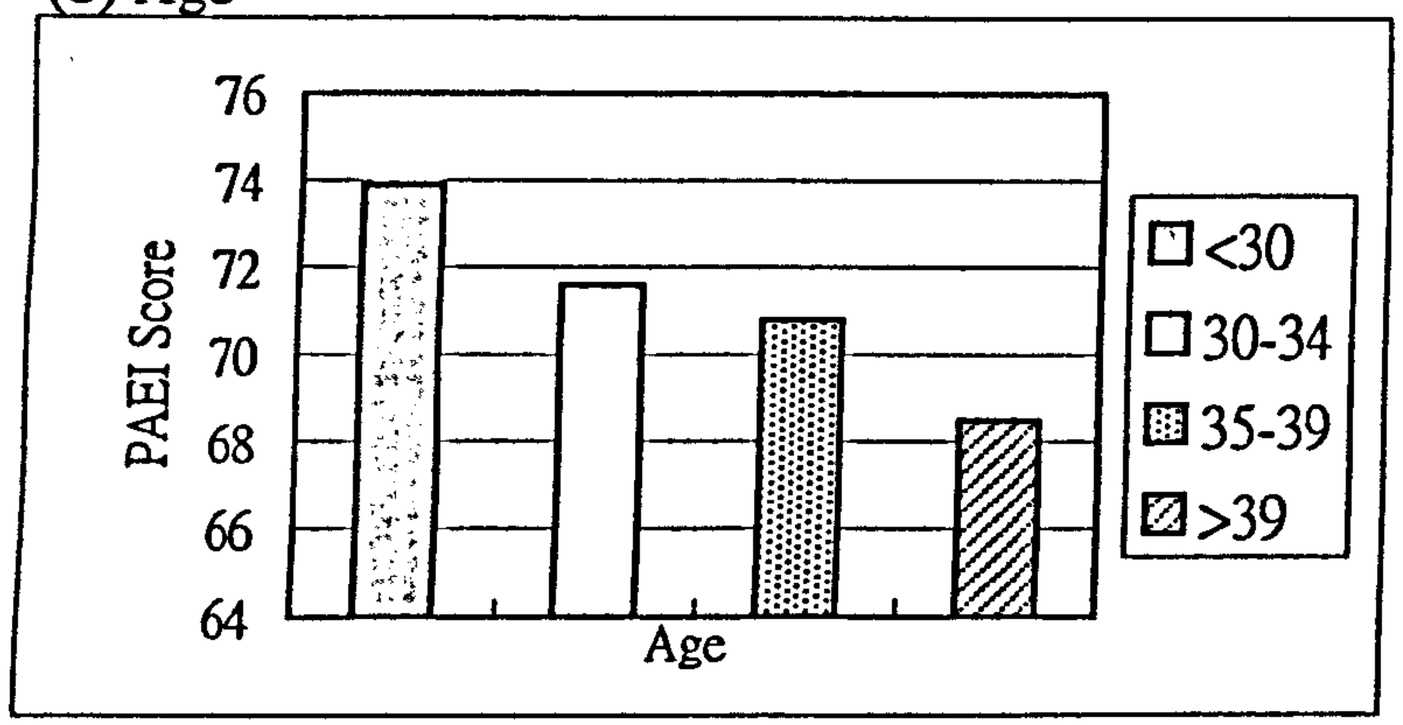
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Significance	Correlations		
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Zero-order	Partial	Part
1	(Constant)	73.586	3.268		22.518	0.000			
	Gender	-2.183	2.051	-0.107	-1.064	0.289	-0.191	-0.098	-0.095
	Age group	-1.078	0.908	-0.130	-1.187	0.238	-0.206	-0.110	-0.106
	Level of education	1.594	0.883	0.164	1.804	0.074	0.170	0.165	0.161
	Years of experience	-0.582	1.134	-0.052	-0.513	0.609	-0.103	-0.048	-0.046

(a) Gender



ANOVA F = 6.256, d.f = 1,127, * P< 0.05

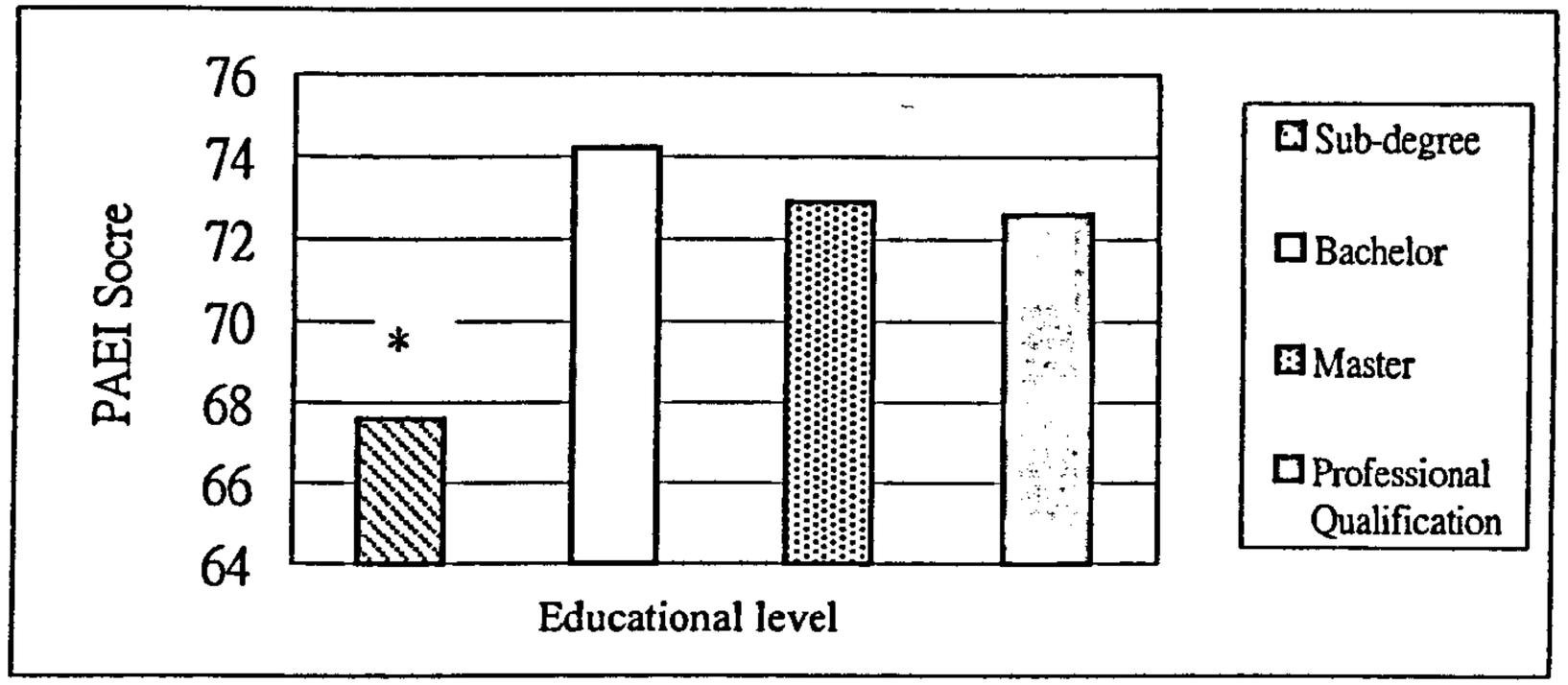
(b) Age



ANOVA F=1.767, d.f. = 3,122, P=0.16

linear contrast *P<0.05, there is a decreasing trend in humanist score with increase of age

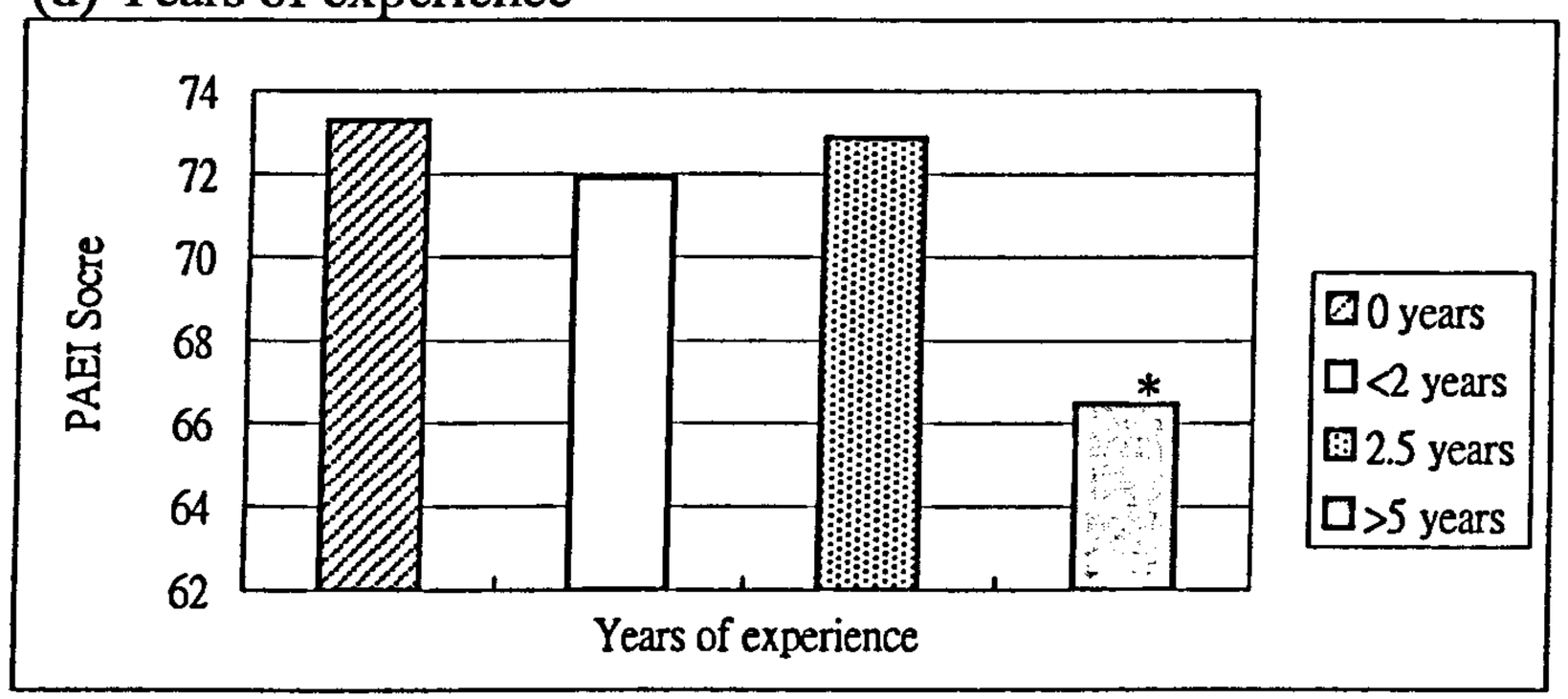
(c) Education level



ANOVA F=3.458, d.f. = 3,120, P<0.05

linear contrast *P <0.01, subdegree different from other groups combined

(d) Years of experience



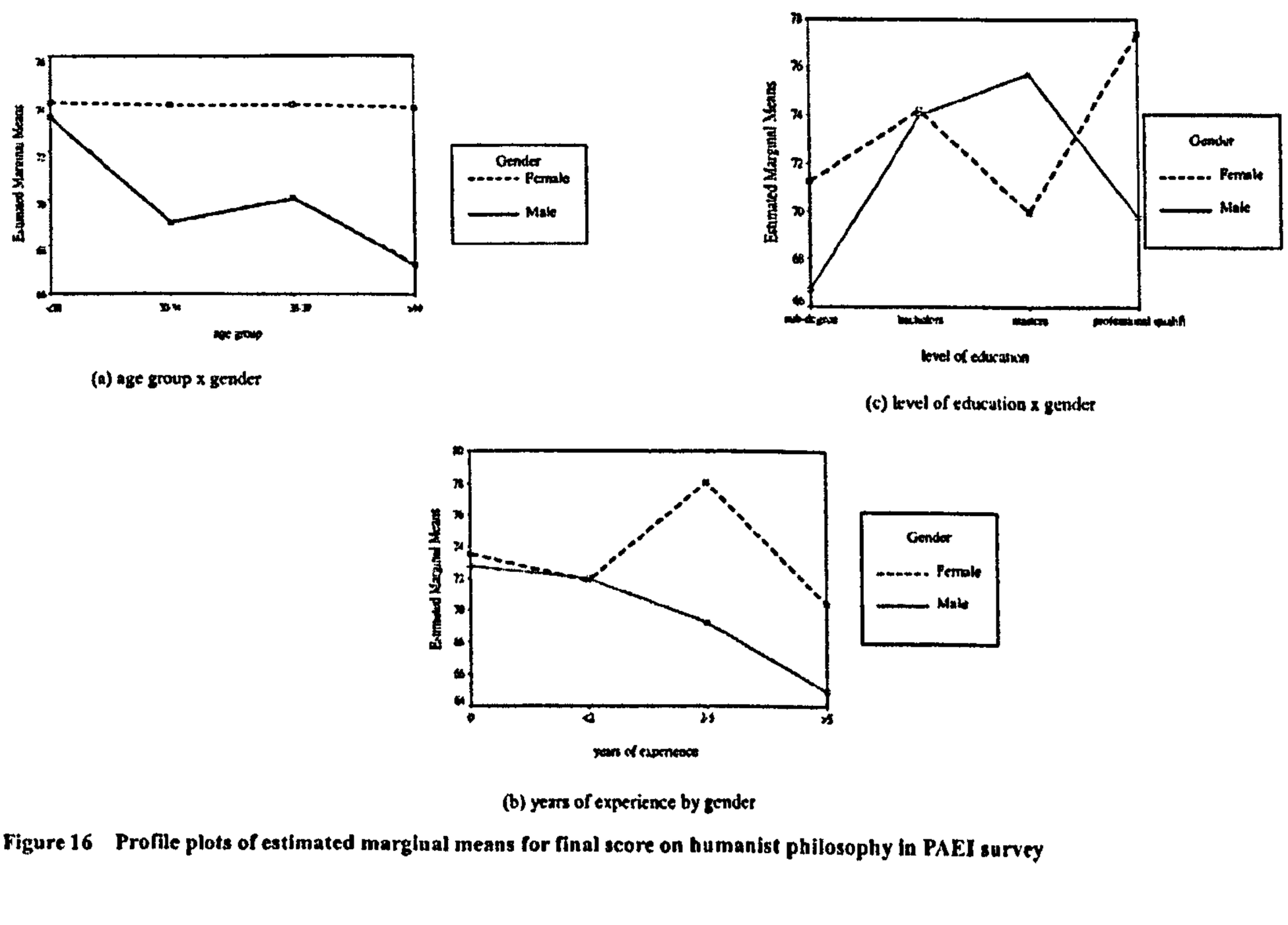
ANOVA F=2.329, d.f. = 3,125, P=0.08

linear contrast *P<0.05, >5 years of experience different from other groups combined

Figure 15 Differences in scores on humanist philosophy across gender, age, education level and years of working experience in the PAEI survey

experience, a significant difference was found between >5 years experience and the other groups (ANOVA F (3, 125) = 2.329, p=0.08; but linear contrast of >5 years experience with the other groups combined p<0.05).

Possible interactions of the predictor variables in determining the variance in humanist philosophy were explored using general linear model (GLM). Profile plots of interactions between two variables at a time were generated and revealed some interesting findings worthy of further study in the future. For example, a decrease in humanist philosophy scores with increase in age and years of experience was only observed in the male group while the female group was relatively stable (Figure 16).



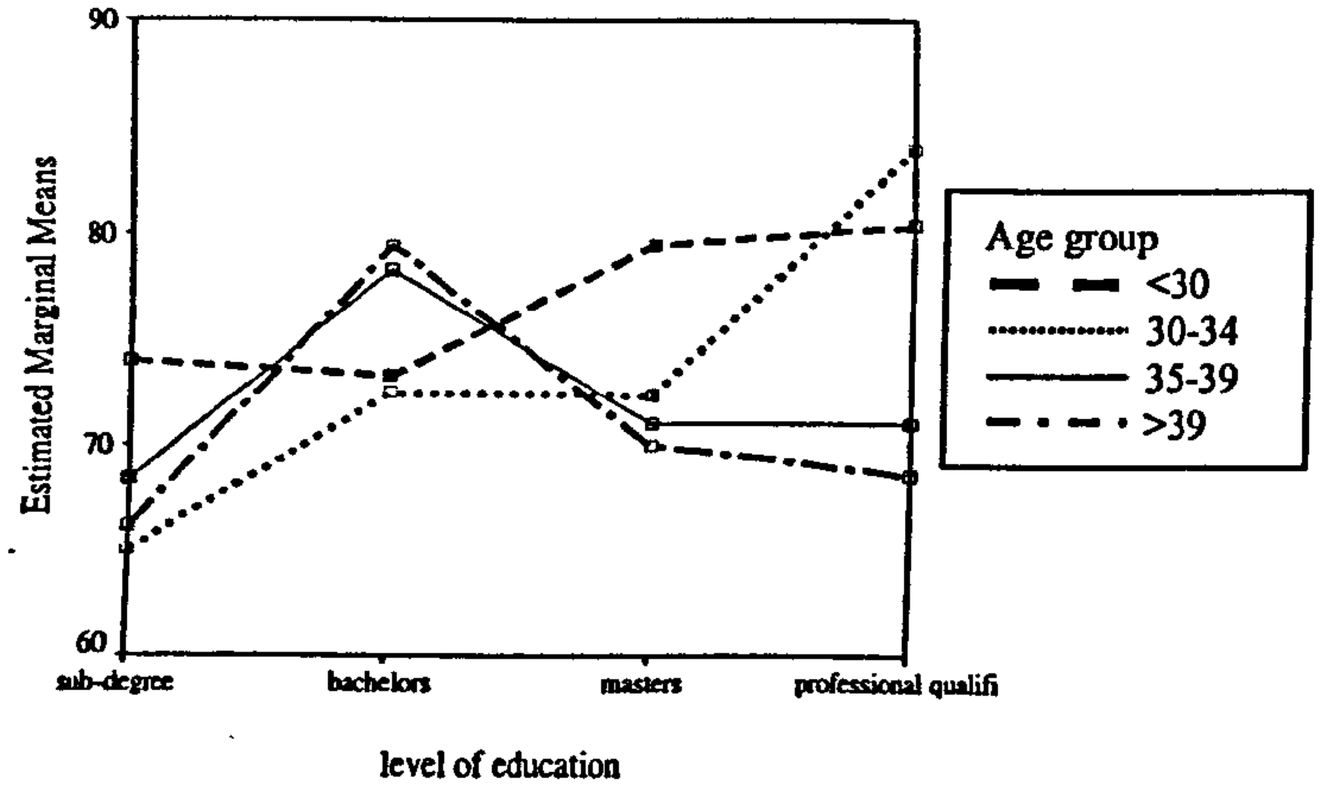
(a) age group x gender

(c) level of education x gender

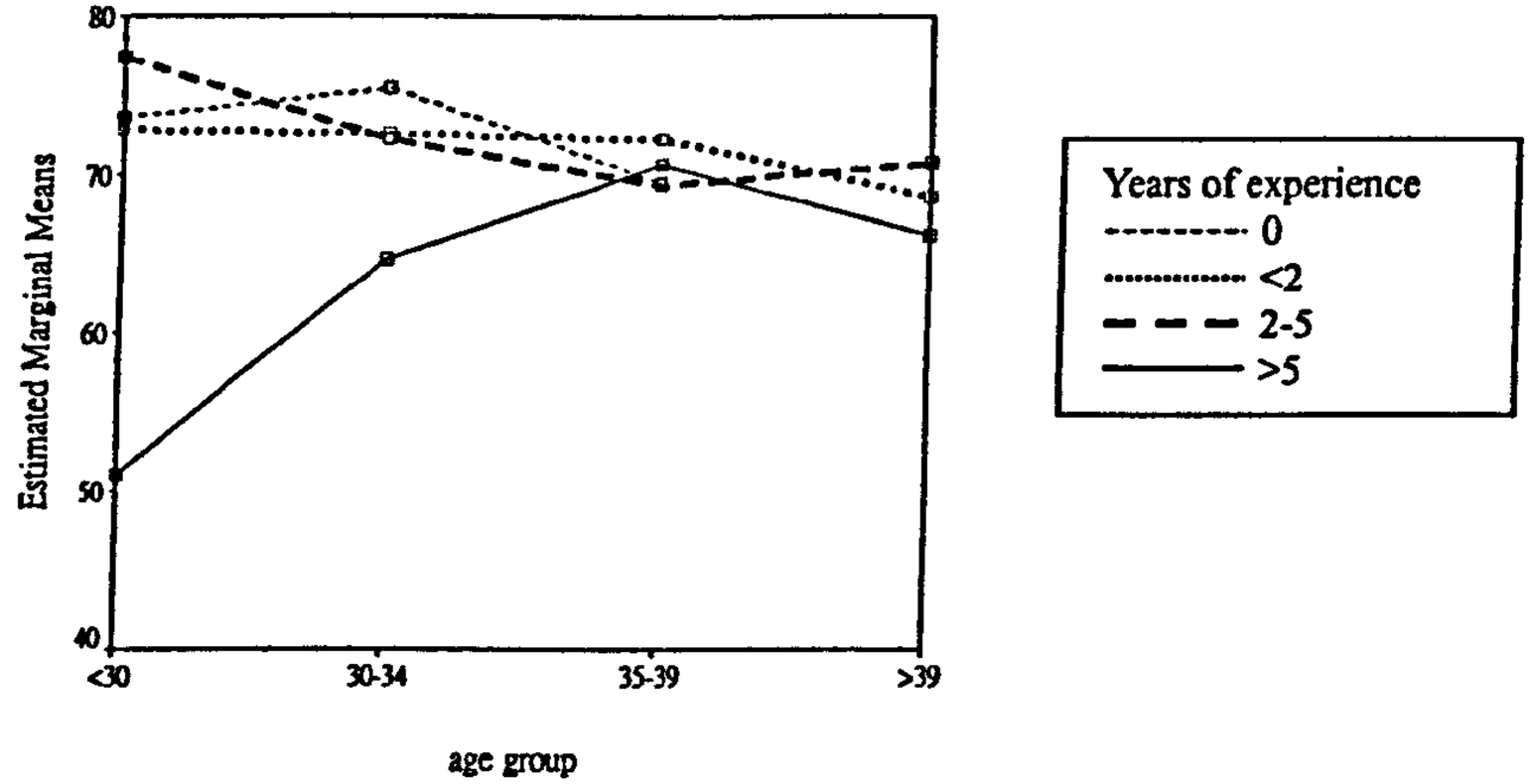
(b) years of experience by gender

Figure 16 Profile plots of estimated marginal means for final score on humanist philosophy in PAEI survey

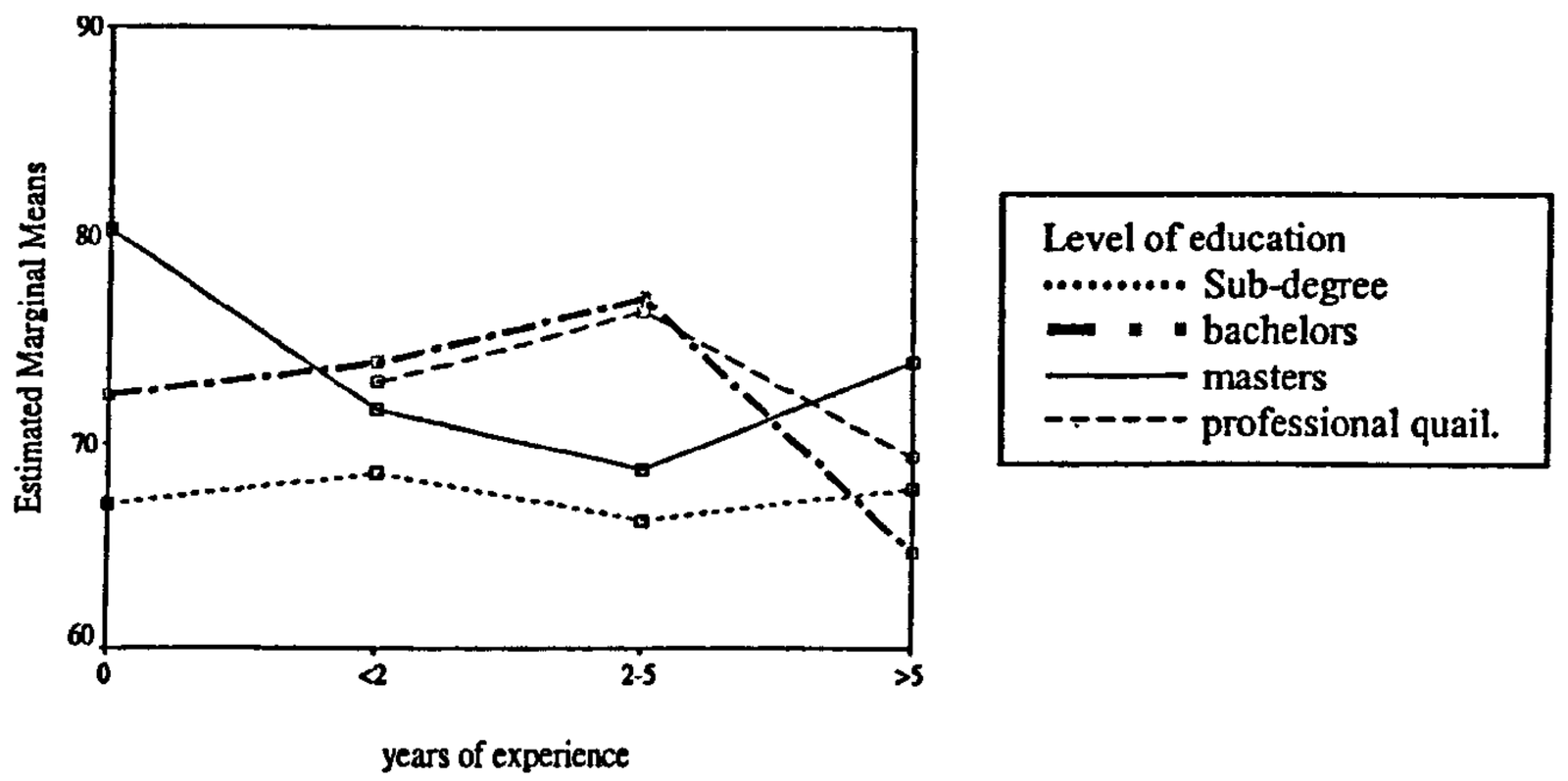
Most interestingly, when years of experience were viewed across a profile of age groups, the humanist philosophy was shown to be lowest in the youngest age group (<30 years of age) that also had the longest working experience (>5 years of experience) (Figure 17).



(a) level of education x age group



(b) age group by years of experience



(c) years of experience x level of education

Figure 17 Profile plots of estimated marginal means for final score on humanist philosophy in PAEI survey (cont'd)

Validity and reliability of survey instrument

The underlying constructs of the PAEI as revealed through responses collected from respondents in this study were studied by factor analysis. Results showed that two components could be extracted and these were aggregated as dimensions of 'liberal-behaviorist-progressive' and 'progressive-humanist-radical'. There were significant correlations among the five philosophies except for the humanist-liberal pair. As a result, Cronbach's alpha was recorded at a high of 0.8066 assuming a unidimentional measurement for the whole instrument (Figure 18).

Values on policy of lifelong learning survey

Descriptive statistics of study subjects

Mail survey with one recall had yielded a response rate of 22.3% (N=73 out of 328 targeted respondents; total return of 76 questionnaires contained 3 invalid ones). There were more males than females (55% vs. 45%) among the respondents and the majority of them were between 30 to 49 years of age (74%) with greater than 6 years of working experience in the AE and CE fields (65%). In terms of program activity, the majority was in CE (45%) followed by mixed activity (26%). Most of the respondents were employed in the university CE sector (60%) and another 16% came from the OUHK. Private providers made up a mere 10% of the respondents. The disciplines/subject areas that respondents reported to be in charge of were mainly business-related subjects, IT and languages. The majority of respondents reported themselves to be engaged in program planning/development and administration (51%). In terms of the source of respondents, the following three institutions had provided the most: HKU-SPACE, OUHK, and OUHK-LiPACE) (Figure 19).

Communalities

	Initial	Extraction
Final score liberal	1	0.858
Final score behaviorist	1	0.864
Final score progressive	1	0.749
Final score humanist	1	0.715
Final score radical	1	0.713

Total Variance Explained

	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	2.889	57.789	57.789	2.889	57.789	57.789	2.127	42.540	42.540
2	1.011	20.212	78.001	1.011	20.212	78.001	1.773	35.461	78.001
3	0.532	10.638	88.639						
4	0.361	7.219	95.857						
5	0.207	4.143	100						

Rotated Component Matrix

	Component	
	1	2
Final score liberal	**0.926**	
Final score behaviorist	**0.878**	0.304
Final score progressive	**0.669**	**0.549**
Final score humanist		**0.834**
Final score radical		**0.826**

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization
Rotation converged in 3 iterations.

Correlations

	Liberal	Behaviorist	Progressive	Humanist	Radical
Liberal					
Behaviorist	0.736**				
Progressive	0.529**	0.700**			
Humanist	0.110	0.399**	0.462**		
Radical	0.238**	0.373**	0.519**	0.475**	

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2 tailed)

Cronbach's alpha = 0.8066

Figure 18 Factor analysis and correlations for items in the PAEI survey

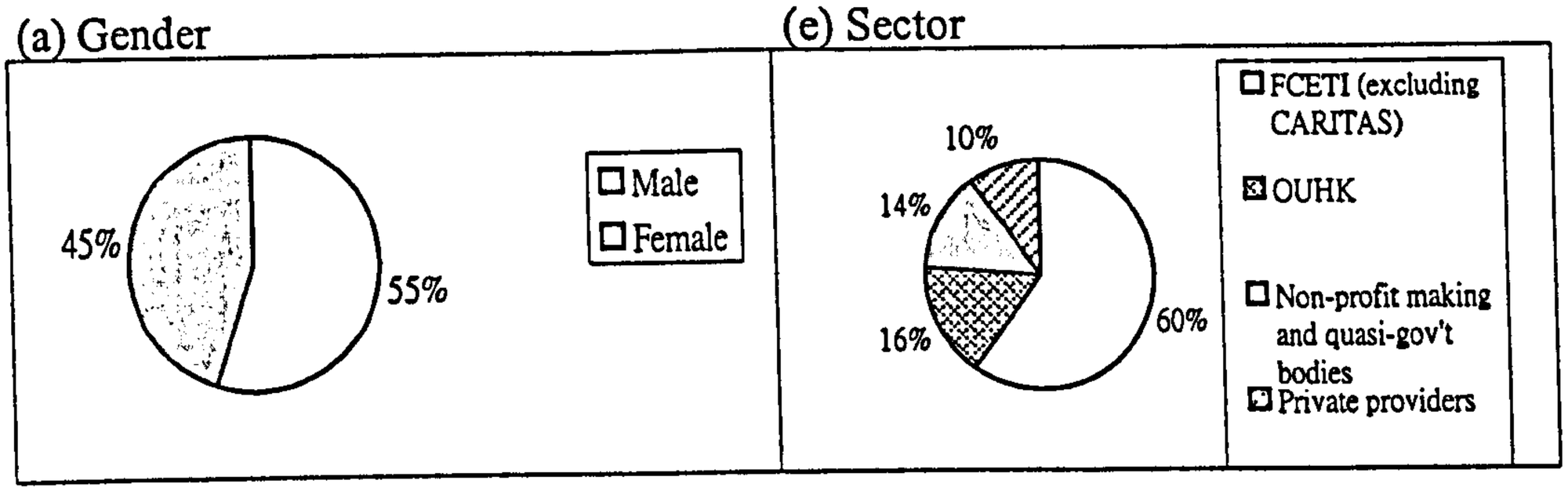


Figure 19 Characteristics of respondents to the value on policy of lifelong learning survey

From respondents' background variables (also called predictor variables), the modes indicated dominant group within each variables to be: male for gender; 30-39 years for age; 6-10 years for years of experience; CE for program activity engaged in; FCETI for sector employed in; accounting/business/management for disciplines/subject areas responsible for; and program development/planning and administration for main duties. The discussions that follow in Chapter V will be based on the peculiarities of the respondents' characteristics reported here (Table 11).

Value scores of practitioners and variations in value preferences

The value preferences of practitioners can be reported in two ways: an aggregate value score for each of the four values summed up across policy domains; and an individual value score for each value in specific policy domains (a total of 16 scores). For the aggregate value scores, the order of preferences of values was: quality (6.96) >equity (-0.99) > choice (-2.34) > efficiency (-3.43). Since the validity of summing values across policy domains is questionable, the aggregate score can only be taken as a rough measure of the most preferred value across most of the policy domains.

For individual value scores, consistent positive scores had been shown for quality in three policy domains which also recorded the highest positive score (3.60) for quality in curriculum/teaching and learning/assessment policy domain. Consistent negative scores were recorded for choice in all the four policy domains. The only negative score for quality and the only positive score for efficiency were recorded in the finance policy domain. Thus, the efficiency value was essentially negative overall and it also recorded the highest negative value score (-3.40). As explained in Chapter III, the efficiency value scores referred to the learner-centered form of efficiency. Equity value was characterized by positive preferences in two

Table 11 Description of predictor variables for the 'values on policy of lifelong learning survey'

Predictor	Categories	Mean (Mode)
Gender	1 =Male 2 =Female	1.45 (1)
Age	1 = <30 2 = 30-39 3 = 40-49 4 = 50-59	2.51 (2)
Years of experience in adult, continuing, further and professional education	1 = <2 2 = 2-5 3 = 6-10 4 = >10	2.81 (3)
Program activity	1 = Adult education 2 = Continuing education 3 = Further education 4 = Professional education 5 = Mixed program activity	2.86 (2)
Sector	1 = FCETI 2 = OUHK 3 = Non-profit making gov't / quasi-gov't 4 = Private	1.73 (1)
Discipline / subject areas	1 = Accounting / business / mgt 2 = IT / computing 3 = Language 4 = Education 5 = Law 6 = Medical, nursing and health 7 = Engineering 8 = Social science 9 = Science 10 = Arts and humanities 11 = Vocational and semi-skilled 12 = More than 1 discipline 13 = Others	(1)
Duties	1 = Program development, planning and administration 2 = Curriculum planning, development of teaching materials, teaching & assessment 3 = Unit management 4 = Mixed duties	2.81 (1)

policy domains with two other preferences rated as negative. The difference in response can be differentiated by the nature of issues (whether related to CE or not) (Figure 20).

The variations in value scores across policy domains were also analyzed for statistical significance using non-parametric ANOVA (Kruskal Wallis test). For the program domain, quality was the most preferred value ($\chi^2 = 47.3$, d.f. = 3, $p<0.001$). For both the organization/governance and curriculum/teaching and learning/assessment policy domains, quality also emerged as the most preferred value ($\chi^2= 37.2$, d.f. = 3, $p<0.001$; $\chi^2 = 41.0$, d.f. = 3, $p<0.001$). For finance policy domain, efficiency was the most preferred value ($\chi^2 = 94.4$, d.f. = 3, $p<0.001$) (Figure 21).

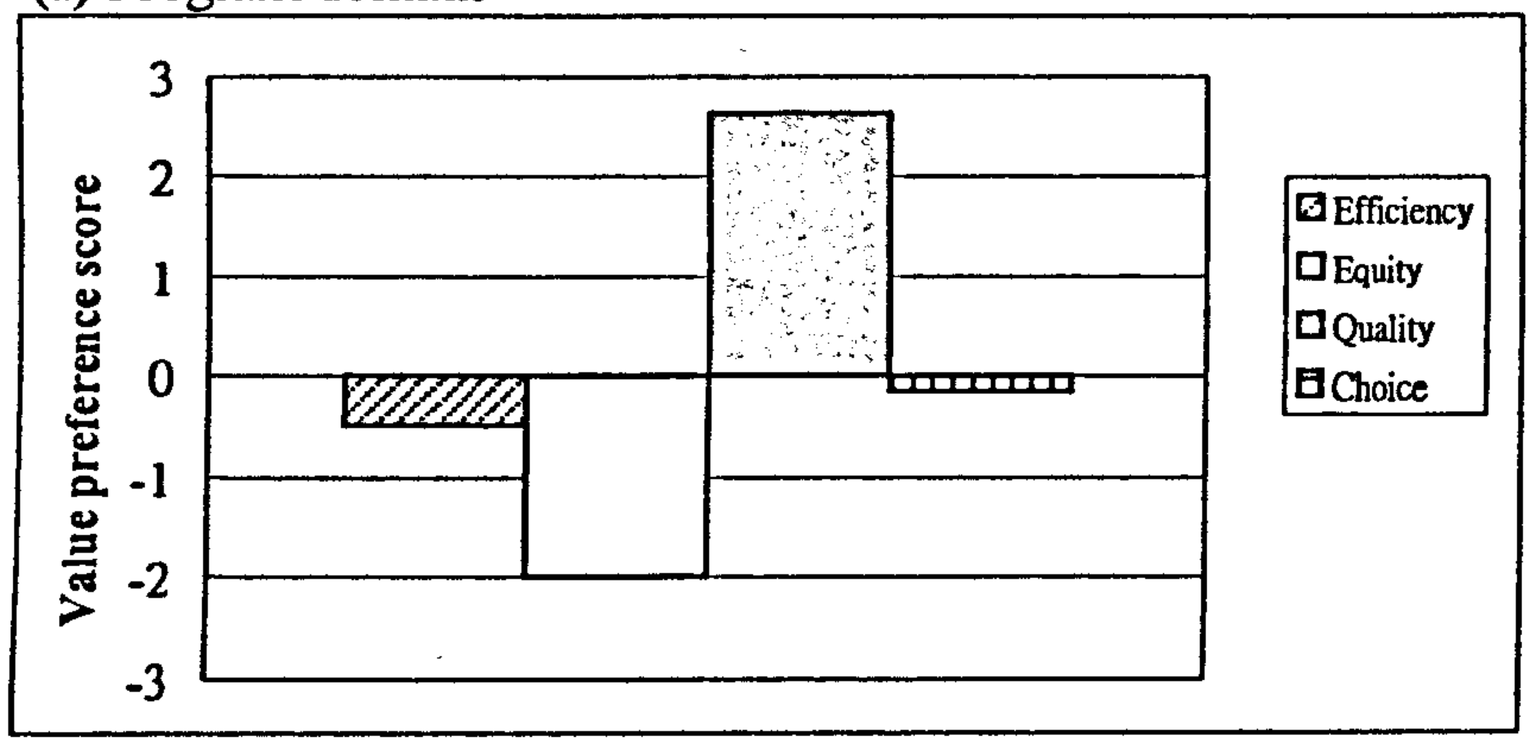
Multiple linear regression analysis of value dimensions in specific policy domains

The multiple correlation of linear combinations of the predictor variables (gender, age, years of experience, program activity, sector, discipline/subject area, duties) and the criterion variables (value dimensions) yielded the following multiple correlation coefficients and coefficients of determination. For 'organization-equity', R=0.467, and R^2=0.218; for 'organization-quality', R=0.449, and R^2=0.201; for 'organization-choice', R=0.448, and R^2=0.201. The said multiple correlation coefficients of determination were all significant ($p<0.05$) which meant that ca. 20% of the variance in the three mentioned value dimensions could be accounted for by its linear relationship with the predictor variables. The relative importance of the predictors could be assessed by their standardized weights (Beta) where 'sector employed in' appeared to be the most important predictor variable for 'organization-equity' (p=0.096) and 'organization-quality ($p<0.01$); while program activity, sector, duties and discipline/subject areas were all strong predictors of 'organization choice' (Tables 12-14).

Value dimensions	Policy domains				Sum of values across domains
	Program	Curriculum, teaching & learning, and assessment	Finance	Organization and governance	
Quality	Benchmarking programs to ensure recognition and fitness for purpose **[2.64]**	Ensuring learning is useful, teaching is effective and proper support to learners is available **[3.60]**	Allocating resources according to merit-based approach **[-1.92]**	Building a quality culture **[2.64]**	**6.96**
Equity	Providing programs for marginalized and disadvantaged groups **[-2.00]**	Attending to special needs of particular groups of learners (eg. language, learning style, ability, etc.); giving emphasis to social relevance of knowledge apart from its technical/applied usages **[0.86]**	Providing discriminatory funding for courses with identified need for public investment amidst self-financing imperative **[0.44]**	Endeavoring wider representation in policy making process, non-discriminatory regulation of providers and collaborative partnership between local and overseas institutions **[-0.29]**	**-0.99**
Efficiency	Achieving flexibility in admission and mode of delivery of programs **[-0.49]**	Introducing appropriate use of IT and adapting appropriate teaching and learning strategies **[-3.40]**	Ensuring program operation is cost effective and financially accountable **[1.92]**	Establishing framework for policy consultation, coordination and regulation of adult, continuing, further and professional education **[-1.46]**	**-3.43**
Choice	Enhancing diversity of program offerings **[-0.15]**	Recruiting subject expertise widely from as many sources of acknowledged authority, local and international **[-0.89]**	Operating programs under mixed funding models **[-0.44]**	Facilitating information availability to guide learner's choice of programs **[-0.86]**	**-2.34**

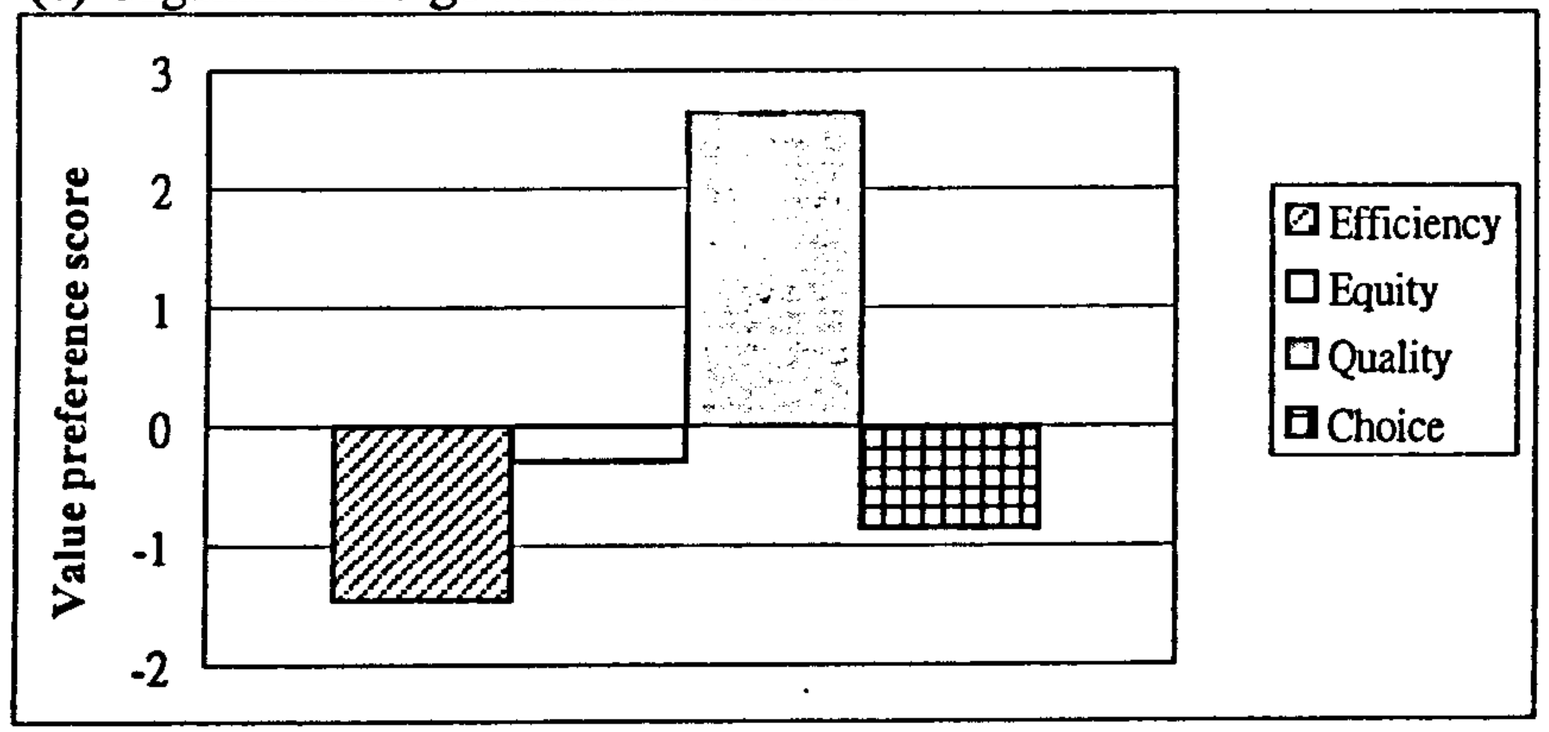
Figure 20 Value preferences on policy of lifelong learning

(a) Program domain



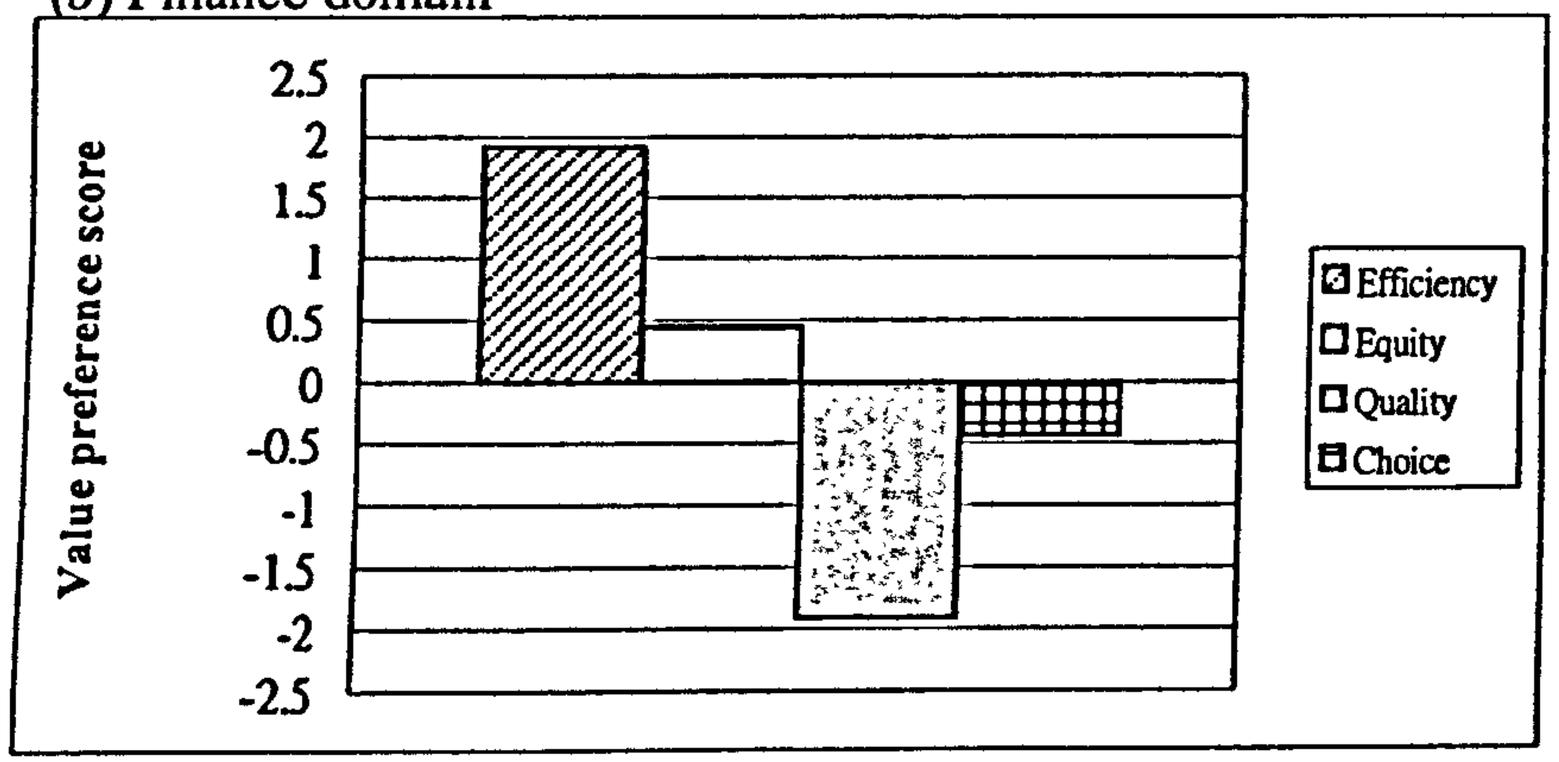
Kruskal Wallis test $\chi 2 = 47.3$, d.f. =3, $P < 0.001$

(c) Organization / governance domain



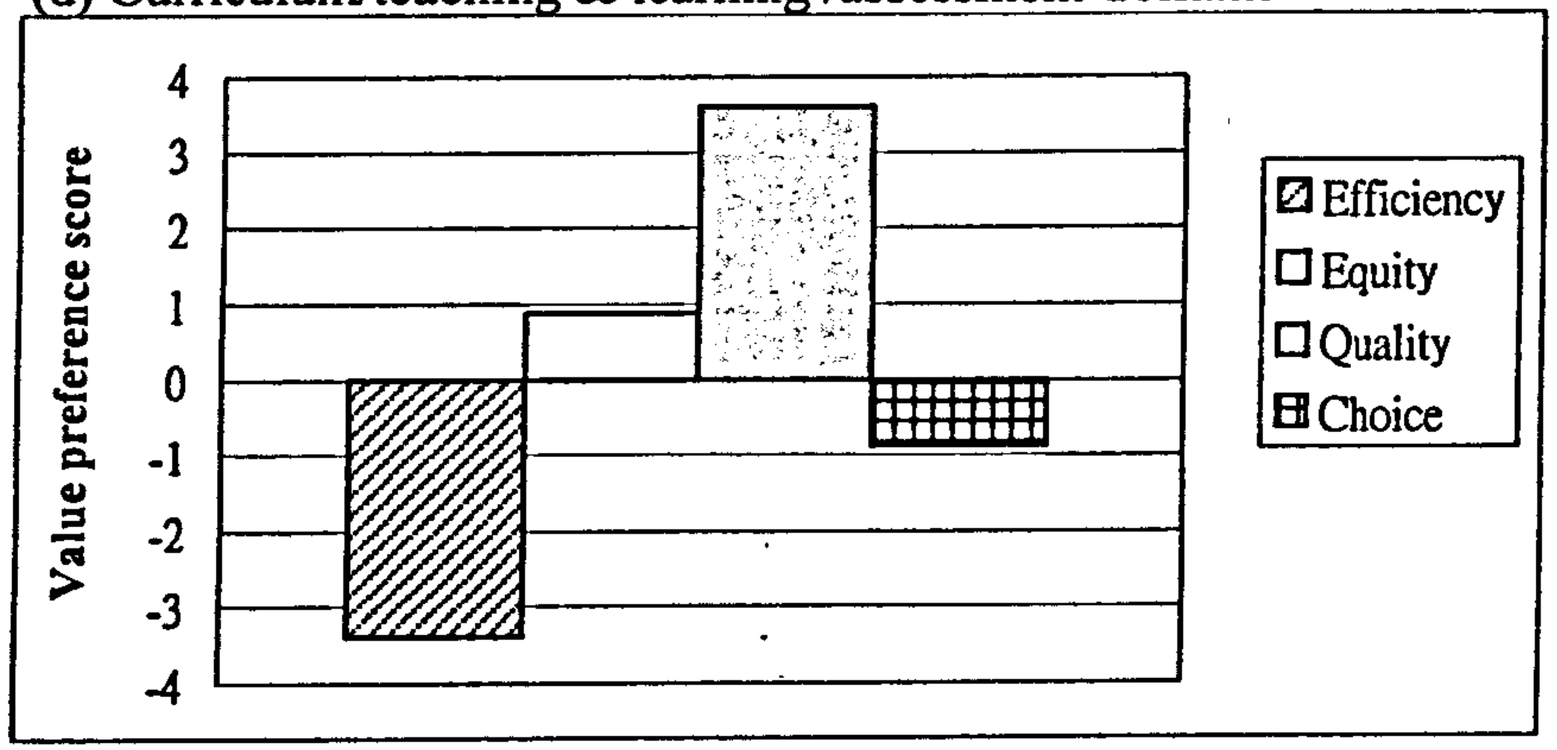
Kruskal Wallis test $\chi 2 = 41.0$, d.f. = 3, $P < 0.001$

(b) Finance domain



Kruskal Wallis test $\chi 2 = 37.2$, d.f.=3, $P < 0.001$

(d) Curriculum/teaching & learning /assessment domain



Kruskal Wallis test $\chi 2 = 94.4$, d.f.= 3, $P < 0.001$

Figure 21 Variations in value preferences across the four policy domains

Table 12 The results of the multiple linear regression analysis on 'organization-equity' value dimension

Model Summary

Model	R	R^2	Adjusted R^2	Std. error of the estimate
1	0.467	0.218	0.132	2.956

Predictors: (Constant), Years of experience, Discipline/subject, Sector, Sex of respondent, Program activity, Age of respondent

Criterion: Organization-Equity

ANOVA

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Significance
1	Regression	155.664	7	22.238	2.545	0.022
	Residual	559.211	64	8.738		
	Total	714.875	71			

Coefficients

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Significance	Correlations		
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Zero-order	Partial	Part
1	(Constant)	-2.670	2.084		-1.281	0.205			
	Sex of respondent	0.645	0.792	0.102	0.814	0.418	0.182	0.101	0.090
	Age of respondent	-0.609	0.545	-0.170	-1.118	0.268	-0.132	-0.138	-0.124
	Years of experience	-0.004	0.473	-0.013	-0.090	0.929	-0.100	-0.011	-0.010
	Program activity	0.355	0.276	0.161	1.286	0.203	0.208	0.159	0.142
	Sector	0.624	0.369	0.203	1.690	0.096	0.169	0.207	0.187
	Discipline/subject	-0.005	0.088	-0.062	-0.532	0.596	-0.044	-0.066	-0.059
	Duties	0.452	0.202	0.287	2.234	0.029	0.365	0.269	0.247

Table 13 The results of the multiple linear regression analysis on 'organization-quality' value dimension

Model Summary

Model	R	R^2	Adjusted R^2	Std. error of the estimate
1	0.449	0.201	0.114	3.941

Predictors: (Constant), Years of experience, Discipline/subject, Sector, Sex of respondent, Program activity, Age of respondent

Criterion: Organization-Quality

ANOVA

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Significance
1	Regression	250.574	7	35.796	2.305	0.037
	Residual	994.037	64	15.532		
	Total	1244.611	71			

Coefficients

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Significance	Correlations		
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Zero-order	Partial	Part
1	(Constant)	2.432	2.779		0.875	0.385			
	Sex of respondent	1.030	1.056	0.123	0.975	0.333	0.134	0.121	0.109
	Age of respondent	0.477	0.726	0.101	0.657	0.513	0.076	0.082	0.073
	Years of experience	0.268	0.630	0.063	0.425	0.672	0.016	0.053	0.047
	Program activity	-0.382	0.368	-0.132	-1.039	0.303	-0.089	-0.129	-0.116
	Sector	-1.641	0.492	-0.405	-3.334	0.001	-0.367	-0.385	-0.372
	Discipline/subject	0.158	0.118	0.157	1.341	0.185	0.074	0.165	0.150
	Duties	-0.010	0.270	-0.47	-0.364	0.717	-0.084	-0.045	-0.041

Table 14 The results of the multiple linear regression analysis on 'organization-choice' value dimension

Model Summary

Model	R	R^2	Adjusted R^2	Std. error of the estimate
1	0.448	0.201	0.113	3.724

Predictors: (Constant), Years of Experience, Discipline/subject, Sector, Sex of respondent, Program activity, Age of respondent

Criterion: Organization-Choice

ANOVA

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Significance
1	Regression	222.839	7	31.834	2.295	0.038
	Residual	887.772	64	13.871		
	Total	1110.611	71			

Coefficients

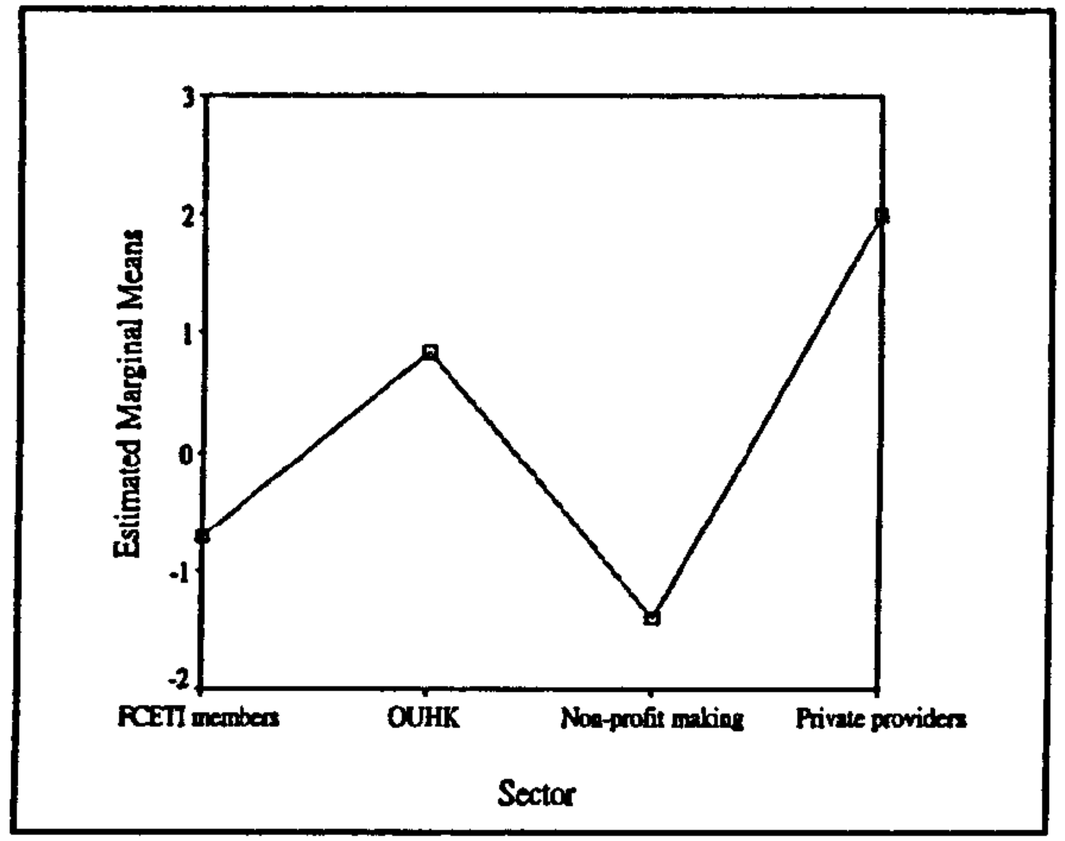
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Significance	Correlations		
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Zero-order	Partial	Part
1	(Constant)	1.685	2.626		0.642	0.523			
	Sex of respondent	-0.222	0.998	-0.028	-0.222	0.825	-0.096	-0.028	-0.025
	Age of respondent	0.227	0.686	0.051	0.330	0.742	-0.096	0.041	0.037
	Years of experience	-0.854	0.596	-0.214	-1.433	0.157	-0.140	-0.176	-0.160
	Program activity	0.613	0.347	0.224	1.765	0.082	0.053	0.215	0.197
	Sector	0.790	0.465	0.207	1.698	0.094	0.071	0.208	0.190
	Discipline/subject	-0.251	0.111	-0.264	-2.255	0.028	-0.219	-0.271	-0.252
	Duties	-0.696	0.255	-0.354	-2.729	0.008	-0.250	-0.323	-0.305

Profile plots of value dimensions in specific policy domains

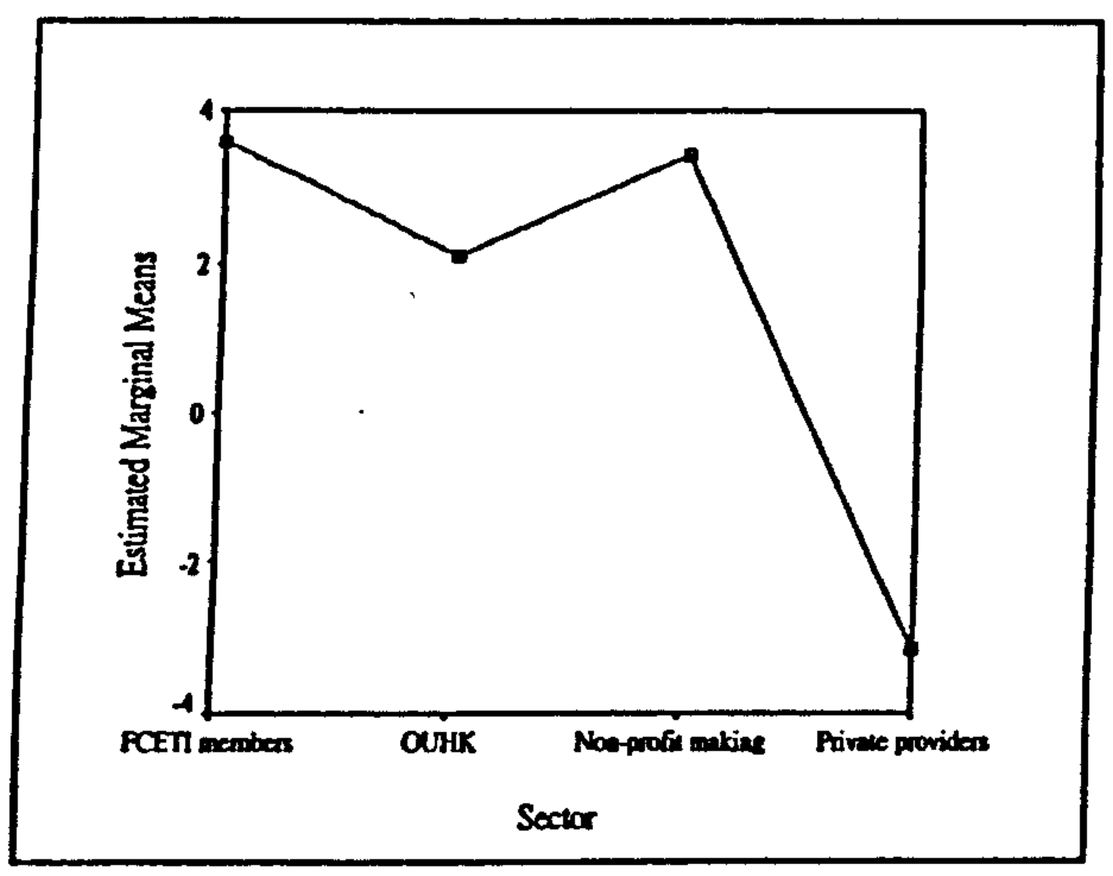
Based on the significance of predicting the above-named value dimensions from the predictor variables, it was deemed appropriate to investigate the variations of value preference score within the predictor that had the strongest Beta weight (Figure 22). For 'organization-equity', only OUHK and private providers had recorded a positive preference score in this value dimension and the result was near statistical significance (ANOVA F (3, 72) = 2.545, p=0.06). For 'organization-quality', only the private providers had reported a negative preference score (ANOVA F (3, 68) = 6.574, p<0.001) while the rest (FCETI, OUHK, non-profit-making institutions) all showed positive preference scores. In the 'organization-choice' value dimension, further education (postsecondary AD and Higher Diploma programs) demonstrated a strong positive preference (ANOVA F (4, 72) = 4.265, p<0.01) followed by professional education (CPE or CPD) where the preference score was still positive but of a lower magnitude (Figure 22).

Correlations between value dimensions across policy domains

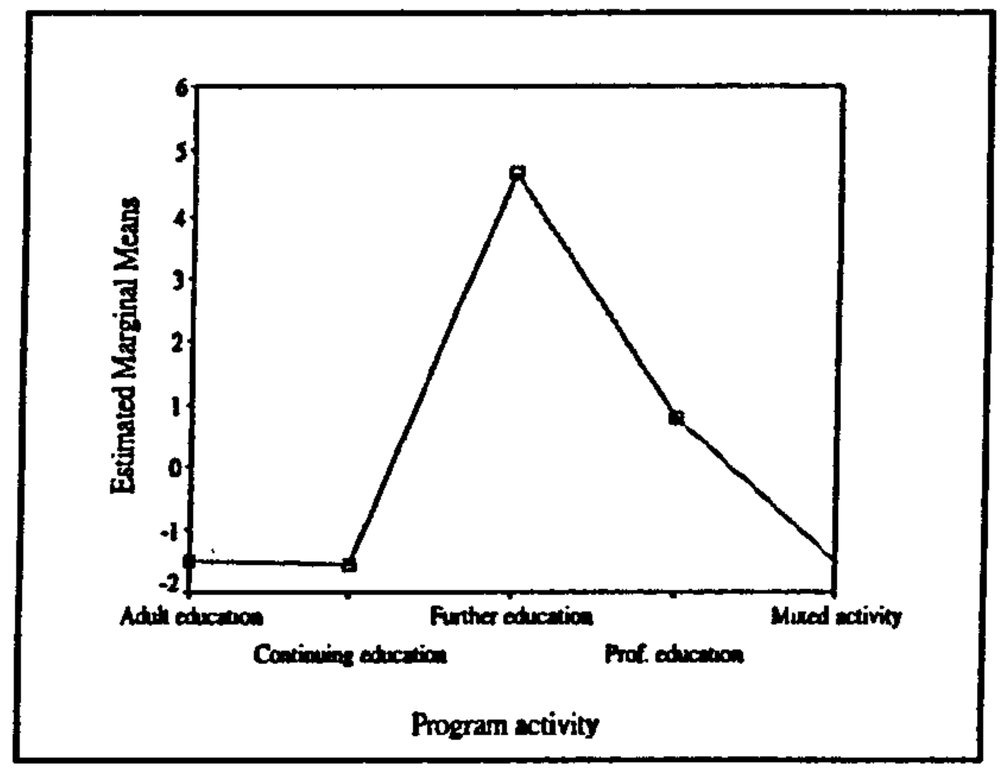
The correlations between value pairs in each of the four policy domains were analyzed by both Pearson and Spearman correlations. There was a near unanimous negative correlation between all the values pairs, except for the single positive correlation between equity and choice in the finance policy domain. Statistical significance inferred from both parametric and non-parametric correlational tests was broadly similar (Table 15).



(a) Organization – Equity
F=2.545, d.f. = 3,72, P = 0.06



(b) Organization – Quality
F=6.574, d.f. = 3,68, P ≦ 0.001



(c) Organization – Choice
F=4.265, d.f = 4,72, P < 0.01

Figure 22 Profile plots of estimated marginal means for value dimensions by policy domains in the policy on lifelong learning survey

(a) Pearson correlation

Value Pairs	Program	Finance	Organization/Governance	Curriculum / T&L/Assessment
Efficiency * Equity	-0.248*	-0.685**	-0.210	-0.184
Efficiency * Quality	-0.353**	-0.012	-0.389**	-0.326**
Efficiency * Choice	-0.229	-0.549**	-0.409**	-0.422**
Equity * Quality	-0.391**	-0.480**	-0.360**	-0.254*
Equity * Choice	-0.481**	0.316**	-0.219	-0.439**
Quality * Choice	-0.280**	-0.556**	-0.386**	-0.282*

(b) Spearman correlation

Value Pairs	Program	Finance	Organization/Governance	Curriculum / T&L/Assessment
Efficiency * Equity	-0.210	-0.692**	-0.186	-0.108
Efficiency * Quality	-0.323**	0.032	-0.415**	-0.268*
Efficiency * Choice	-0.276*	-0.532**	-0.424**	-0.487**
Equity * Quality	-0.352**	-0.524**	-0.314**	-0.253*
Equity * Choice	-0.480**	0.328**	-0.236*	-0.376**
Quality * Choice	-0.230	-0.505**	-0.324**	-0.285*

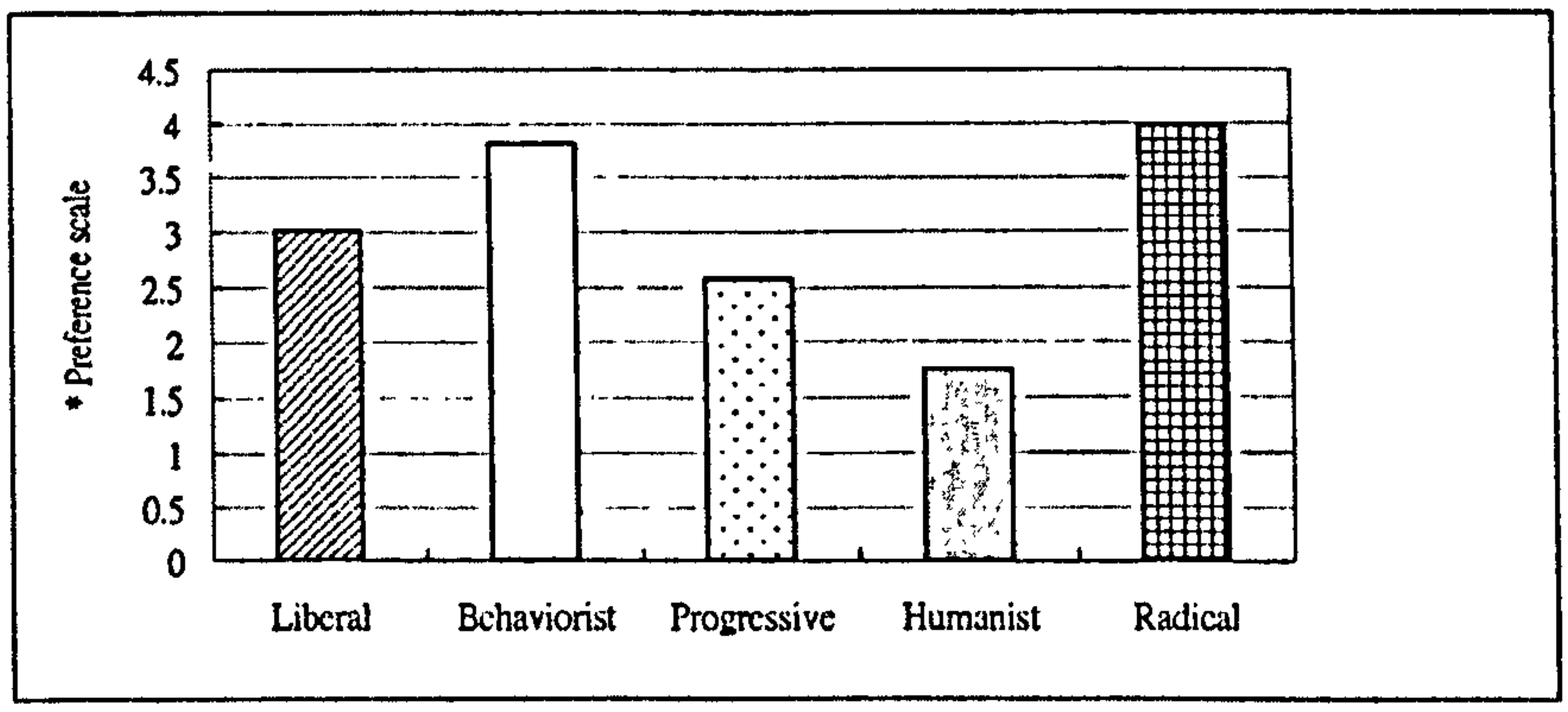
** correlation is significant at 0.01 level (2-tail)

* correlation is significant at 0.05 level (2-tail)

Table 15 Correlations between value dimensions across the four policy domains

Philosophical orientations of respondents

The preferences for philosophy of AE by self-reported ordered ranking of the five philosophies yielded a profile as follows: humanist > progressive > liberal > behaviorist > radical. There was significant difference in the pattern of preferences shown, as analyzed by non-parametric ANOVA (Kruskal-Wallis test χ^2= 100.1, d.f. = 4, p <0.001) (Figure 23).



* Most preferred = 1, least preferred = 5

Kruskal Wallis test χ^2 = 100.1, d.f. 4, P<0.001

There is significant differences in respondents' preference for each of the philosophies

Figure 23 Philosophical orientations of respondents in the values on policy of lifelong learning survey

Factor analysis of survey instrument

The validity of the constructs underlying the 'values on policy of lifelong learning survey' was studied by factor analysis. The apriori assumption of four constructs corresponding to the four policy domains has led to the choice for four factors to be extracted and rotated. If the extraction and rotation were to be based on an initial Eigenvalues of 1 or on the Scree plot of the eigenvalues, 12 or 8 factors, respectively, would have to be rotated. The findings also suggested that 52.953% of the variance in the 16 value dimensions could be accounted for by the four components combined. By looking at factor loadings (correlations between each

variable and the rotated factors) in the rotated component (factor) matrix, it appeared that the first factor seemed to correspond well with the finance policy domain; and the third factor corresponded with the organization/governance policy domain. There were overlaps between the second and the fourth factors which suggested that the underlying constructs of the program policy domain and curriculum/teaching and learning/assessment policy domains were not clearly discerned and would probably be better served by a common construct (Figure 24). However, changing the number of factors to be extracted and rotated to three did not facilitate the interpretability of the rotated factor solution; in which case, the original four factors were retained.

Communalities

	Initial	Extraction
Program * Efficiency	1	0.313
Program * Equity	1	0.803
Program * Quality	1	0.712
Program * Choice	1	0.663
Finance * Efficiency	1	0.520
Finance * Equity	1	0.639
Finance * Quality	1	0.482
Finance * Choice	1	0.628
Organization * Efficiency	1	0.280
Organization * Equity	1	0.280
Organization * Quality	1	0.557
Organization * Choice	1	0.526
Teaching and learning * Efficiency	1	0.477
Teaching and learning * Equity	1	0.569
Teaching and learning * Quality	1	0.327
Teaching and learning * Choice	1	0.696

Total Variance Explained

	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
Component	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	3.085	19.281	19.281	3.085	19.281	19.281	2.663	16.644	16.644
2	1.995	12.470	31.751	1.995	12.470	31.751	2.012	12.572	29.216
3	1.799	11.241	42.992	1.799	11.241	42.992	1.996	12.474	41.691
4	1.594	9.961	52.953	1.594	9.961	52.953	1.802	11.263	52.953
5	1.493	9.333	62.287						
6	1.218	7.610	69.897						
7	1.116	6.977	76.873						
8	1.062	6.638	83.511						
9	0.843	5.267	88.778						
10	0.733	4.583	93.361						
11	0.600	3.750	97.111						
12	0.430	2.686	99.798						
13	0.03	0.197	99.995						
14	0.00	0.00	100.000						
15	0.00	0.00	100.000						
16	0.00	0.00	100.000						

Rotated Component Matrix

	Component			
	1	2	3	4
Program * Efficiency	-0.278	0.234		0.418
Program * Equity	0.374	0.515	-0.631	
Program * Quality		-0.830		
Program * Choice			0.743	-0.296
Finance * Efficiency	-0.670			0.239
Finance * Equity	0.771			
Finance * Quality	-0.661			
Finance * Choice	0.761		0.220	
Organization * Efficiency	0.405		-0.216	-0.225
Organization * Equity		0.255	0.434	
Organization * Quality	-0.357		-0.612	
Organization * Choice			0.515	0.452
Teaching and learning * Efficiency				0.666
Teaching and learning * Equity		0.748		
Teaching and learning * Quality		-0.483		0.220
Teaching and learning * Choice				-0.811

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.
Rotation converged in 8 iterations.

Figure 24 Factor analysis for items in the 'values on policy of lifelong learning survey'

Chapter 5

Discussion

Practitioners' background and value orientations and preferences

To understand the outlook (beliefs and attitudes) of AE ad CE practitioners, it will be necessary to conceive of them as sharing the attributes of three distinct groups: (a) the populace; (b) the education community; and (c) service professionals. The reference to a selection of norm groups is justified as AE and CE practitioners are themselves individuals who live their lives as members of HK society, work in the field of education, and deliver a service to clients (the learners). Consequently, the values they profess are a formulation arising from their aggregate cultural experience, with influences coming from both the macro- and meso-levels. By macro-level influence, it refers to forces that permeate the various spheres of social life and which in turn bear on the practitioner's conception of practice. Macro-level influences are embedded in personal variables such as age, years of experience in AE and CE, and level of education. Age bespeaks generational differences of social-cultural experience that parallels the development of Hong Kong society. Years of experience reflects differences in views with regard to AE and CE as an educational activity or as a form of service, and the practitioners' affinity for either traditional learning institutions (universities) or newer types of learning organizations. Education level or the degree of deepening in educational experience can influence how practitioners react to alternative views and conceptions of practice that are different from their own. Meso-level influences are manifested through contextual variables which reflect the type of activity that practitioners carry out, the role expectation and sectoral/subject area differences. These variables are defined largely by organizational ethos rather than individual or societal ones. In this respect, management thinking in CE institutions is the single crucial factor in setting the organizational climate for action and hence limiting what practitioners can and should do as employees.

Turning to the personal level, adult and continuing education practitioners come from different backgrounds prior to joining this occupation. As discussed in Appendix I on demographics of practitioners, three categories of practice models can be identified: extra-mural or continuing educators, higher education academics, and omnibus learning services practitioners. The former two are bound by traditions of traditional learning institutions while the latter looks to management models of learning organizations for guidance on practice. Thus, variance of values can arise depending on which form of practice model the practitioner identifies himself/herself with. With the advent of market-led provision and the closer integration of CE activities with post-secondary and part-time higher education, the old school of extra-mural adult and continuing educators has effectively ceased to exist. What is seen to be influential now is a new form of practice model based on the managerial practice of quality monitoring in higher education and the service industry's adulated ways of responding to client needs. It would be apt to describe the hybrid work culture as both entrepreneurial (stress on client satisfaction) and managerial (stress on efficiency) rather than academic. The term used to describe this practice model is 'academic capitalism', or sometimes described pejoratively as 'jumping into the seas'. Allport (2003) defines it as practice that "involves the adoption of institutional and professional market or market-like activities in order to facilitate the earning of external monies". For the discussion of values of CE practitioners, this new form of practice model can serve as a point of departure for elaborating on the societal or organizational influences. The preference for 'quality', the neglect of other values (learner-centered dimension of 'efficiency' and 'choice') and the ambivalence toward 'equity' can be traced to this new practice model, and more distally, the social and organizational influences.

As explained earlier in Chapter III, the strength of data in this study can only support macro-level theorization from an objective study of the beliefs and attitudes of practitioners which are regarded mainly as functions of culture and institutions respectively. Of these two, the latter focuses on policy-making, and the adoption of the market model in social policy means that values are necessarily discussed in

relation to it. As no study can extrapolate beyond the limits of its subjects, attention should be paid to the characteristics of subjects in this study for: (a) highlighting the relevance of findings to certain segments of the CE practitioner population, and (b) comparing subjects in between studies to infer on the generalizability of findings.

On the first concern, the PAEI survey includes subjects who are representative of the training occupation in Hong Kong as shown by the close similarity of respondents' demographics to those surveyed by Lee and Lam (1994b). Respondents are predominantly female in their late twenties who had received undergraduate education and been working in the training field for not too long (see Table 9, p. 162). In terms of social experience, this group of respondents, who were born in the inter-years after the period of political turmoil of the late 1960s and the economic crisis of early 1970s, had directly benefited from sustained economic prosperity in the ensuing period and been the active beneficiaries of enlightened educational policies by the colonial government to expand senior secondary and higher education in 1978 and 1991, respectively. For this generation, university education whether at home or abroad is an active intergenerational mobility strategy of their parents after gaining a foothold in the middle class, mostly through the entrepreneurial route by partaking in the fruits of economic progress[1]. In terms of cultural experience, subjects are receptive to both modern and postmodern modes of cultural representation, have a clear identification with the local as part of the international (i.e. Hong Kong as an international city), and downplay tradition in favor of individualistic choice. The general spirit of openness, optimism, and freedom translates into a work ethos which is to 'work smart' rather than simply to 'work hard'. Subjects can now afford to explore the meaning of their work apart from pure economic gains, as shown by trainers in Lee and Lam (1994b)'s study who express positive views about their occupation not only in the financial sense of remuneration. Since both Apps (1973) and McKenzie (1985) contend that values are not formed in a vacuum but are reflective of the subject's experience and context of practice, it is likely that their philosophical orientations on AE are affected by

what they do and how they do it. In this regard, the major types of training activity conducted by trainers was found to be associated with skills learning (i.e. technical expertise and operations, and language) and these were done mainly through learning on the job and learning from colleagues (Lee and Lam, 1994b). As such, it could possibly account for the pre-eminence of a progressive philosophy (learning to acquire practical problem solving skills) followed by a behaviorist philosophy (learning of hands-on skills) among trainers in this study (see Figure 14, p. 164).

On the second concern of comparing subject characteristics between studies, the trainers in this study can be classified as omnibus learning services practitioners with about half of them involved in business and industry training and associated administrative functions such as human resource development (see Figure 13d, p. 161). Their gender characteristic and training functions are comparable to subjects in the study of DeCoux et al. (1992) and Spurgeon and Moore (1994) except that subject's age was higher in these two studies. Given the baseline similarities, there is therefore very good comparability of subjects in the present PAEI survey with published studies using the same instrument.

For the value on policy of lifelong learning survey, respondents come mainly from a group of established practitioners (with 6-10 years of experience or more) who are male and of the mid-career age range. Their main program activities are in CE or a mixed one with CE as a major component. Most of them are employed by university CE schools or the Open University of Hong Kong (OUHK) to handle program development, planning and administration duties (see Table 11, p. 173). Clearly, this group comprehends well the issues relating to lifelong learning policy, and is thus able and willing to respond to the survey. On the other hand, the low survey response rate (22%) (see Figure 19, p. 171) is likely to be associated with disinterest or lack of knowledge of the newcomers, who now constitute the majority group among CE practitioners. Demographic accounts of practitioners show that most of the staff in the three largest university CE schools are new, and there is considerable dilution of the proportion of original CE practitioners by newcomers

(see Appendix I, Figure 37, p. 263). The difference in the two lies in their affinity for the academic institution as the former had originally been recruited as subject-based academics while the latter (especially those who joined CE after 1998) were recruited from cognate professions and industry because of their practical experience rather than academic credentials. It is thus assumed that the specific group of respondents in this study would tend to view themselves as higher education academics or continuing educators while non-respondents (mainly newcomers) would regard themselves as omnibus learning services practitioners. The effect of this is that although the study was originally set out to encompass all types of practitioners, the limitation imposed by subject responses returned would allow findings to be generalized only to CE practitioners who see their work in the context of part-time higher education that operates within a self-financing model. Within this context, the term academic capitalism is relevant and value preferences toward the policy of lifelong learning can be understood as reflecting their attitude on change in this sector.

Borrowing from Shain and Gleeson (1999) who have studied the changing conceptions of further education (FE) teachers in response to marketization and managerialism, the values on policy of lifelong learning would reflect one of three kinds of responses (rejection and resistance, compliance and strategic compliance) adopted by practitioners to rework their practices and identities in the new operational environment. In practice, rejection is not an option for subjects in CE because those who felt the new environment too threatening would have opted to leave. To support this, the period of rapid university sector CE expansion and move toward full-scale market model of operation in the mid-1990s has coincided with the retirement of heads and senior staff in the three leading university CE schools in Hong Kong (HKU-SPACE, CUHK-SCS and HKBU-SCE). Compliance would characterize the response of newcomers to the CE sector following them. These newcomers by having previously worked in business and industry would likely find the new operating environment to be congenial rather than threatening. For the group of practitioners who had to reconcile differences between an old and a

new working culture, they are likely to mediate the bureaucratic-managerialist discourse of lifelong learning through adopting a strategic compliance approach. Responses of the subjects to the value on policy of lifelong learning survey support this contention as elaborated below.

CE practitioners in this study subscribe overwhelmingly to the value of 'quality' (see Figure 20, p. 175), which can claim a broad support base from the business sector, the educated middle class, the public, and the students. Many of the concerns regarding education reform and expansion of postsecondary education have centered on whether quality of provision could be maintained (Chinese University Alumni Association, 2001; Wong et al., 2002; OUHK, 2000)[2]. To address this concern, those in mainstream higher education have been subjected to a regular process of quality audit, the Teaching and Learning Quality Process Review (TLQPR), since 1995-1997 (1st round) and the same quality audit has been extended to university CE programs in 2003 (2nd round) (University Grants Committee, 2003). Other than this, the quality of collaborative programs with overseas institutions is also subjected to bottom-line monitoring by the Hong Kong Council for Academic Accreditation (HKCAA) for compliance with the NLPHE Ordinance (Wong, W.S., 2001). The educational bureaucracy's concern for the quality of new types of provision such as the AD has led it to propose a common set of descriptors for the AD curriculum (FCETI, 2001; Leung, 2002). Furthermore, EMB has intended to extend the notion of quality assurance into all types of CE activities through the development of a 'Qualifications Framework (QF)' (Manpower Development Committee, 2002). Given this overriding emphasis on quality, CE practitioners have shown an active interest in proving that their work meets this requirement at both program and organizational levels (Lai, 1999; Wong and Jegede, 2000). The actual conduct of the 2nd TLQPR on educational quality work (EQW) in university-based CE units served to reinforce 'quality' as a normative value in CE and which practitioners are expected to endorse it. Herein is one ample and good example to illustrate how macro- and meso- level influences can impact on the values of CE practitioners by working in tandem.

The nature of compliance by CE practitioners is a strategic one because although 'quality' is supported, the learner-centered dimension of 'efficiency' is least preferred among the four values. A distinction must be made therefore between learner-centered/system improvement and financial aspects of 'efficiency' as CE practitioners strongly object to the former but support the latter. This means that practitioners regard cost-effectiveness or value-for-money in programming as meriting their concern but not the issues of improving learning delivery, adapting to new technology and strategy in teaching and learning, as well as constructing an effective framework for policy consultation in lifelong learning. The support for financial 'efficiency' value is likely to represent a politically correct stance similar to the support given to 'quality' value. The pattern of preference exhibited for the value of 'efficiency' also suggest that if practitioners are called upon to put rhetoric into action, their propensity to act would be very low or that they would be opposed to taking any actions (aggregate 'efficiency' value score is -3.43). It is also doubtful that practitioners can be counted upon to improve on choice as preference for this value is negative overall in the four policy domains (aggregate 'choice' value score is -2.34). As such, they cannot be counted upon to help CE attain a market order based on the enhancement of choice. The response of practitioners to the value of 'equity' is a mixed one, with support for the pursuit of egalitarian goals within the CE sector but not outside of it. Thus, practitioners do not regard providing programs for marginalized groups as their concern nor any of the following issues: improvement of the regulatory framework to incorporate a wider spectrum of views especially from private providers, the abolition of discriminatory treatment of registered programs by the HKCAA, and the fostering of more equitable partnership between local and overseas institutions than simply based on profit.

When the value preferences are analyzed within specific policy domains, evidence of self-interest of practitioners is manifested such as in the objection to 'quality' value for the finance domain despite an overall support for 'quality' in the other three domains (program, teaching and learning, organization and governance). This response presumably is because if resources were allocated according to a

merit-based approach (value of quality in finance domain), the interest of practitioners would be directly affected by raising the stakes of competition. To support this conjecture, the values of choice in the finance domain, which is to operate programs under a mixed-funding model, has similarly been objected by practitioners as it would mean withdrawal of government funding from more programs leading to further marketization. Under the general climate of reduction of funding to the tertiary education sector and the push for more marketization of the education sector, CE practitioners clearly demonstrate their reservation despite their sector being regarded as the testing ground for full-scale self-financing mode of operation. These findings also lend support to the point made earlier in Chapter III that value preferences on the policy of lifelong learning actually represent 'values incorporating element of interest' rather than 'pure values'.

In respect of the philosophical orientations of CE practitioners, the preference profile exhibited is different from the trainers in this study but again is reflective of what they do in practice (see Figure 23, p. 183). The highest preference shown for a humanist philosophy indicates that CE practitioners subscribe to the basic tenet of AE, which is to help adult students enhance their personal growth in order to facilitate self-actualization. This is followed by preference for the progressive philosophy which emphasizes the use of students' experience in learning, such as adoption of problem-based approach in the design of teaching and learning that has gained popularity in higher education in recent years. These two philosophies combined (humanist-progressive merger) imply that practitioners have a mixed identity nested in the primary practice of AE and CE within a secondary practice of higher education (part-time higher education). In comparison with the progressive-behaviorist philosophical orientations of practitioners in Spurgeon and Moore's (1994) study, the liberal philosophy ranks higher in preference to the behaviorist philosophy as CE is concerned with learning of knowledge more than learning of skills. This is true even with technical or practical subjects which dominate the CE scene. Among the CE practitioners surveyed in this study, those whose portfolio belongs to one of the following:

management, business and accounting; vocational and skills training; IT/computing; languages, make up about half (47%) of the total (see Figure 19f, p. 171) and the same subjects (languages, business management, computer science and IT) have enlisted the highest student participation (HKU-SPACE, 2003). Thus, the preference profile for a working philosophy of AE in the group of CE practitioners in this study can be regarded as specific to their subject area concerns.

Values of adult education and program planning practices

The PAEI survey elaborates a preference profile of the practitioners' working philosophy of AE, which is reflected in the scores assigned to each of the five philosophies of AE. Based on Zinn's (1991) explanation of the scoring system, the scores obtained in this study for trainers (70.1-81.3) are within the range of moderately high agreement (defined as scores of 66-94) and do not suggest conflict among the philosophies. The eclectic pattern of response may reflect two things: an indication of diversity of values and also the malleability of values. These would give support to the notion of working philosophy as an evolving set of 'espoused theory of action'.

How would the findings in this study compare with results from other studies using the PAEI which is of importance as all previous studies were done in the North American context? The preferences shown by trainers in this study for the progressive and behaviorist philosophies are similar to that observed by Spurgeon and Moore (1994) for their subjects who are professors of training and development. Ordinary training and development practitioners in their study however have expressed a reversal of preference which favors the behaviorist over progressive philosophy. Spurgeon and Moore tried to explain this by invoking difference in focus between academic concerns of training and development and the concerns of frontline practice; the former stresses on purpose while the latter emphasizes methodology. It is possible that through induction into the academic study of AE, trainers in this study may have acquired a broader conception of the purpose of AE

which would lead them to accord higher preference for the progressive philosophy. In this connection, Spurgeon and Moore had found that education majors generally favor the progressive philosophy more than non-education majors. The low preference for radical philosophy relative to other philosophies is common among trainers in Hong Kong and North America, which indicates their common reservation toward advocating for structural changes to society and the gearing of learning to attain such goals.

Since the humanist philosophy assumes many of the core tenets of AE, the influences of CE practitioners' background variables on their preference for this philosophy would be worthwhile to look at. In fact, this study has shown that it is only the humanist philosophy which is sensitive to variations of these background variables. Findings in this study suggest that the humanist philosophy is preferred by female trainers more than by male trainers. The education level also makes a difference as trainers with only sub-degree qualification tend to score lower for this philosophy. Practitioners with longer years of experience (>5 years) also have a lower preference for humanist philosophy; and preference also seems to vary inversely with increase in age, which is reflected clearly as a trend of decline in scores (see Figure 15, p. 166). When these findings are related to those of other studies, similarities can be found in the predilection of the female gender for the humanist philosophy. De Coux et al. (1992) attribute this to the more caring inclination of women adult educators, which in the absence of other suitable explanations may be regarded as a plausible explanation. The gender influence on preference for the humanist philosophy appears to dominate over the influences of age, level of education and years of experience. Thus, only male trainers exhibit the decline of preference for the humanist philosophy with variations of these other variables, while the preference scores of female trainers remain generally constant (see Figure 16, p. 167). Interestingly, this study has also shown that practitioners who have longer years of experience (>5 years) but who are younger (<30 years of age) make a strikingly lower preference for the humanist philosophy compared to other age groups (see Figure 17b, p. 168). This is contrary to what De Coux et al.

(1992) had found for their subjects who showed increasingly higher preference for this philosophy with increase in age. They assumed that this is because older practitioners may be more empathic toward the needs of the learners and would themselves prefer approaches of teaching and learning that respects learners' humanity. The interaction of age and years of experience in the male gender has yet to find a suitable explanation but the loss of preference for a philosophy that best characterizes the ideals of AE even in younger male practitioners is certainly cause for concern.

Relationships between the philosophies are generally positive and suggest some extent of overlap (see Figure 18, p. 170), which once again raises questions about the mutual exclusivity of the philosophies (De Coux et al., 1992). To Zinn (1991), values do not exist in nature in a clear-cut fashion, and this is exactly why practitioners would need to clarify their beliefs with the view of developing a working philosophy (a set of theoretical philosophical positions) of AE. The approach espoused by Elias and Merriam (1995) for doing this are: (a) to choose any single philosophy; (b) to combine several philosophies; and (c) to choose one of the 5 philosophies and develop further on it. The non-mutual exclusivity of the philosophies also raises questions about the adequacy of the measuring instrument. Factor analysis yields two constructs, one characterized by the association of 'liberal-behaviorist-progressive' philosophies, while the other by the association of 'progressive-humanist-radical' philosophies. In light of this, it may seem necessary to re-organize the philosophies in a manner that can reflect this associational pattern. Even so, retention of the original five philosophies is sufficiently justified not only because of the strong conceptual framework provided by Elias and Merriam (1995) to back up the design of the PAEI but also the difficulty of accommodating progressive philosophy as it would have to be split between the two constructs.

Value preferences of practitioners on policy of lifelong learning

Although the framework of Marshall et al. (1989) for studying cultural

influence on policymaking in education can be used to study CE practitioners' value preferences on policy, the difference of substantive concerns between it (school education) and the present study (CE or lifelong learning) does not allow for direct comparison of the findings. This is because policy agendas differ from one sector of education to another, and the political culture of policymaking is underpinned by broader cultural values that reflect the priorities of society. In the context of the United States, the nature of representative government, bipartisan politics and American political ideology rooted in popular sovereignty combine to work on the four values such that two aspects are particularly salient in any discussion about values in educational policymaking: interaction of values and priority of values.

The first assumes that there is an ordered set of relations between the four values conceived in terms of conflict and reinforcement of values. Thus, Marshall et al. after reviewing the values embedded in educational statutes contend that "choice inherently opposes all values, efficiency reinforces all but choice, and quality opposes all but efficiency" (p. 147). These patterns of interaction have been derived from conceptual analysis and suggest that the values do not exist in a hierarchical fashion. On the second aspect, which is the priority of values, Marshall et al. argue that there is a logical sequence for each value to progress into the policy system as derived from historical analysis where "quality begets efficiency which begets equity; choice however begets all three values" (p. 154). The kind of prioritization reflects the fact that choice is the basis for exercise of popular sovereignty that is paramount in a participatory democracy and pervades the sequence of the three values. Quality comes first because educational reform is predicated on some deficiencies of the system and the need to ensure quality of the output. This is followed by efficiency because it serves as a means to achieve the stated end-quality, or in other words, to implement quality. Equity naturally follows from efficiency-based means to implement quality because the outcome usually results in uneven distribution of social services where some needs are not met and additional policy measures have to be instituted.

Sergiovanni et al. (1999) reconceptualize the priority of values stated above according to their acting in pairs rather than in singularly defined sequence of progression.

> Though none of the four values alone represents a sufficiently strong banner under which to launch school reform, value pairs seem to have enough credibility and strength for this purpose. Particularly powerful are pairs that combine either excellence or equity with one of the other values (p. 15).

The value pairs are, as previously described in Chapter III, a way of integrating value interactions (conflicts) in policy-making with institutional ideals and the political culture (see Fig. 13a, p. 161). Thus, there is a modest attempt in this form of reconceptualization to bridge interaction with priority in understanding value influences on policy. In addition, the value of quality is thought to be defined according to what is advocated by the other three values and hence has considerable flexibility (p.14). This matches with what Marshall et al. mentioned about defining quality, where "policy actors can seldom find widely acceptable definitions of Quality performance. Quite often Quality is designated simply by statements of minimum standards that have been redefined over time" (p.137). Previous discussion of quality definitions in Chapter II attests to this difficulty especially when put into the context of a market-based model of CE provision.

The patterns of interaction of values have been found to require finer elaboration, such as in the efficiency and choice value dimensions. Although these two values were found to oppose one another in the study of Marshall et al. (1989) (see Figure 7, p. 51), Garn (2000) asserts that the efficiency value has to be differentiated between its accountability and economic (financial) dimensions to which differential relationships with choice exist. The former opposes choice while the latter reinforces it. According to him, the success of articulating efficiency and choice in educational policy seems to rest on the ability of policymakers to resist the accountability dimension of efficiency. Through this, the element of conflict between efficiency and choice can be eliminated and by

capitalizing on market mechanisms, the strengths of the two values can then be realized through mutual reinforcement of the economic dimension of efficiency with choice.

Factor analysis is used in this study to verify that the underlying constructs measured would largely match with the four policy domains, viz.: program, finance, curriculum/teaching and learning, and organization/governance (see Figure 24, p. 185). This is an approach to demonstrate construct validity for the 'value on policy of lifelong learning' survey instrument. The values are not generalizable across policy domains and so the generation of underlying constructs is not along value dimensions but rather according to the policy domains. From results of factor analysis, the finance policy domain has the most distinct composition of survey items (issues) used in the instrument to characterize this construct. This is followed by the organization/governance policy domain of which some overlap of survey items with the program policy domain is observed. There is significant overlap of survey items for the curriculum/teaching and learning and the program policy domains which may point to a common construct that could accommodate the two. For the purpose of this study, the said weaknesses do not invalidate the instrument but reduces its validity for interpreting values relating to the two policy domains when spoken separately.

The above serves to illustrate the complexity of value interaction and priority when studying cultural influence on policymaking. For CE in Hong Kong, the major influence on policymaking does not lie with political culture as in North America because there is no basis for public participation in educational policy formulation; and the underdeveloped legislature (Legislative Council or LegCo with half of its seats directly elected) can only delay budget approval for policy initiatives presented to it by the Executive branch (in this case, the EMB). The fact that all of the three major issues (post-secondary education expansion, withdrawal of funding from previously subsidized sub-degree programs, and closing down of adult evening schools) impacting on AE and CE development have been deliberated in the LegCo

does not alter the final outcome (Legislative Council, 2001; 2003a; 2003d; 2003b; 2003c). This means a constant can be assumed for the political culture, which is that of bureaucratic dominance coupled to a series of properly orchestrated consultations. The Education Reform process led by the New-Elite is one of such examples and so is the establishment of the Manpower Development Committee (MDC).

In the former, the dressing up of public support for the Education Reform through asking rhetorical questions that do not present genuine options for debate was likened to "dictators using a plebiscite-the nature of the question being impossible to disagree with" (Forrestier, 2002 quoting Anthony Sweeting). In the latter, the formation of the MDC to oversee manpower and training development with the Secretary for Education and Manpower as Chairman breaks the tradition of forming independent educational consultative bodies to advise the educational bureaucracy (see Appendix I, Figure 38, p. 275). It also indicates that the expanding influence of the Education and Manpower Bureau (EMB) has caused a diminishing influence for traditional policy advisory bodies such as the University Grants Committee (UGC) and the Education Commission (EC); the former is increasingly being charged with towing the government line rather than acting as autonomous arbiter of tertiary education institutions' interests to the government while the latter has gradually lost its ability to influence policies on CE and lifelong learning.

In recent government policy initiatives such as the Qualifications Framework (QF), the EC's own working group on CE has come up with proposals for implementation (Education Commission, 2002; 2003) but the EMB separately engaged the service of an independent consultant to draft a proposal that served as the final blueprint for discussion. In fact, the Consultant's Report on the QF commissioned by MDC proposes to establish a separate Steering Committee for the QF with additional policy remit for continuing education and lifelong learning (Manpower Development Committee, 2002). Similarly, the Higher Education

Review led by Lord Sutherland has proposed to create a Further Education Council (FEC) to oversee sub-degree and post-secondary qualifications and hence relieve the UGC of these responsibilities (Sutherland, 2002). If the plans were followed, it would sideline the EC and UGC and restrict their roles to policy advising on formal education from primary to tertiary levels and effectively concentrating power into the EMB to decide on CE matters. The post-1997 years therefore sees a centralization of power in the hands of the government for CE despite marketization of this sector being strongly promoted.

For CE, the value that underlies the bureaucratic culture of the EMB is clearly that of efficiency. In the economic dimension of this value, it is represented by strategies of cost-saving (e.g. withdrawal of funding from sub-degree programs previously funded), investment recovery (e.g. loans to students and educational providers have to be repaid), and resource redeployment (e.g. channeling of savings from funding cuts into grants and loans for students) to achieve the 60% target without committing the government into funding the postsecondary education expansion. In the accountability dimension, it is exemplified by policy measures such as: common descriptors for AD, TLQPR 2nd cycle audit of CE schools, and the QF. This latter dimension of efficiency is in direct response to the value of quality that underpins the public's primary concern for CE, i.e. expansion of post-secondary education must not sacrifice the quality of provision. In other words, while the educational bureaucracy is primarily concerned about the economic dimension of efficiency, it nevertheless has to answer to the public's concern for quality and has addressed this through advancing the accountability dimension of efficiency.

Based on the above, the priority of values for CE and postsecondary education in Hong Kong from an official point of view is one of administrative efficiency (bureaucratic concern) used to support quality (public concern) while choice and equity values are occasionally mentioned to support learner-centered efficiency. To illustrate this, the expansion of post-secondary education is regarded to provide a diverse educational system with multi-channel routes to higher

education and hence promoting 'choice'; while the fact that more students can now participate in higher education means that equality of opportunity is being enhanced. This latter together with the extension of grants and loans to meet financial needs of the poor also means that 'equity' value is being promoted. The educational bureaucracy is confronted with the need to mediate conflict between quality and equity values where the public is wary about dumbing down of academic standard and creating credential inflation when moving from elite to mass higher education (Wong et al., 2002; Chinese University Alumni Association, 2001). Instead of resorting to the 'equity paradox' to reconcile these two values, whereby a stress on equity could expose deficiencies of an elitist educational system by subjecting it to public scrutiny and hence would lead to more quality (Morley, 2000), the government has chosen to link up quality with administrative efficiency.

Quality is to Hong Kong as choice is to North America the basis of popular sovereignty. Their loci are respectively the market and the liberal democratic tradition. Because CE in Hong Kong is situated in the market, the public's participation in debates concerning it is based on their claim as consumers. However, as suggested in previous definitions of quality in Chapter II, many stakeholders equally lay claim to defining quality (e.g. policymakers, employers, providers, etc.) and this has made the quality issue an elusive and contentious topic where different views of quality are articulated at the same time. In Hong Kong, the EMB has used the accountability dimension of efficiency to settle out what it would regard as the best way of assuring quality, and this represents the official position. As far as the EMB is concerned, learner-centered efficiency, choice and equity values have never been moved to the forefront when framing policies of CE whereas financial efficiency and quality values have consistently occupied the center-stage.

The value scores of CE practitioners elucidated in this study reflect strong affinity for the official point of view (see Figure 20, p. 175). Quality value (aggregate value score across all four policy domains is 6.96) is emphasized together

with the economic dimension of efficiency value (score for efficiency in finance domain is 1.92). It should be noted that the survey items for quality in this study already incorporate the administrative dimension of efficiency and thus the quality value measured should be taken as a combine measurement of quality with bureaucratic efficiency. The CE practitioner's preference for this quality value is indicative of their affinity for the official position, which differs from the assumptions of Day and Hadfield (1996). In their study of quality in CPE provision, they contend that efficiency as defined from a managerialist-bureaucratic point of view is in conflict with a professionally-driven conception of quality. Of the remaining values, the 'equity' value is selectively favored (both scores for equity in finance and curriculum/teaching and learning domains are positive) but with the choice value (aggregate value score across all four policy domains is -2.34) and the learner-centered dimension of efficiency value (score for efficiency in curriculum/teaching and learning domain is -3.40) both strongly objected. On the other hand, the lack of preference (negative attitude) for the equity and choice values by CE practitioners, more than the apathy (neutral attitude conditional on utility of these two values in supporting efficiency) shown by policymakers, suggest that there may be higher order cultural values at work to influence CE practitioners' attitude toward these two values. The higher priority given to 'quality' as compared to 'equity' has a strong public support base, which can explain and provide a social structuring basis for the reluctance of CE practitioners in this study to champion the equity cause vis-à-vis quality (aggregate value scores of -0.99 vs. 6.96).

The CE practitioners' attitude toward the equity value seems to reflect situational morality as they would only express preference for this value when issues relate to the CE field but not on matters of broader societal concern. Thus, their preference for providing programs for marginalized and disadvantaged groups is strongly negative (-2.00) while suggestion to make policy-making in CE more inclusive and equitable to all parties is met with a near neutral response (-0.29), as only private providers would appear to benefit from such changes. However, a sharp contrast is found when practitioners are asked whether they would support

giving attention to special needs of particular groups of learners in CE programs (0.86) and to retain government support for courses with identified need for public investment in their own field (0.44). This positive response is presumably because such policies would have direct implications for their work.

When the values on policy are explored by their patterns of interaction, an overall picture of mutual antagonism is exhibited (see Table 15, p. 182). The patterns of interaction of values according to Marshall et al. (1989) as modified by Garn (2000) do not apply to this study. The nature of interaction of values can be thought to approximate the value exchange process proposed by Lasswell and Kaplan (1950, cited in Deutsch, 1968) where the politics of policymaking is concerned with allocation of values. In this case, the mediation by EMB of stakeholders interests by promoting administrative efficiency and quality over choice and equity. The process of value allocation can be conceived in terms of the exchange scheme for base and scope values in Lasswell and Kaplan's value table, where "the total amount of each scope value to be obtained by all actors through this allocative process cannot be larger than the total amount of the same value surrendered as a base value by other actors in the same society; the total amount of each value is treated as relatively fixed, at least over the time span relevant to a short-run political process", and the existence of the values is treated as politically given (Deutsch: 1968:351). While the conflicts between values in specific policy domains can be analyzed in a conceptual sense by referring to Figure 20 (p. 175), two interactions are particularly salient and are singled out for discussion.

The first is the conflict between efficiency and equity values in the finance policy domain. Though both have recorded positive value preference scores in this study, simultaneous advocacy would result in conflict. This is because if the principle of cost-effectiveness were pursued relentlessly, there would be no scope for accommodating discriminatory funding to courses with the need for public investment but with corresponding returns that do not match from an economic point of view. Such investment is obviously based on social needs. In analyzing this

conflict between equity and efficiency at the philosophical level, Pan (2003) contends that it is essentially a matter of bridging idealism with pragmatism. Using higher education expansion linked to economic development as an example, he regarded that efficiency should be viewed as helping to create conditions for equity at a higher order. In the absence of efficiency, equity where achieved would just be of lower order and leaning toward mediocrity. This seems to suggest an adverse effect on quality by focusing on equity at the expense of efficiency. The second interaction worthy of note is the mutual reinforcement of equity and choice values in the finance policy domains. This again is within expectation, as a system based on mixed funding models would be suitable to accommodate for discriminatory funding to courses with social needs while still maintaining a general principle of self-financing for other courses.

The context of practice also plays a significant influence in determining practitioner's preference such as the selection of values in the organization domain (see Figure 22, p. 181). The relative lack of preference for the 'quality' value in this domain by private providers should not be interpreted out-rightly as a lack of concern for quality of programs and teaching and learning, but rather is reflective of the low priority placed on building a quality culture in the organization because private providers operate as small business entities whereas Federation of Continuing Education in Tertiary Institutions (FCETI) members and OUHK have mostly exceeded the scale of a university school or faculty in their operations. Private providers and FCETI/OUHK are likely to have divergent views about the notion of 'quality culture' as the former would take it to mean the adoption of quality management system (e.g. ISO certification) while the latter would understand it as the establishment of quality assurance mechanism. A few private providers, whose operation has reached significant scale (e.g. those operating with branches in several countries), have obtained the ISO certification but it is unlikely to be regarded by students as similar in quality to the university CE schools. Survey by the OUHK (2000) has shown that slightly more than half (53%) of students regard public education institutions (CE schools inclusive) as better suited to offer CE courses.

On the 'equity' value of the organization domain, both practitioners from the OUHK and the private sector favor a more inclusive policy formulation process and framework and the abolition of discriminatory policies. This is understandable and expected as the FCETI member institutions have replaced OUHK to become the influential voice of CE and that such development has led to marginalization of the role of OUHK which belongs neither to mainstream higher education nor to the burgeoning post-secondary education sector (i.e. AD programs). Private providers on the other hand are concerned about the long-standing policy of facilitating registration of exempted courses (run by university CE schools) and imposition of a high entry barrier on registered courses (run by private providers) through a long lead time for registration and charging of high registration fees by the HKCAA (university CE schools do not have to pay such fees). The facilitation of information dissemination to students for aiding their selection of courses, which is the main feature of 'choice' value in the organization dimension, is only supported by practitioners who are involved in FE and to a lesser extent in professional education. This is consonant with the fact that marketing of AD programs has to emphasize its attraction as an alternative route for entry to university compared to the traditional matriculation route. The preference for the value of 'choice' in the organization domain can be said to be related to the fulfillment of market order as the providers strive to stay competitive in the market under a condition of expansion in demand and supply. As such, preference for this value would be low in less competitive market environments such as in AE and CE where the market has a lower rate of growth.

The preeminence of quality shown by CE practitioners would need to be complemented by a critique that builds on and extends the quality definitions in Chapter II, especially on how CE practitioners have come to embrace the quality culture. Concern for quality can trace its beginning to the free market period (until 1997) wherein programs had proliferated at a rate that was faster than CE organizations and staff was able to adjust to the new challenges. This period was

characterized by the transformation of extra-mural departments into CE schools and the replacement of short courses by award-bearing programs as their main program activity. Illustrative accounts by providers in the CE sector pointed to several aspects of deficiency that were camouflaged behind the boom and boon portrayed to the public. Castro and Wong (1996), the latter who is head of CE at City University of Hong Kong (CityU SCOPE), raised concern about the quality and equitability of partnership with overseas universities where the main motive of both sides is profit generation, and where the staff of CE units make little or no contribution to the programs. They cited two general issues that have implications for the quality of collaborative degree-level provisions. First, the general attitude of indifference by internal departments in local universities to the work of their CE unit means that academic input from the former can seldom be secured. However, most academic collaborations were established with the overseas university assuming that resources (including teaching) will be forthcoming from the local university in support of their CE units. Second, there is also a lag in adjustment within CE units to operating such award bearing programs that represents a radical departure from their previous involvement with short course and certificate/diploma program delivery. They further suggested that the detachment of the local university and its faculty from the operation of overseas courses handled by its CE unit is considered the main reason why few courses of this nature fared well academically. The mentioned deficiencies were clearly the result of maladjustment from rapid growth without consequential re-alignment of institutional practices and mindset of staff.

In the succeeding period, Hong Kong's experience of resolving CE quality issues can be divided into two approaches: regulation and audit. The former is exemplified by the passage of the NLPHE Ordinance in 1997 which specifies a bottom-line quality requirement that overseas programs offered in HK must be equivalent to their home provisions. The said legislation created two separate categories of imported courses, exempted and registered, which are distinguished by the nature of the provider. Exempted courses are run by CE units of local tertiary

institutions while the registered courses include those run by private operators. In actual implementation, exempted courses can gain quick and certain approval with no payment of fees whereas registered courses have to undergo lengthy approval period and need to pay a handsome fee to the HKCAA, the agency that is charged with reviewing overseas programs prior to government approval. The basis for the exemption given to CE units of universities is that their parent institutions are assumed to take care of the necessary quality assurance procedures in connection with running the programs. In light of the lack of integration of these CE units into the university academic system and their immaturity as academic units, there was therefore the need to form their own quality assurance structures (i.e. academic boards) and put QA procedures into practice. This subsequently became an area wherein CE units were found to have performed very well in comparison to their parent institutions[3]. Thus, it was deemed appropriate for the 2nd TLQPR to include audit of EQW in CE units, which by now have been running not only CE but also postsecondary programs. Since CE units do not receive public funds, therefore, the audit conducted on them does not match the purpose of extracting accountability from providers as UGC has required of the universities. Audit nevertheless fulfills the role of convincing the public that course provision in CE units is at least buttressed by quality principles common to other higher education institutions.

The outcome of quality evaluation in the 2nd TLQPR has placed CE units in a favorable light in terms of their commitment to quality. The reports in general agreed that EQW had been demonstrated, with quality assurance mechanism highly developed and/or integrated with the mechanism of the parent university (UGC, 2003). As EQW is about quality built into the educational process, another form of quality audit that also looks at the outcome of teaching and learning would help to furnish a fuller picture of quality in CE provisions. This latter can be gained by referring to the reports of audit on overseas collaborative provisions by the UK's Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education (QAA)[4]. The overseas audits were conducted on programs in a chosen subject area, and during the last exercise (2001) in Hong Kong, only programs run by private providers were included. The

focus of the overseas audit is to assure that standard of provision and student learning experience are similar to those in the home country. As findings suggest, these conditions have generally been met for programs that had been audited. Therefore, from the standpoint of external quality evaluation, both university sector and private providers of CE have equally met broad quality requirements.

Notwithstanding the good EQW shown by CE providers in the university sector, the reports of the 2nd TLQPR consider it a challenge for these institutions in the long run to use quality for gaining competitive edge in the market and to align their missions with parent institutions. In this way, the value of quality can be promoted through administrative efficiency without excessive drift toward simple profit-making, which cannot be regarded as a value in the educational sense (Figure 25).

		Non-profit making	drift	
Type of education & training provision	State-led ◄			► Market-led
Image of practitioner	Protectionist	Pragmatist		Profiteer
Role of Practitioner	Educator	Program developer/ administrator		Academic agent
Strategy of practitioner	Bureaucratic / professional	Managerial		Entrepreneurial
Output valued in terms of	Value-for-money & fitness for purpose (quality & efficiency)	Impact on society (e.g. choice)		Profit

Figure 25 Contexts and conceptions of adult and continuing education practice

The recommendation in the reports for institutions to choose good overseas partners is an attempt to prevent the value drift mentioned, given that all CE units have to face competition and to ensure their own survival through self-financing operation[5]. Similarly, the QAA overseas quality audit has found it problematic when private providers branch out to deliver their programs that are under collaboration with UK institutions outside of the scope of original agreement (such as the offering of degree program in China by HK College of Technology that was originally intended only for Hong Kong). Such expansion undoubtedly is driven by a profit motive and presents opportunity for overlooking quality requirements (e.g. quality of input in terms of students' ability to study in English).

To what extent can the practitioners' values be regarded as augmenting the functioning of the market in CE? This can be analyzed by drawing on the point of view of the community and the students since the best measure of market success is the fulfillment of customer needs. Thus, in relation to the first, the principles of the Education Reform proposals would be relevant as guide to infer on community expectation (Education Commission, 2000c); while in the second, empirical studies on students' expectation of lifelong education would be useful as a reference to their needs (OUHK, 2000). To facilitate discussion, the said principles and expectations are translated into the language of value dimensions in specific policy domains in this study. In the Education Reform proposals, the five principles are: student focused, no-loser, quality, life-wide learning, and society-wide mobilization (p.36). These are roughly equivalent to the following values in the order of principles enumerated: quality (of the curriculum, teaching and learning and assessment domain); equity (of the curriculum, teaching and learning and assessment domain); quality (of the curriculum, teaching and learning and assessment domain); quality (of the curriculum, teaching and learning and assessment); and choice (of the finance domain). CE practitioners' preference for these values is in the main positive (3.60 for 'quality' and 0.86 for 'equity' in the relevant policy domains stated above) except for the 'choice' value (-0.44 in the relevant policy domain stated above).

The EC also made suggestions on the proposed directions for future development of CE (p. 131-133) and some specific recommendations for this sector (p. 136-137). These are also translated into values in specific policy domains in this study. The enumeration below also discusses the implications of CE practitioners' preferences and compares them with preferences of students as revealed from the OUHK (2000) and HKU-SPACE (2003b) surveys.

Section on "Proposed directions for future development" in the Education Reform Proposals

1. Flexibility and openness (diversification)-'choice' and 'efficiency' values in program domain. This relates to both contents and mode of CE being made responsive to changes in the society and the learner's aspirations. When CE practitioners were asked whether they would support 'achieving flexibility in admission and mode of delivery of programs' and 'enhancing diversity of program offerings', preference for both of these were negative but near neutral, which suggest that they would neither object strongly to it nor espouse it. Similarly, the views from students do not regard 'flexibility over choices and mode of study' and 'openness' as important elements in lifelong education in the OUHK survey.

2. Mechanism for quality assurance, accreditation and transfer of qualifications-'quality' and 'efficiency' values in program domain. This relates to the mechanism to enable attainment of flexibility and openness while giving proper recognition for the learning achieved. When CE practitioners were asked whether they would support 'benchmarking programs to ensure recognition and fitness for purpose' and 'achieving flexibility in admission and mode of delivery of programs', preference for the former was positive while negative to near neutral for the latter, which suggest that only quality is emphasized. Similarly, quality and recognition of qualifications are the most

important elements in lifelong education cited by students in the OUHK survey. They also overwhelmingly support a universal transferable credit unit system (95%).

3. Continuing professional development in the workplace-'efficiency' value in curriculum, teaching and learning and assessment domain. This relates to integration of learning with work such as the concept of 'work-based learning'. When CE practitioners were asked whether they would support a related survey item (issue)-'adapting appropriate teaching and learning strategies', preference for this was strongly negative which suggest their strong objection to it. This does not work to eliminate what students consider as too few course choices in the OUHK survey, which may be extrapolated to mean the lack of innovative course planning.

4. Internationalization of continuing education-'choice' value in curriculum domain. This relates to drawing experiences and expertise from abroad where such are not available locally. When CE practitioners were asked whether they would support 'recruiting subject expertise from as many sources of acknowledged authority, local and international', preference for this was moderately negative which suggest their lack of interest in it.

5. The use of IT-'efficiency' value in curriculum domain. When CE practitioners were asked whether they would support 'introducing appropriate use of IT', preference for this was strongly negative which suggest their resistance to it. This attitude seems understandable given that students still prefer face-to-face mode of delivery or a mixed-mode based on it (69.1%) as found in the HKU-SPACE survey.

6. Resources-'equity' and 'choice' values under finance domain. This relates to the 'user-pays' principle of funding for CE but that people of various sectors, such as employers, professional bodies and social bodies are asked to contribute resources.

It also advocates government to support funding for employment-related training for those who have been displaced from the workforce due to economic restructuring. When CE practitioners were asked whether they would support 'providing discriminatory funding for courses with defined social need for public investment amidst self-financing imperative' and 'operating programs under mixed-funding models', preference for the former was slightly positive while slightly negative for the latter. This implies a general attitude of indifference to these two issues. Contrary to the lack of consideration of these issues by CE practitioners, most students (42%) in the OUHK survey were sensible enough to endorse a tripartite funding model based on three parties bearing equal responsibilities-the learners, the government and employers. They also hoped to obtain more employer support which they considered as the primary kind of support they would need.

Section on "Specific recommendations" in the Education Reform Proposals

1. Setting up a working group on CE-'efficiency' in organization/governance domain. This relates to the formation of a working group or body to advise government on policy development in CE. When CE practitioners were asked whether they would support 'establishing framework for policy consultation, coordination, and regulation of adult, continuing, further and professional education', preference for this was negative which implies an attitude of indifference.

2. Establishing a database for CE-'choice' in organization/governance domain. This relates to setting up a website to help learners find courses relevant to their needs. When CE practitioners were asked whether they would support 'facilitating information availability to guide learner's choice of programs', preference for this was negative which again suggest an attitude of indifference. In contrast to the indifference of CE practitioners, students considered the provision of information and counseling as second (31%) only to employer

support (37%) in importance in the OUHK survey.

3. Establishing lifelong learning centres-This has no equivalent in the survey items used in this study.

4. Working out supporting measures for CE-'efficiency' in finance domain. This has no equivalent in the survey items used in this study.

To summarize preferences from the students' point of view, the most important element of lifelong education as revealed in the OUHK survey are: quality (37%), recognition (26.9%), cost (19.2%), flexibility over choices and mode of study (10.7%) and openness (6.3%). This translates to a value priority of quality preceding efficiency (economic dimension) while choice is variably articulated to support quality; and equity value does not figure in this picture.

From a related study of UK student perception of distance education courses (Template Project), Tricker et al. (2001) give support to the above contention as they conclude "the amount of time and money that is invested in producing glossy initial course brochures, whilst not wasted, could be put to better use. Students join a particular programme because they feel its content most closely matches their professional and personal needs. As a result it is these aspects of a programme that need to be emphasized". Also, the local study of Ng et al. (2002) and that of Merrill (2001) in UK point to similar conclusions that the adult learners' experiences of distance education or higher education are shaped by both the context of learning (subject matter, departmental culture, teaching style and forms of assessment) and the teacher (attitude toward adult learners and conceptions of their role). If CE practitioners were disinterested in curriculum and teaching and learning matters, they would become out of touch from students' needs while still pretending to know it as a matter of market acumen. The result will be an irony given that part-time tutors whom CE practitioners direct to deliver course teaching have a better understanding of students' needs and are willing to take actions to meet these needs

(HKU-SPACE, 2003a). By not promoting learner-centered efficiency, it does not bring the CE practitioners any closer to supporting the market order. Besides, there are other consequences arising from this, such as: inability to fully appreciate program failures, restriction to compliance end of the quality continuum, and value conflict of CE practitioners' role leading to questioning of their role as educators.

The CE practitioner's value priority revealed in this study is based almost exclusively on quality (incorporating administrative efficiency), with efficiency (economic dimension) also articulated though unrelated to quality. The attitude of practitioners toward equity is one of indifference while choice is totally neglected. Since choice is one critical element in the proper working of the market, it can be said that the CE practitioners' attitude toward choice is not conducive to the development of the market in CE. This neglect of choice to the sole preference of quality is itself problematic. While CE practitioners have endorsed the bureaucrat's use of efficiency to support quality, they have not responded to the learner-centered dimension of efficiency. If quality audit can be viewed as evaluating a continuum ranging from compliance (bureaucratic accountability) to quality development (implicit and contextualized criteria for making professional judgment concerning how quality could be enhanced) as conceived by Hodson and Thomas (2001), then clearly the students' interest have been partially served by the bureaucratic efficiency approach to quality, and this could at best assure only the compliance type of quality. As Hodson and Thomas (2001) contend, "concepts of quality focused on accountability need to be balanced by concepts of quality focused on enhancement of experience, from the perspective of both the students and the partner institutions". Professional-led quality development is obviously missing as evidenced by the general lack of interest of CE practitioners on teaching and learning and programming innovations in this study. In this relation, Holford (1998) claims that CE practitioners in Hong Kong have no interest in curriculum development as a result of needs being defined in the market:

> With relatively few exceptions, CE programmes were demand-led:

CE units provided a marketing and administrative mechanism by which mainstream university staff could be matched with identified areas of potential or actual demand. Programme development was reduced, at best, to a technical level: where courses should be held, how long they should be, the organization of assessment, setting course fees and so forth. Indeed, the notion of curriculum has been almost entirely absent from Hong Kong's CE discourse (p.143).

The CE practitioners' indifference toward learner-centered efficiency is clearly antithetical to the market principle of ensuring customer satisfaction. Although learners may not regard flexibility of course delivery (used as the survey item for efficiency in the program policy domain in this study) as more important than quality of courses, there is evidence that they are concerned nevertheless with the substance of programs. In the HKU-SPACE survey, CE students have enumerated the following: an appropriate curriculum; good tutor; and enhancement of learning, as most satisfactory aspects they found in programs attended. There is very good reason to assume that learners are not only interested in the quality of programs as defined from a bureaucratic-managerialist notion, but also one that is based on their own conception of the program as meeting their needs, or the emphasis on learner-centered efficiency value.

Notes

1. This contention is supported by studies that relate class to education in Hong Kong done by Tsang (1993), Post (2003) and Wong (2004). Tsang showed through an analysis of the 1981 census data that in the 1970s, ascription (family factors) had an effect on occupational-status attainment which was mediated through educational achievement. Post showed through study of subsequent census data in 1991 and 2001 that although the poor had generally benefited from senior secondary education expansion from 1981-1991, the equalizing trend has since worsened to the benefit of the rich during the subsequent higher education expansion from 1991-2001. Wong further showed that with the growth of the middle class, members of this class are able to mobilize a series of economic, cultural and social resources to ensure that their children receive good education in order to perpetuate their class position (intergenerational mobility strategy).

2. The concern for quality by different stakeholders during the Education Reform consultation process is a major issue that has been actively discussed and researched. A survey of CUHK alumni showed their concern for maintenance of quality and their uneasiness (47.8% for and 47% against) over the move to expand post-secondary education announced in the 2000 Policy Address of the CE (Chinese University Alumni Association, 2001). 91.6% of respondents in that survey were against admitting students who do not meet the basic entrance requirement even if there were available places. The public is similarly concerned about quality as exemplified through their disapproval of collapsing the old classification of secondary schools from 5 bands into 3 bands (Wong et al., 2002). Survey of students in open and distance education indicates that the most important concerns they have for programs are on quality (37%) and recognition (26.9%), which are both considered as features of the 'quality' value in this study.

3. From the reports of the 2nd TLQPR (UGC, 2003), instances of praise recorded are: (a) for CityU SCOPE, the report says that "SCOPE is conscientious in promoting a quality culture. It has established its own quality assurance system that is located within and extends the CityU framework...The School Board plays an effective advisory and supervisory role for the operation of the School as a whole." (b) for the Division of CPE in HKIED, the report says that "the QA system is closely aligned with that of the Institute as a whole, and has surpassed it in some aspects, especially in the realm of maintaining very proactive links with students as a means of obtaining feedback to improve its services." (c) for HKU-SPACE, the report says that "SPACE has an impressive array of processes and procedures for reviewing programmes, etc. In particular, its handbook, "Quality Assurance in SPACE", published in May 2001, deserves special mention and is highly recommended to other institutions as a reference for quality assurance processes". Furthermore, the report also recommends HKU "to note the strengths, capabilities and good practices of SPACE. For example, SPACE has been able to manage the large number of part-time teaching staff to its advantage, and maintains a high quality of teaching. Other academic units within the University might usefully consider its quality assurance practices and systems."

4. One important approach for determining the quality of CE courses, in particular the collaborative provision with overseas institutions, is through academic audit-such as those undertaken by the Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education (QAA) in 2001 and its predecessor, the Higher Education Quality Council (HEQC) in 1996-for UK programs operating overseas. To date, seven institutional reports (Abertay Dundee, Strathclyde, Napier, London Guildhall, North London, Ulster, Central England in Birmingham) have been published for collaborative programs launched in HK, covering subjects in business, computing and IT, and biomedical sciences. The local partners of these institutions include FCETI members (HKU-SPACE, HKBU-SCE,

Caritas-CAHES), non-profit making CE sector outside of FCETI (HKMA, HKCT), and private operators (Informatics, HK Computer Institute). Assessment of academic quality and standards of these overseas provisions in comparison to their home courses is based on the QAA's *Code of practice on assurance of academic quality and standards in higher education, Section 2: Collaborative provision* (1999) (QAA Code) or the earlier version published by HEQC, *Code of Practice for Overseas Collaborative Provision in Higher Education, 1996 (2nd edition).* See reports at: http://www.qaa.ac.uk/revreps/oseas/byoseascountry.asp.

5. The system of regulation for overseas courses under the NLPHE Ordinance is a lax one, relying on what the overseas institution and its local operator claim to be delivering. One major overseas provider, Victoria University of Technology (VUT) in Australia, has been found by its internal audit enquiry to have poor quality control and lack of planning in its overseas program activities. This incident led to the HKCAA's request to the EMB for granting of extended power to carry out on-site audits, monitor classes and interview students. While the non-self accrediting providers (e.g. HK Institute of Technology) who partner with VUT may feel the brunt of possible HKCAA audits in the future, VUT's university CE partners (HKU SPACE and CUHK SCS) can cite their exempted status under the NLPHE and defend the quality of their provision on the basis of institutional mechanisms for quality monitoring which is autonomous of the HKCAA (South China Morning Post, March 20, 2004).

Chapter 6

Conclusion and Recommendation

Conclusions

The aim of elucidating values of AE and CE practitioners that are embedded in the whole of their practice has been achieved in this study. The attendant objectives of describing both the profile for practitioners' philosophical orientations of AE and the profile for their preferences of values on policy of lifelong learning have been successfully completed. In addition, a social-cultural interpretation of practitioners' value formation has been undertaken by making reference to sociological theories that are adapted to the local cultural and institutional frames of reference.

The philosophical orientations tend to reflect the nature of activity undertaken by practitioners. For the trainers, a predilection for progressive-behaviorist philosophies is observed while for practitioners in the AE and CE sectors, the humanist-progressive philosophies predominate. In both groups, the radical philosophy is least preferred which probably reflects practitioners' reservation toward challenging the extant power relations in society and within their institutions. When the philosophical orientations are analyzed for association with practitioners' background, a significant finding is shown in the humanist philosophy only. Male practitioners have a lower preference for this philosophy which is compounded by age and years of experience. No such finding has yet been reported in other studies and it is conjectured that the finding may either reflect frustration or cynicism with the way the humanistic tenets of AE could be put into practice in their work context.

Among preferences for values of policy on lifelong learning, 'quality' reveals as the dominant value in three policy domains (program, curriculum/teaching

and learning/assessment, and organization/governance). Efficiency value takes three forms of expression: administrative, learner-centered, and economic (financial), for which the administrative form of efficiency is incorporated as part of quality value in this study. Of the other two forms, learner-centered efficiency is least preferred but economic (financial) efficiency is strongly supported. The preferences for values of 'quality' (incorporating administrative efficiency) and economic 'efficiency' suggest that practitioners increasingly align their practice with managerialist thinking in higher education and bureaucratic notion of accountability. Meanwhile, the lack of support for values of choice and equity may have explanations lying in the values of Hong Kong society rather than representing a drift away from socially-committed values of AE that are humanistic-emancipatory. In so far as practitioners cannot move from a position of policy affinity to policy advocacy, lifelong learning will remain entrenched in the current orthodoxy of human capital development and individualistic learning for work.

The findings are summarized into four themes that characterize the practice of AE and CE in Hong Kong.

1. Mismatch of values as the root of value conflict in practice

The mismatch of values is the result of AE and CE practice being located along a continuum of loci from higher education to CE to the market. Each of these loci operates under a different culture of practice with their specific preferred values. Thus, for higher education, quality (including administrative efficiency) and economic efficiency are emphasized, while profit, as the value of the market cannot be counted as an educational value at all. It is conceived that the most appropriate value to represent AE and CE is choice, which refers to expanding program varieties and enhancing curricular diversity so as to enable more people to take advantage of learning opportunities available for them. Clearly, the priorities of institutions (CE schools) are in the upgrading of their status as providers of part-time higher education for which the value of quality has to be

proven. At the same time, the self-financing pressure has caused them to emphasize the generation not only of sufficient income but also surplus (profit) to fund development activities. In this process, the value of choice is simply eclipsed.

2. Moral apathy and lack of social commitment as the consequences of upholding utilitarian and pragmatic ideals

The reason for practitioners to demonstrate ambivalence toward equity value, revealed as positive preferences in two policy domains and negative preferences in two other policy domains, can be traced to the social ethos of individualism where individual efforts geared to the pursuit of utilitarian goals are thought to drive economic prosperity. Under this culture, morality is weighed not by some external principles carrying universal validity but rather by the metric of utility in supporting personal goals. This form of morality is called situational morality. However, in circumstances where issues do not affect personal interest, individuals may simply decline to consider matters of moral significance, and it represents amorality. Manifestation of moral apathy is shown in the practitioners' lack of interest for equity issues concerning society (learning needs of broad social groups) but not those within their own field (learning needs of CE clientele). Moral apathy in CE is therefore an extension of the cultural ethos of amorality.

The rejection of radical philosophy is an indication of the conservative inclination of practitioners who do not want to perturb the current social order. Their predilection for the humanist philosophy means that they would support education as a tool to achieve personal development, in which learning is conceived as an individualized activity. This form of humanism is consistent with structural functionalism and could at most lead only to a 'learning organization' type of collective learning. The maintenance of distance between CE and the socio-cultural milieu is predicted to lead to imperfection of the

lifelong learning system that follows from it:

> Is it conceivable that we might have an expansion of human capital, as conventionally measured, and a decline in social capital? I think it is. This suggests a dystopia of individuals permanently plugged into their personal training programs which guide them to higher and higher qualifications, which in turn raise their chances of being the one who keeps their job, but without a sense of the value of learning which they share with others, including their employers, their families or their social milieu. If human capital accumulation occurs independently of such social contexts, it will be, at best, of very limited social and economic value (Schuller, 1998).

3. Non-criticality as a defining characteristic of practice

The most salient feature of AE and CE in Hong Kong is that program activities are extremely robust and move at a rapid pace in tune with the assumed needs of the market. Given the fixation with satisfying needs, there is no time left for practitioners to ponder the aims of education and to philosophize on their practice. The intentional avoidance of conflict (radical philosophy) also bespeaks their preference for adapting a 'bland approach' consisting of non-controversial stance and safe and respectable perspective, which is also preferred by North American adult educators (London, 1973, cited in Jarvis, 1995:86). This would involve supporting the economistic discourse of lifelong learning which is synonymous with human capital development. For most practitioners, towing the official line espoused in organizational objectives and priorities is simply part of meeting their job demands. As such, reflexivity is not a characteristic of their practice; and critical reflection that aims to thresh out power relations in AE processes and interactions or to find hegemonic assumptions embedded in one's own practice is unheard of. The almost predictable preferences of AE philosophies by the nature of practitioners' work (whether training or CE contexts) indicate that conformity to normative models of practice is strong. McKenzie (1985) critiques this inclination to conform as going against the principle of improving practice by not looking into what is truly valued in the process:

many adult educators merely accept patterns of practice (and corresponding theoretical assumptions) without testing these patterns critically. It is not altogether uncommon for some adult educators to be enthusiastic about techniques, procedures, instructional aids, and fads while at the same time avoiding a critical examination of the philosophical grounds for practice.

4. Modernist production and postmodernist consumption occurring in unison

An enigma of AE and CE in Hong Kong is the separation of the mode of consumption from the contents of learning. By this, it means that a postmodern mode of consumption of learning may be accompanied by choice of work-related or 'serious leisure' type of learning activity. In other countries (such as Japan), there is normally a good match between the two such that consumption of learning is focused on the pleasurable experience derived from it (process) rather than on the outcome it may lead to (e.g. a better job, enhanced competitiveness).

The postmodern mode of AE and CE consumption is fueled by an aggressive and sophisticated marketing strategy that providers put out to entice consumption by learners. Although the product (courses) being sold does not assure pleasure in consumption, its packaging is tuned to convey this message. For example, the allusion to quick and painless completion of top-up degrees leading to a new identity (university graduate) is one kind of advertising strategy that carries the postmodern flair of cultural consumption for identity-creation (CE as a vogue) and concern for the superficial rather than the substantive. However, this conceals the hard work and demand required in the course and leads to misconception by learners about standards and requirements. While postmodernism celebrates diversity and multiple validities of knowledge to meet variable tastes of consumers, CE production is still dominated by modernist practices such as the lack of curricular enrichment and reliance on old teaching and learning approaches in course delivery. Diversity of provision, flexibility of entry, and innovation in teaching practice are not supported by practitioners,

which point to a lack of real commitment to serve learners' needs despite the rhetoric advanced in marketing activities. This represents the contradiction of CE in Hong Kong, which retains an industrial mode of production to reduce operating cost while attempting to market the product as meeting needs of the post-industrial society.

Implications on Practice

In response to the problems mentioned above, a few approaches to resolve them are proposed as follows:

1. The problem of an imperfect market poses a big challenge to practitioners in determining reference to their actions. Already, CE exists in an uneasy territory defined by both educational (postsecondary and higher education) and non-educational (market) values. In other words, practitioners would have to make preferences among different philosophies of AE and policy values of lifelong learning given the ambiguities that exist in the system. While the market in AE and CE in Hong Kong is in the main private, it is constrained by the state which gives rise to inequality of status of providers (as a function of recognition and funding policies) that affects fair competition. Providers have not advanced the idea of choice and few efforts have been made to make learners better informed about options for learning. Despite these imperfections, the market flourishes and gives out a false impression of perfection to the complete outsider.

   How should the practitioner position himself in this sphere of activity prone to conflict of values? Ma's (1995:470) insightful analysis into the process of professionalization of AE under the new market environment calls for the need to address problems related to legislation, educational planning, administration and curriculum development. He strongly urged that these problems should first be resolved as their continued existence would hamper the professionalization

process. Under the fragmented and uncoordinated market conditions, CE activities will become an assortment of commercial activities and will lose its educational significance. As he contended, professionalization if achieved under this circumstance would be in relation to professionalism in marketing of programs but not in relation to attainment of professional standards or ethical dimensions of practice. Since the values of the market and those of education are incommensurable, efforts to maximize on one of them should not be carried out to the neglect or sacrifice of the other. This seems to be the only sensible approach as it is unavoidable that CE provision will have to be based on the market model of operation.

2. Reawakening of social commitment in AE endeavors has been the subject of interest for western researchers who see the need to reemphasize communitarian ideals and the value of social cohesion, using AE as a vehicle to achieve this purpose. This need is felt strongly in North America where reflections over decades of psychologically informed practice have pointed to its limitations amidst some other social-cultural models of practice, such as conscientization. Thus, very earlier on, London (1973, cited by Jarvis, 1995) argued that the:

> Central problem for adult education is to undertake programming that will raise the level of consciousness of the American people so that they can become aware of the variety of forces–economic, political, social and psychological-that are afflicting their lives. (p. 87)

A sociological turn for AE in North America came when Rubenson (1989) proposed that AE should be conceived as either a hegemonic or counter-hegemonic force linked to the reduction or perpetuation of structural inequalities in society. This has been extended by Cunningham (2000) who saw the potential for transformative action as lying within social movements in which non-formal AE could rightly take place. Quigley (2000) advocated that the knowledge gained from community-based action and research (forms of non-formal AE) should be applied to help build a civil society through social

policy. Thus, grassroots initiatives containing features of counter-hegemonic AE should not be left to exert their influence only at the community level since without their successful inclusion at the policy level, reproduction of inequity will continue in society.

In the Hong Kong context, which has neither a viable civil society nor a tradition of sustainable collective social movement, theorizing AE by using critical theory can still be rendered valid by analyzing how the market, buttressed by the power of the state (macro-level) and the organization's imperative for survival (meso-level), has acted to exclude practice models based on a radical humanist philosophy. Opportunities exist not for adult educators to challenge the market hegemony directly from within formal AE and CE but from outside of it. This can be done by moving away from economic concerns to construct alternative learning themes in non-formal AE settings that focus on a wide range of underprovided areas such as women empowerment (e.g. Capacity Building Mileage Program), elderly learning (e.g. elderly university), and a host of other AE learning activities connected to the enrichment of community life (see Appendix I, Table 19b, c, p. 284). The objective of all these will be to create a counter-hegemonic force in AE which could become part of the build up for a counter-hegemonic structure in society.

As for formal AE and CE, practitioners would best be guided by the same advice to engage in social policy advocacy but using the language appropriate to the model of social policy adapted. In the case of the market model, "it will be important to remember that officials invested in this models are likely to be interested when educational projects are clearly designed to forecast trends or provide educational assessments for social economic benefits; to create human capital through human resource development for economically-oriented programs; to address the economies of systems; and to enhance productivity functions ("value added"), which, in turn, are all measurable" (Quigley, 2000:217-218). Practitioners should bear in mind that equity value must be co-opted wherever

possible to offset unequal distribution of resources or opportunities as a result of policy implementation.

3. The challenge of critical reflection on practice is to uncover hegemony whose ideas, structures and actions have become part of daily life and hence assume features of normality. As Brookfield (2000) puts it:

> Hegemonic assumptions about adult education are those that are eagerly embraced by practitioners because they seem to represent what's good and true about the field and therefore to be in the educators' and learners' own best interests. Yet these assumptions actually end up serving the interests of groups that have little concern for adult educators' mental or physical health. The dark irony of hegemony is that educators take pride in acting on the very assumptions that work to entrap them. In working diligently to implement these assumptions, educators become willing prisoners who lock their own doors behind them (p.41).

Approaches to draw practitioners away from merely accepting common practices and assumptions that they have encountered and internalized can be carried out through redirection of strategies for education and professionalization. In the former, Rose (1998) concedes that the practice of AE should not be conceived in terms of specific set of skills based on a psychological understanding of learners (e.g. andragogy), but rather should highlight the significance of learner experience and teacher-learner relationship for effective programming. In this, the practitioner is required to become aware of his/her own decision-making process and conceptualization of the curriculum. Practice then assumes an inquiry-based model focusing on continuous self-critique, research and innovation (Rose, 1998). For professionalization, Lawler and King (2003) advocate that the same AE for adult students should be applied to the professional development of adult educators so that they could have an "opportunity to cultivate reflective practice, challenge assumptions, beliefs, and values, and engage in meaning-making". The outcome of which is likely to lead to changes in perspectives and conceptions of what is at stake in AE.

The relevance of hegemony in organizational learning is explored by Valentin (1999) who looked into the possibility of incorporating a critical perspective on workplace learning. This would in addition to training for domestication of a flexible workforce also allow education to support human agency. It is contended that managerialist control over organizations has imposed a form of regimentation of thoughts such that alternative views are labeled as inadequate adjustments to new ways of doing things. To her, the role of AE practitioners working in the organizational context is to help reclaim suppressed 'voices' and to set the climate for dialogue and critical thinking. The outcome of which would necessarily challenge organizational rhetoric and bring out contradictions, to which organizational life will be exposed as problematic and revealing the ramifications of power, bias, and prejudice in its processes and human transactions. While Valentin chooses to work within a conflict paradigm, Peterson and Cooper (1999) hope to bridge the gap between training and AE by way of emphasizing their commonalities and to maximize on this for creating integrated learning that connects workplace learning with professional development of the worker in his/her life span. This functionalist position that finds its logic justified through the claim that learning leads to productive citizenry can still maintain its humanist philosophical orientation despite training being persistently based on the behaviorist philosophy. It is likely that trainers in Hong Kong would want to follow this functionalist approach due to their reluctance to adapt approaches bearing radical and conflict connotations. The implication of such preference will be to discourage critical reflection.

4. It may well be that a postmodern reaction to continuing modernist dominance in AE and CE would be the most effective way to redefine the concept of needs. While it is argued in Chapter II that Hong Kong society exhibits both features of modernism and postmodernism, it is not clear as to what patterns of thoughts and action would be needed for practitioners to function in the face of broad societal changes brought about by globalization and advances in information technology.

In the face of lifelong learning being torn between superficial consumption (the act of consuming) that is postmodernist and substantive consumption (the purpose of consuming) that remains modernist, it has led to providers being able to continue dictating needs according to their own conceptions rather than those of the learners. The notion of a consumer society in lifelong learning exists only in name as providers remain firmly in control through their ability to generate needs, which help to perpetuate hegemony of the 'serious leisure' type of learning. This has implication for the growth and expansion of learning activities into non-formal AE and informal learning.

If practitioners were to help foreground the learners in future definition of needs, they should seek to address the emerging values of the consumer society and review their practice in light of such revisions. To Plumb (2000), postmodernism once again heightens practitioners' attention over ethical and moral issues as the wide-ranging societal transformations would almost certainly require them to rethink about their practice. From his study of practitioners' views of the role of AE amidst the vast socio-cultural transformations, Plumb found that some of them were articulating an instrumental role for AE to foster a well-trained workforce while others saw learning as having intrinsic value in enriching learners' experience. Despite the differences in response, all of them (including the former group) agreed that there was more than just work training in AE. His finding is suggestive of the fact that all practitioners harbor humanist ideals which could be released where appropriate conditions are met. The postmodern moment that gives rise to the consumer society could be better utilized to arouse in AE practitioners these new 'moral sensibilities' as Zygmunt Bauman calls them.

While each of these suggestions may have their particular merits in addressing the specific problems identified, they would need to be integrated within a systematic framework to guide practitioners' action.

Future Research

In criticizing about research on AE and CE in Hong Kong, it can be said that topics of inquiry have been overemphasized more than the methodology used for conducting the study. In the past, there has been a recurrent interest in researching about learner participation, motivation, constraints and methods of effective teaching and learning, which are all related to understanding learners for better planning of courses and marketing activities (Chan and Holford, 1994; HKU-SPACE, 2001; HKU-SPACE, 2003b; Carr, 1999). The methods used are necessarily quantitative and assumes an objectivist view of the world. Boshier and Pratt (1997) broke this mold by turning their focus toward understanding the subjectivity of learners, to which they came up with four models to describe the meaning of open learning from authentic Hong Kong public's views-idyllic island discourse, shameful inferiority discourse, lonely learner discourse, and impropriety discourse. This approach to research, which uses qualitative methods and adopts humanist epistemology, acts to direct research from the plane of structural functionalism to interpretivism. Studies of this nature can offer a richer account of the subjects' construction of reality than one assumed and superimposed from outside. The study of Ng et al. (2002) was conducted in this light and could reveal the conceptions of roles and responsibilities of both adult students and teachers, to which two types of learner orientations were characterized and matched with the appropriate teaching style: didactic/reproductive to 'transmissive teaching', and facilitative/transformative to facilitation of learning.

The difficult step following from where the interpretive paradigm of research ends is to foreground power relations in the research picture so as to move into the next plane of what Boshier (1997) calls 'radical humanism'. This paradigm involves challenging powerful interests groups and established worldviews and is consonant with contemporary change where structure-agency relations emerge as a central issue. Two research areas are likely to be most rewarding in producing results that could challenge the cultural basis of the dominant hegemony. First,

sociological study of intergenerational mobility and learning participation could go to the heart of answering whether equality of opportunity is more important than equality of condition. Given that the ideology of abundance of opportunity (Hong Kong experience) seems to be undermined by the worsening gap between the rich and the poor[1], the nature of opportunity that lifelong learning opens into, and for whom, deserve serious study. From study conducted in Wales, an overall increase of participation due to prolongation of the formal stage of schooling (initial compulsory and post-compulsory education) was not matched by further participation in learning once the initial stage had been completed (Gorard et al., 1998). The study also highlighted the effect of family background as a strong determinant for participation in initial post-compulsory education. It would be worthwhile to see the relevance of this to the postsecondary education expansion in Hong Kong and the effect of having more people who have undergone higher education on participation in CE in the future. As a reaction to the lack of preference for the equity value by practitioners in this study, which is in line with social ethos of individualism and policy-makers exhortation of self-sufficiency through lifelong learning pursuits undertaken to increase the chance for employment and success of adapting to workplace changes, serious thought should be given to the comment by Gorard et al. (1998) where "it is perhaps more likely in trying to create a learning society, that a just society will lead to an increase in participation, than that an increase in educational participation will lead to a just society". Research is therefore crucial to return equity value to its rightful place in the policy agenda.

Another area of interest pertains to the meso-level of inquiry which looks at practitioner-institutional interactions. As stated in Chapter III, this represents the subjective end of the present study and should be treated as a continuous series of inquiry. The purpose of such study is to investigate the interactions of institutional context with values of practitioners. It may require a methodology that leans toward the qualitative, subjective and transformative paradigms. Connor and Becker (1979:77-80) have outlined a systematic plan for conducting study which

consists of four aspects: values in relation to formal properties of the organization; values in relation to organizational processes; values in relation to organizational administration, and values in relation to organizational effectiveness. While mainly intended to contribute to knowledge in organizational theory, Connor and Becker's plan has highlighted value as a parsimonious predictor of organizational phenomena. When applied to CE schools, the study of the values of its members in relation to various organizational variables would be the best way to predict the character of lifelong learning that will come out from these institutions. Similar to what can be concluded from this study as practitioners' affinity for the values of policy on lifelong learning and hence suggesting a reserved attitude toward change, the study of values at the meso-level will be useful in assessing the potential for these practitioners to act as change agents in their workplace and thereby challenging the dominant hegemony perpetuated there.

One practical question that could be asked is how relevant this work would be to the AE and CE practitioners in Hong Kong? Why would the majority of AE and CE practitioners, who are seemingly comfortable with the way institutional arrangements and their own inclination make them feel is the right way to conduct their practice and to assume about the policy of lifelong learning, be taken to task by subjecting them to beliefs clarification on practice issues and survey about their preference on policy issues? Why should they be interested at all in understanding about hegemony, and the potential for counterhegemonic AE? These questions are certainly going to be raised by practitioners brought up in the tradition of what Boshier (1997) describes as "an overwhelming commitment to the pragmatic or functionalist forms of adult education".

Primarily, the answers to all these questions are like those to be given for justifying moral and religious education, and in so doing assumes a modernist stance. While moral and religious education point to the path for understanding spiritual dimension of human redemption and perfection, critical AE offers a way to understand its counterpart in the temporal dimension that could lead to democratic

practices, attitudes, institutions, etc. for building a better society. The reality of a majority of practitioners in Hong Kong not being made aware of the various social forces afflicting them is evident, and at the heart of this are the hegemonic structures ingrained in their minds without them actually realizing it. As this study concludes, an uncritical practice of AE and CE has led to a form of false consciousness being perpetuated where non-educational values (profit) and less relevant educational values (that of higher education) are preferred to proper values of AE and CE (choice); and worst still, preferences for these values sacrifice social commitment and the notion of justice (equity). Rejection by practitioners of the need for raising of consciousness can be expected as not everyone in this society would agree that democratic ideals are necessarily any better than prosperity and stability, a point explained earlier in Chapter II. In fact, the very notion of democracy has been disputed by many as having an Asian version that stresses more on collective rather than individual experiences of freedom. This notwithstanding, democratic aspiration of AE is a universal ideal pronounced in the Hamburg Declaration on Adult Learning (UNESCO, 1997), which all developed societies can be expected to make progress toward achieving it. From a professional standpoint, Brookfield's (2000) views are most appropriate to describe the relevance of critical reflection to practice.

> We do our work as adult educators because we believe that through our practice we can help ourselves and others lead more authentic and compassionate lives in a world organized according to the ideals of fairness and social justice. A critically reflective pose increases our chance of taking informed actions in pursuit of this project; that is, actions that spring from researched experience, that are underpinned by a clear rationale, and that have the chance of achieving the consequences intended. (p.47)

The process of beliefs clarification and of developing a working philosophy amounts to identifying the practitioner's image of self. The discrepancy between this and the conciliatory outcome of doing and believing in real world scenario often reveals a pattern of conflict of values. This conflict of values is played out in the meso- (organization) level where parameters are imposed on practice by

management. Therefore, to be able to clarify what one values in AE is just the start of an attempt to overcome dilemmas but not to eliminate it. As Podeschi (2000:623) contends, "knowing what one believes, and why, does not dissolve the tensions, but this self-knowledge can help to mediate the tensions, within oneself as well as with others. Indeed, having a personal hierarchy of beliefs does not even dissolve the tensions in one's own set of beliefs". What he argues for is the adoption of Isaiah Berlin's pluralist position where diversity of views is celebrated and attitude toward opponent views is characterized by respect for them as adversaries rather than enemies. If philosophical pluralism is to be strived for in education, then the central issue is on how the practitioner will be able to use his position to advance non-mainstream values while at the same time keeping his commitment to the organization but without being drawn into uncritical acceptance of institutional values. The benefits of doing so are as Podeschi puts it:

> Doing philosophy of adult education in this contextual complexity is at times paradoxical, at times painful. However, if philosophical pluralism is to be priority for educational communities, then this kind of practice is much better than a homogenizing professionalization that keeps individual and institutional mindsets in adult education focused on methodological and technical questions to the neglect of questions about purpose and premises. (p. 624)

At the end of the day, doing philosophy of AE is about becoming aware of one's self-knowledge and of respecting philosophical differences in others (i.e. one's own values as against others; conflict within one's own value system). It is a way to articulate morality in practice, which if combined with a constant attitude of critical reflection and serious academic scholarship would be able to breed practitioners who are more emboldened to challenge existing inequities rather than to reinforce it. Specifically pertinent to Hong Kong is the need to at least have some recognition for the importance of theory to inform practice. Elias and Merriam (1995) believe that "theory without practice leads to empty idealism, and action without philosophical reflections leads to mindless activism". The drift in values of practice to non-educational ones accompanying marketization can only be

prevented when there is consideration of the values underpinning practice.

Finally, the inquiry into practitioners' working philosophy of AE and their attitude toward the policy of lifelong learning requires monitoring of continuity and change in these values over time. Future research will have to look at how practitioners reshape their values in light of changing social, political and economic conditions. As learning has achieved some degree of permanence (institutionalization) in people's lives and that different forms of learning are taking place everyday and everywhere, practitioners need to grapple with real problems facing their practice. Field (1998) enumerates three main issues in this regard, viz.: (a) the type of learning to be supported; (b) the target groups to learn; and (c) the consequences of learning and not learning. These problems highlight the priority concerns of the lifelong learning agenda, which from the government's perspective is primarily a matter of resource allocation and policy direction to achieve maximum efficiency in human capital accumulation. However, for the serious AE and CE practitioners, it would entail questioning the ethics of funding policy, the desirability of current patterns of participation, and the motive of social engineering to fit workers into the knowledge-based economy that underlies the 'serious leisure' type of learning. These questions resonate with those asked by Apps (1973) concerning practice, and will help to bring his approach in identifying adult educators' working philosophy up-to-date in the 'lifelong learning' era. In Field's view, the change that lifelong learning has brought about on practice is most important, as "the real action will have to come from citizens and employers, the voluntary movement and, in the end, those professionals who have an inclusive and generous vision of how the learning society might look in the future". The practitioner stands out as the true mediator of the character of lifelong learning occurring at the course level because it is the aggregate of learning experience (Merrill, 2001) and not just teaching alone (done by tutors) that makes an impact on adult learners. For this very reason, the research on values of AE and CE practice must continue on so as to enable practitioners to reflect further on their work, with a view to eliminate self-interest and to regain control of their agency over the imposing hegemonic structures that

had ruled over their lives and those of their fellow citizens.

Notes

1. According to a research done by the Hong Kong Council of Social Services, the median household income of the highest income group is 25 fold higher than that of the lowest income group. This form of disparity is shown only in third world countries where Hong Kong's Gini coefficient of 0.52 is only better compared to countries such as the Central African Republic and Honduras. 25.5% of children belong to low-income families which could pose the problem of intergenerational carryover of poverty. (Ming Pao, October 17, 2004)

Appendix I

Adult and continuing education in Hong Kong

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Adult and Continuing Education in Hong Kong

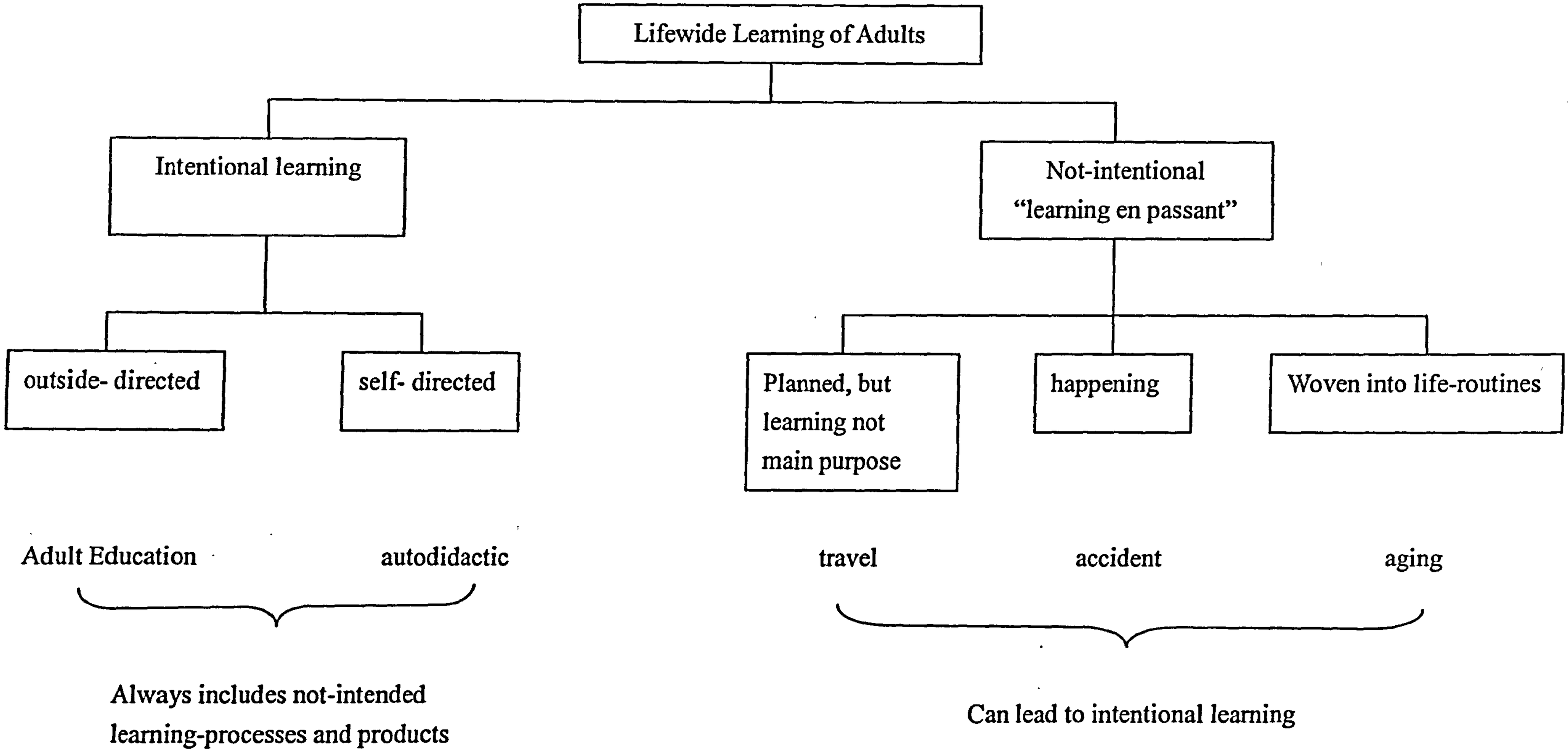
Definitions of AE, CE and lifelong learning

AE and CE practitioners in Hong Kong work within a field whose terrain has expanded significantly in the last decade from the 1990s. As such, it is no longer possible to clearly demarcate boundaries between AE and CE with higher education, post-secondary education, vocational/technical education, open and distance education, and lately, lifelong education. While there is no generally agreed definition of AE and CE, a working definition of this field of practice must be generated to clarify on the subjects for inclusion in this study.

It is noted that there are major differences between local and overseas definitions of AE and CE, and their relation to the concept of lifelong education or lifelong learning. In overseas usage, both the formal, non-formal and informal contexts of learning are included. As such, Weiland (2000: 653) defines AE and CE as "the many and diverse educational activities in which individuals or groups engage, some activities deliberately organized for learning and some not". There is also a less restrictive stance toward the context of course provision and the two terms generally denote broad aims of learning. Jarvis (1995) uses the term 'education of adults' to define AE and CE as "any educational process undertaken by adults, whether liberal, general, or vocational, and located in the spheres of adult, further or higher education or outside the institutional framework entirely" (p. 22). The scope of AE and CE following

this line of definition can be depicted by the model shown in Figure 26. In the Hong Kong context, AE and CE have a narrower focus limited by the type of learning that is called 'outside-directed intentional learning' in the model. This is the form of learning activity that AE and CE practitioners engage in planning for. Thus, Cribbin (2002a) defines AE and CE as encompassing "both general, liberal adult education where students undertake courses for their own sake and their own personal development as well as more formalized courses which lead to qualifications, often professional qualification, on a part-time basis (p. 18). As there is much emphasis placed on personal development and the connection between learning and career, therefore the term 'professional education' is also often used in conjunction with CE. Lee and Lam (1994a) define professional and continuing education as "education or training that is pursued beyond one's initial education (which usually finishes at secondary school or thereabouts) for the purpose of self-development or enhancing one's skills or expertise in the working world, whatever the setting" (p. 3). Connected also to professional education and continuing education is continuing professional development (CPD) or continuing professional education (CPE) which Cribbin (2002a) defines as having "a more specific meaning related to the development of individual within a profession, usually by further study such that skills and knowledge are continuously updated and refreshed, whether through a professional's own efforts in an external program or through a scheme devised by the profession itself (p. 17). CPE/CPD and professional education can be regarded as specific forms of continuing education.

The use of the concept lifelong education (often used interchangeably with lifelong learning in an uncritical manner) has been elevated into the level of



Source: Prof. Jost Reishmann, University of Bamberg, Germany
http://www.uni-bamberg.de/ppp/andragogik/AEinGrmy.htm

Figure 26 Structural scheme of adult education and adult learning

official jargon by the Education Commission after the release of its reform blueprint for the education system in Hong Kong in 2000 (Education Commission, 2000c). Though this term has its root in the humanistic tradition of the Faure Report that stresses democratic principles in learning and system of education (Boshier, 1998), the local definition is limited largely to the attainment of two major learning objectives: personal development and learning for employment. As a general organizing concept for the education system, it also carries the notion of curricular broadening and flexible learning progression. Thus, lifelong learning is envisaged to cause changes in the culture of learning such that:

> Hong Kong will develop into a society that values lifelong learning. Everyone will have the attitude and ability for lifelong learning and a willingness to advance further beyond the existing knowledge level, and to continuously consolidate and upgrade their knowledge and ability. In addition, there should be diversified learning channels and opportunities to meet their learning needs. (Education Commission, 2000c: 34).

The use of lifelong education as an organizing concept for the education system has helped to bring continuing education into the folds of official discussions on education. From this perspective, continuing education constitutes one stage of lifelong education. However, there are also definitions that take lifelong education as being equivalent to continuing education (Cheng, 1999; Cribbin, 2002a). This narrower definition of lifelong education is then synonymous with post-initial education, where the latter is also regarded as equivalent to continuing education (Jarvis, 1995). Post-initial education as used in Hong Kong context refers to education after the continuous formal education stage in

which the learner has already acquired working or mature social experiences and would undertake studies or learning interspersed with work and social life.

For the purpose of this study, the definition of an AE and CE practitioner is one who engages in program planning in post-initial education in a wide range of educational, learning and training settings. This would allow for focus to be placed on university-based continuing education, employment retraining, adult education (liberal and vocational), private-run continuing education, CPE, and open and distance education. In this way, segments of post-secondary education and vocational education that are now run by the CE sector based on market model and admitting students from the regular school education system into full-time programs will not be unduly counted as AE or CE activities although such activities are located within the same organization.

Adult and continuing education as a field of practice

Roles as defined in AE and CE literatures

The practice of AE and CE is shaped by both context (society and organization) and the qualities of practitioners. The context can make a large contribution by defining parameters for taking action, which in combination with the practitioners' background will affect their perception of roles and sense of purpose. As role can be defined from both organizational theory and sociological points of view, it will therefore be appropriate to discuss roles of AE and CE practitioners in terms of what they perform within their organizations and

the possibilities for role interpretation, re-interpretation and creation as a result of critical reflection. This embodies not only the passive act of conforming to established roles but also of creating new ones. The fluidity of roles in AE and CE practice can be attributed to both organizational requirement for flexibility in task allocation and performance (i.e. multitasking) and the lack of an ascribed status for AE and CE practitioners who work between the margins of education and enterprise. The indeterminate structural basis of practice has implications for practitioners' agency, especially with regard to their ability to navigate between multiple structural loci (i.e. higher education, markets in education) and to make their presence felt in these different practice settings. In other words, practitioners' agency is not bounded up by one single structure as the notion of a CE structure (i.e. the institution, its rules and practices) itself is shifting and what needs to be reinforced or changed is not altogether clear. One way to make meaning out of this ambiguity would be to conceive of roles as practice sets, each being the combination of context, self and others' perception of roles, and values. In addition, a historical understanding would be useful to understand not only the evolutionary nature of roles in AE and CE but also about the gains and losses incurred in the process of policy advocacy by practitioners. This discussion will look at how roles are defined in the literature on AE and CE, survey the qualities of practitioners in Hong Kong, and define three practice sets through a historical-deductive approach that gives due account also to policy processes occurring within those specific historical contexts.

Despite a lot of discussions being made about professionalization in the past, AE and CE practice has remained largely an occupation without clearly prescribed roles. For full-time staff (i.e. practitioners), their duties involve very

little of teaching and mainly concern with administrative functions. The multiple roles they perform conform to those enumerated by Newman (1979 cited in Jarvis, 1995:166-167): entrepreneurs; wheeler dealers, administrators, managers, animators, trouble-shooters, experts on method, and campaigners (i.e. policy advocates). Practitioners often have considerable freedom in determining how they would discharge their duties even when acting within organizational constraints; and they could adopt different strategies to negotiate power and interests with both stakeholders from within and outside the organization. Most practitioners join the occupation with prior experience gained from another field and learn to maneuver their way through hands-on practice. The rationale for a training program can be divided into a traditional approach of training educators of adults and a newer concept of training lifelong learning professionals. The former is exemplified in North America by graduate school adult education programs that place emphasis on critical reflection on practice and involve some engagement with scholarship and research (at least some training in perusing research) whereas the latter stresses on training for productivity through defined outcomes or core competencies for work. In the former, where training is conceived as professional development, it has to elaborate on the purposes of AE and the ways to realize these purposes. This constitutes a critical rationale for training of educators of adults which is made up five purposes: (a) gain familiarity with theoretical literature on AE practice; (b) situate practice within socio-political context; (c) develop personal philosophy of AE; (d) identify 'theory in use' that guides practice; and (e) reflect critically on givens in AE practice, research and theory (Brookfield, 1988). The alternative training approach aims to produce results that are readily visible to the organization. In contrast to professional development by way of continuous

reflection on practice, the competency approach speaks of job satisfaction when some primary capacity areas are met, such as in: program management, quality control, finances and marketing.[1]

These two training philosophies relate to variances in conceptions about roles, where the former would represent a 'continuing educator' model whereas the latter could be referred as an 'omnibus learning professional' model. Yet another type of role is that of the academic, which is exemplified by teacher-researchers in adult and continuing education departments of universities who would normally have some teaching duties, conduct research and organize programs. This model, which may be called 'AE academics' model, still exist broadly in North American graduate schools but has found obsolescence in the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth following the demise of the extra-mural tradition, the closure of AE and CE departments and the absorption of AE and CE researchers within mainstream university departments. AE academics in North America are themselves divided over the disciplinary basis of AE and its future direction, where the mainstream learner-centered humanistic psychology focusing on individuals' learning (e.g. Knowles' theory of andragogy) is increasingly being challenged by advocates of a collectivist-oriented form of adult learning that connects to social policy advocacy (Quigley, 2000) and collective social action through the civil society (Cunningham, 2000). This form of dichotomization of practice naturally spells two distinct and contrasting roles for the practitioners. Boud and Miller (1998) regarded this form of polarization of practice as counterproductive and worked toward a synthesis of perspectives to give rise to the concept of 'animation', which they explained is not to be considered as a role but rather a new

conception of educational practice for those involved in fostering learning. Their argument is that traditional roles such as teachers or facilitators have limitations of perspectives, and that a concern for the context (different milieus where learning is situated), the identity (both learners and animators construction of self), and the relationship between learners and animators (attention to power-knowledge relations, need for negotiation and consent), would be needed to render the fostering of learning feasible, as learning no longer takes place solely within familiar educational institutions and the teacher-learner or facilitator-learner identities are breaking down. The insecurity with roles in postmodernity is also reflected by the varied identities that CE educators created for themselves in the empirical study of Fenwick (2000). Using the generation of metaphors as a method of critical reflection, CE educators were able to explore on the critical questions of "who they are, what they do in their practice, and how they do it". The metaphors resulted in four images of identity which were named as: adventure guides, outfitters, firestarters and caregivers. The said outcome of metaphors generation forms an anchor for CE educators to express their sense of practice into some kind of stable identity as an adult educator.

At another front, post-modernization of society results in the redundancy of classical social structures and arbitrariness of knowledge that is coupled to the elevation of individualistic self-referential experience into systemic validity of its own. Alheit (1999) sees in this a gap between the "human-centred shaping of the total and the autonomous realisation of the individual. The postmodernisation of society and the biographisation of the social are contradictory learning processes at first that do not automatically end in a utopian

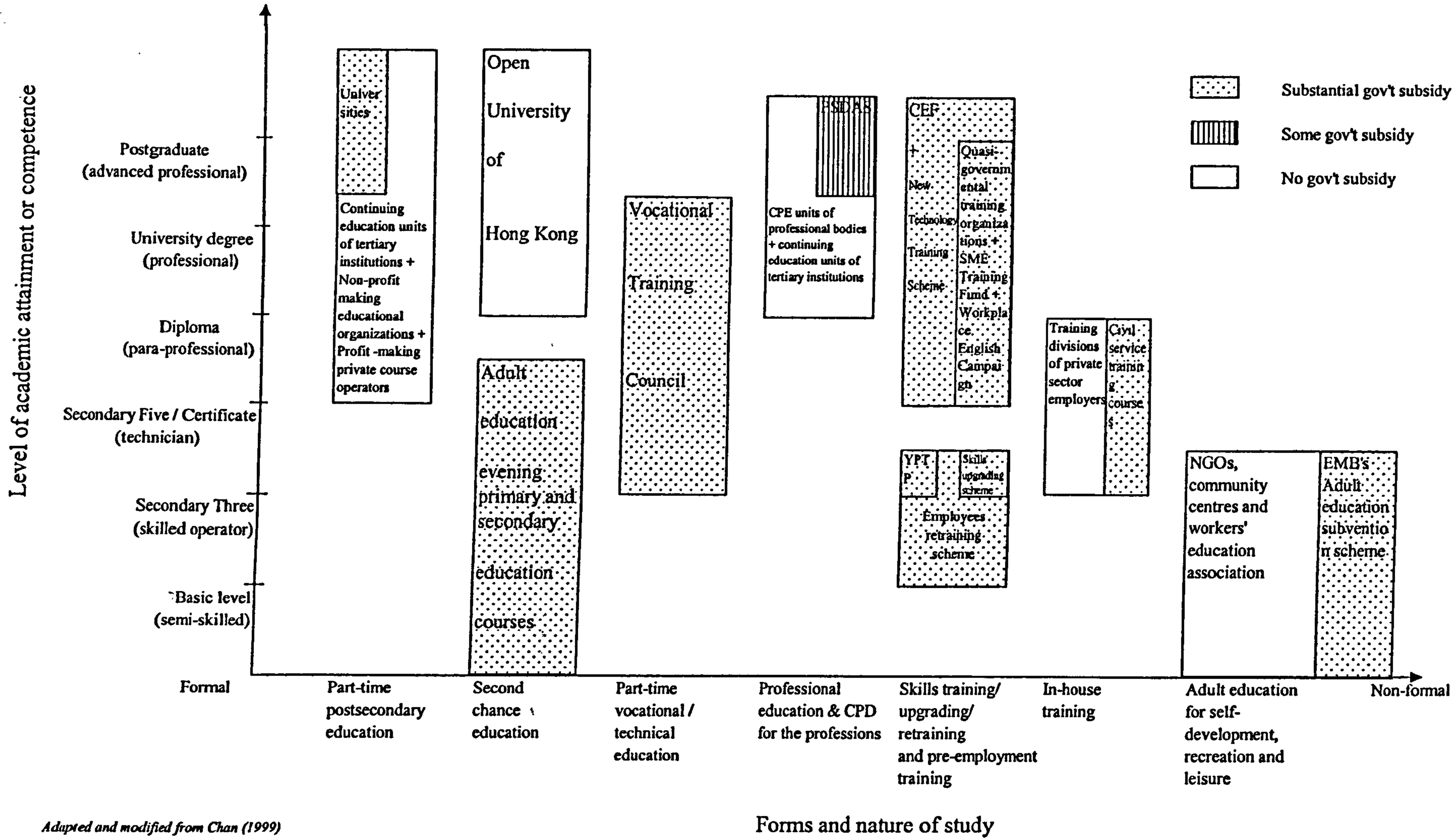
learning society". He contends that a solution lies with influencing learning that takes place in the meso-level, where many and varied forms of traditional and new organizations are emerging to take on roles previously undertaken by the private spheres of family and traditional communities and the public spheres of the market and the state. This professional action sphere so constituted can offer an opportunity to ground AE in civil society, and that through the informalization of learning coupled to democratization of meso-level institutions (companies, organizations and educational institutions), a new civil public sphere can thus be created to fill in the void caused by the drift between systemic macro-structures and the biographical micro-world (Alheit, 1999). His allusion to lifelong learning in the future has therefore given rise to a futuristic conceptualization of practice that will render the definition of roles for practitioners even more challenging.

Survey of practitioners

There has been no systematic account in the literature on the characteristics of AE and CE practitioners in Hong Kong. Without the benefit of a formal survey, aspects relating to their background can be surmised from analysis of staff profiles and extrapolations of data on course provision.

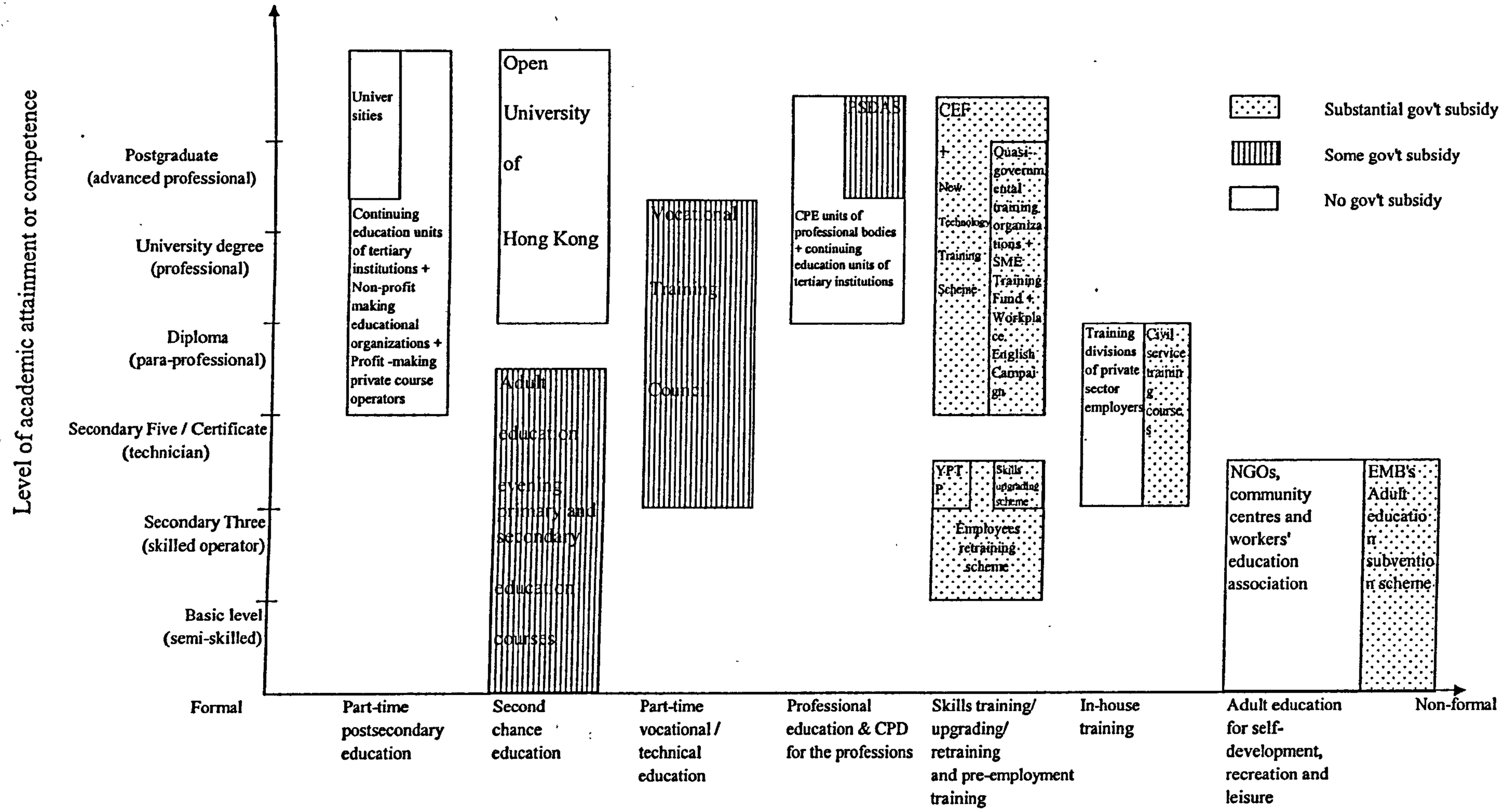
A versatile scope that encompasses personnel associated with lifelong learning programs would include settings such as: part-time higher education; continuing education in universities; adult evening schools (formal school curriculum), part-time technical education; CPE or CPD; job-related training (skills upgrading, retraining and pre-employment training); corporate training;

community education and recreational education (Figures 27 and 28)[2]. All of these settings can be classified as formal AE and CE with the exception of the last two which belong to non-formal AE that are run in community centers[3]. Based on this, the majority of practitioners are therefore preoccupied with program planning for formal learning activities that are concerned with knowledge and skill acquisition related to work, of which the subject interests are mainly in information technology, business, industry-specific skills training, language and accounting. Course duration normally exceeds one year and courses are overwhelmingly offered on a fee-paying basis (Figure 29). Comprehensive survey of providers suggests that course activities are concentrated mainly in three sectors: CE schools of universities (i.e. FCETI); trade unions and commercial associations (e.g. HK Federation of Trade Unions Spare-time Study Center and training entities that administer skills-upgrading/retraining programs); and quasi-government training bodies (e.g. HK Productivity Council, VTC) (Figure 30). However, the largest number of full-time staff with responsibility for program planning is found only in the FCETI member institutions, and hence it follows that the study of AE and CE practitioners would focus on members of this group as subjects. Within the FCETI member institutions, there is differentiation in program-levels and developmental priorities although almost all of them offer a combination of short courses, subdegree and undergraduate programs. The more established institutions (HKU-SPACE, HKBU-SCE, and CityU-SCOPE) generally have a higher percentage of part-time undergraduate programs, a growing proportion of new subdegree programs (AD) on top of old certificate and diploma offerings, and a small proportion of postgraduate programs. Only one institution, CARITAS-CAHES specializes in offering short courses as its original mission as



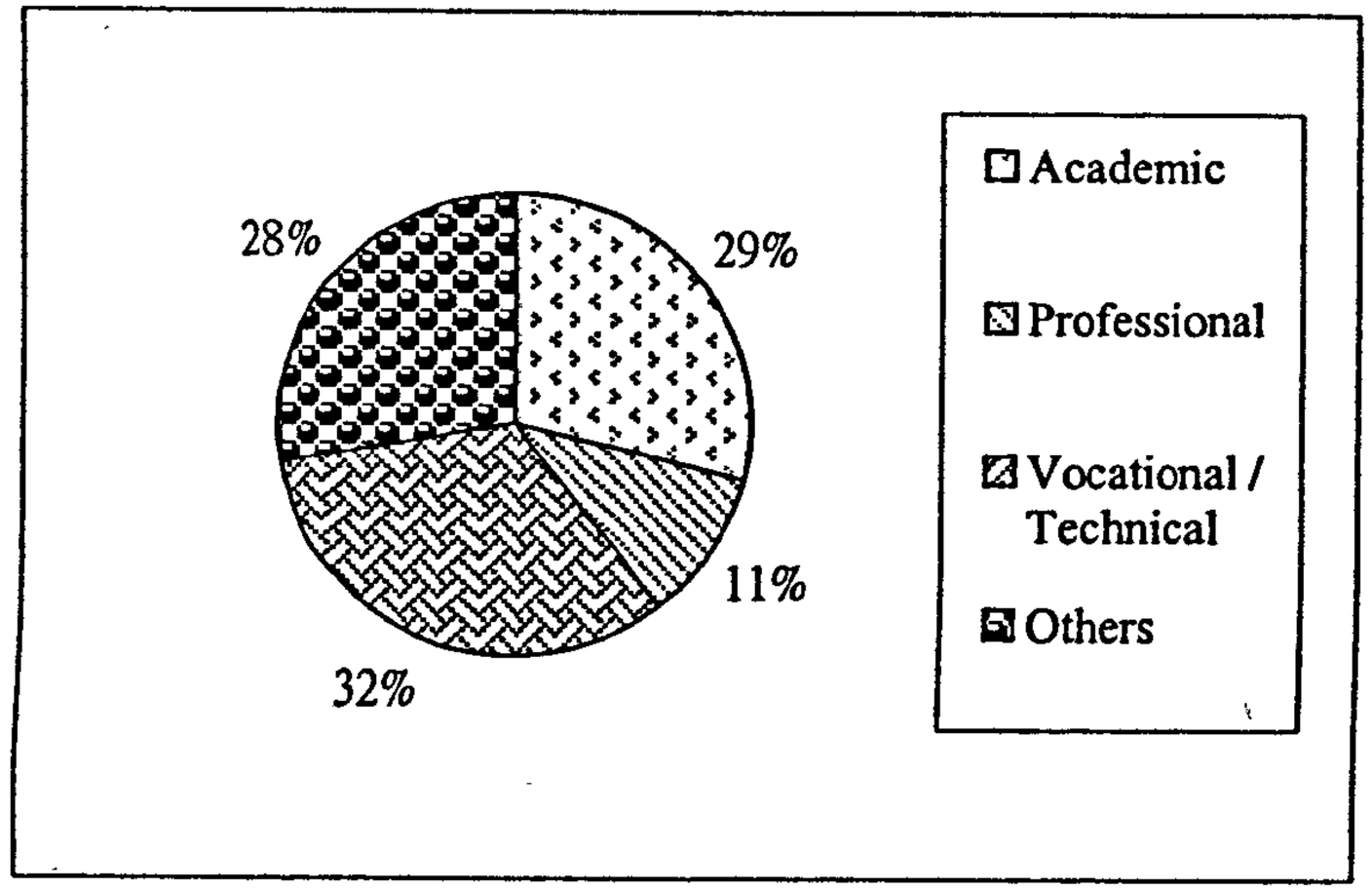
Adapted and modified from Chan (1999)

Figure 27 Provision of adult and continuing education opportunities for adults in Hong Kong (Before 2003)

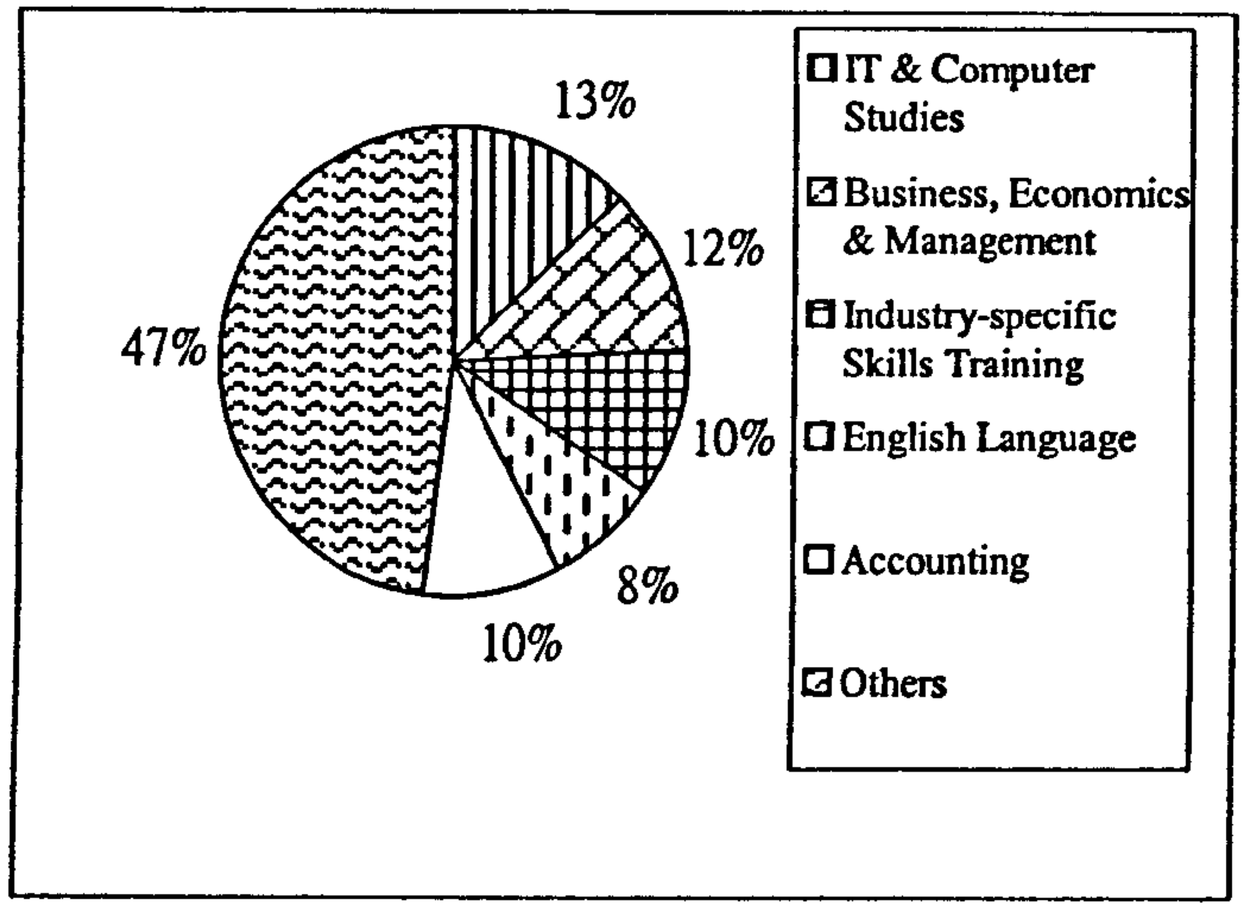


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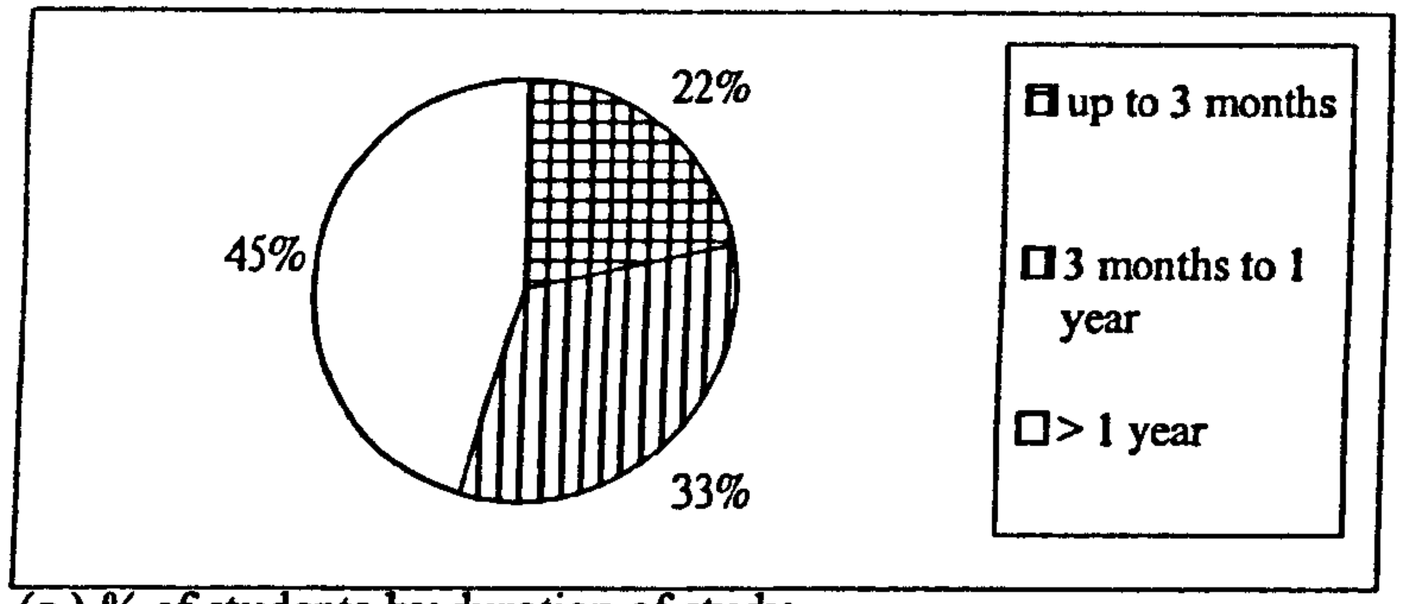
Figure 28 Provision of lifelong learning opportunities for adults in Hong Kong (2003-2005)



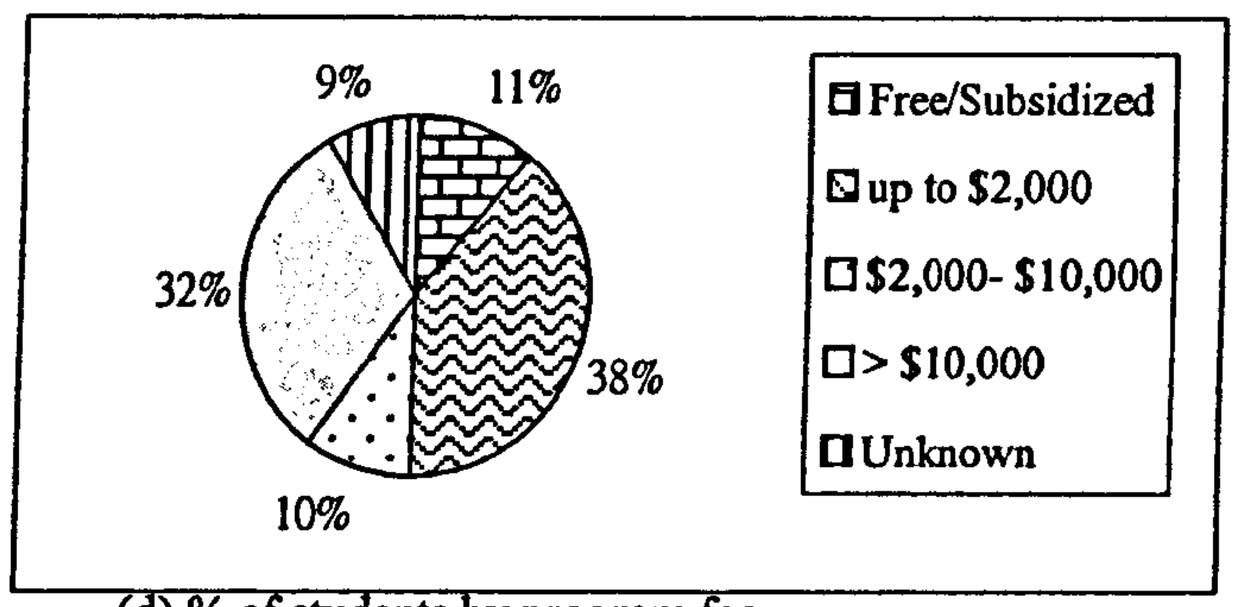
(a) % of students by type of program



(b) % of students by key area of study



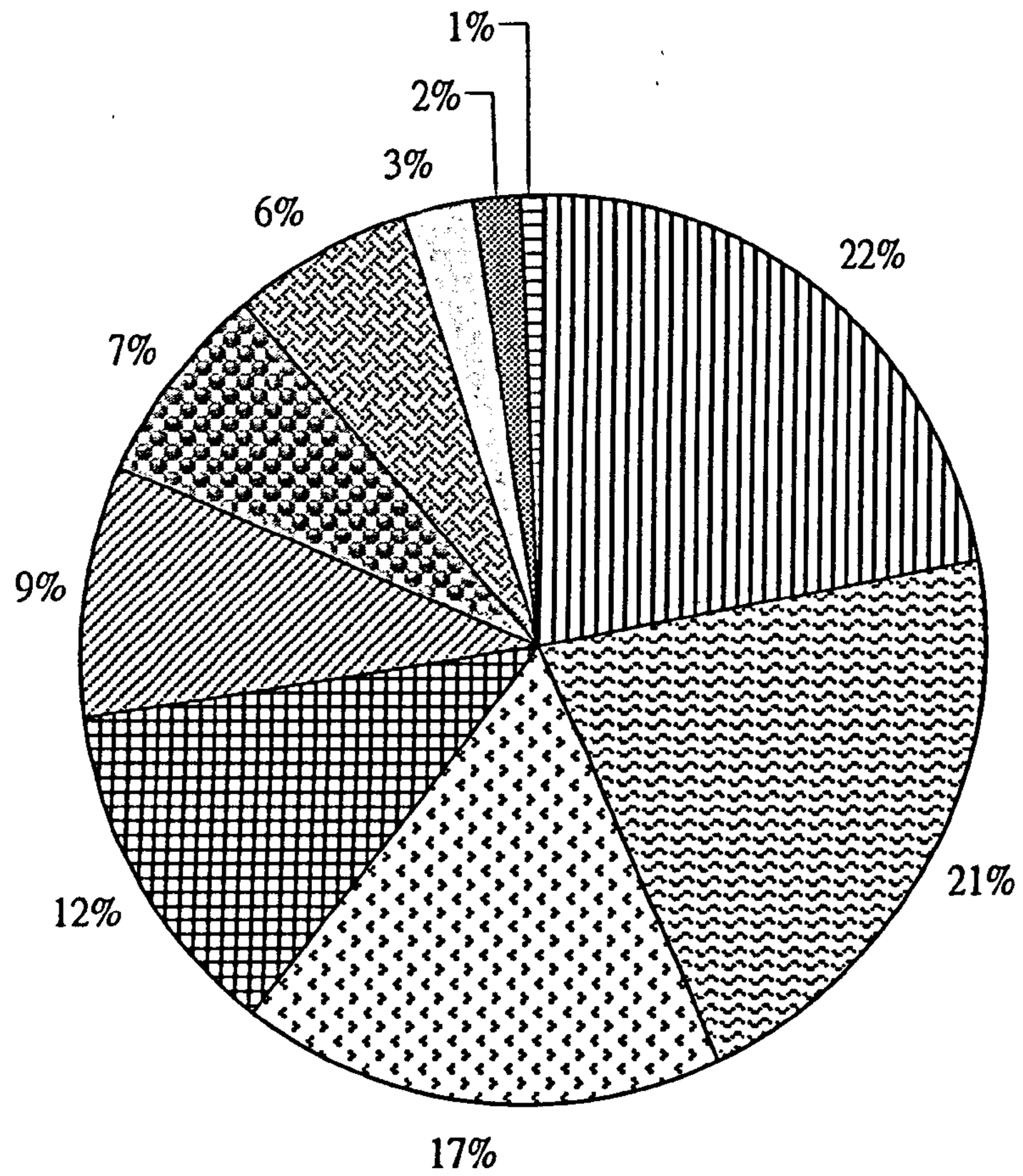
(c) % of students by duration of study



(d) % of students by program fee

Data source: EMB stocktaking survey of CE in HK 2001

Figure 29 Characteristics of participation in CE courses in HK



Professional & continuing education section of UGC-funded institutions

Commercial associations/Trade organizations/Trade unions

Government-related organizations/other statutory educational & training bodies

Others (private schools)

Professional bodies

UGC-funded institutions

Government departments/bureaus

Voluntary organizations/Social services agencies

Non-government organizations providing in-house training to employees

Overseas institutes

Data source: Stock taking survey on CE in HK 2001

Figure 30 Types of course provider measured by student number

a Catholic educational outreach organization differs from the other university CE schools (Figure 31). The decline in short courses seems to be the combined effect of the institutions' lack of targeting of this segment for development and the market's inability to sustain growth. There is some evidence to suggest where institutions do selectively target the short course segment; developments in other fast growth areas (subdegree programs) are accordingly reduced. The cases of CUHK-SCS and OUHK-LiPACE are illustrative of this point (Figure 32). These data on participation and nature of course provisions suggest that practitioners in CE schools of universities are overwhelmingly involved with postsecondary education (diploma and certificate), further education (AD), and part-time higher education, and have almost shed their previous connections with non-certificated education (short courses).

The robust growth in the CE sector, as exemplified in the trend of increase in student enrolment in HKU-SPACE (Figure 33a), is brought about by versatility in program expansion to meet new needs, such as for degree access programs and top up degree programs in the late 1980s thru the1990s, and more recently since 2000, AD programs (Figure 33b; 33c). There is also evidence to suggest that growth in a new market segment is accompanied by decline in traditional ones. To illustrate this point, the growth in award-bearing programs in CUHK-SCS is accompanied by a decline in non-award bearing programs (general courses) and programs that are based on old technology (paper-based distance learning) (Figure 33d). The decline in the latter can also be attributed to the advent of similar provisions offered by OUHK using more advanced educational technology for delivery. While full-time practitioners in FCETI

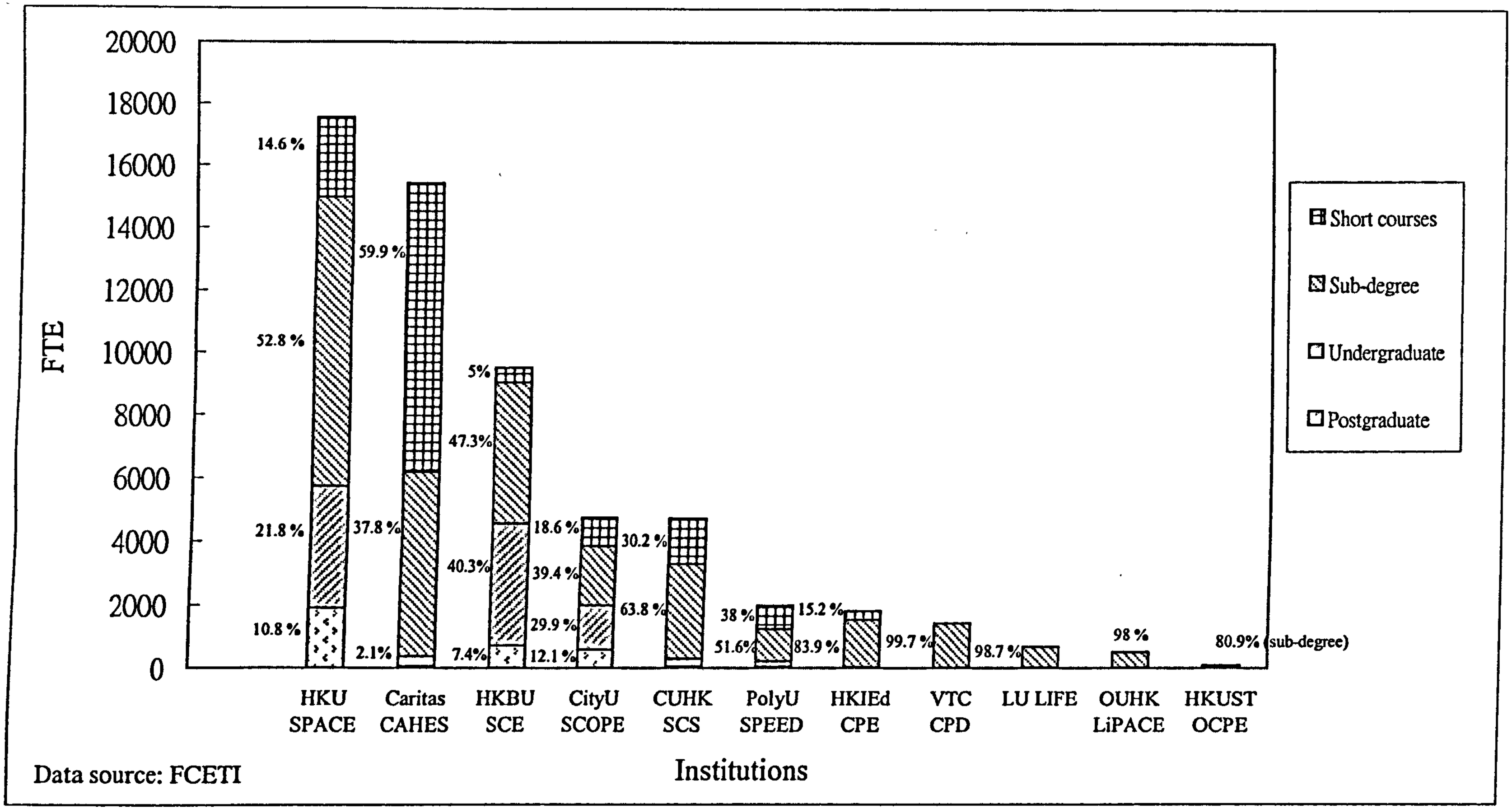
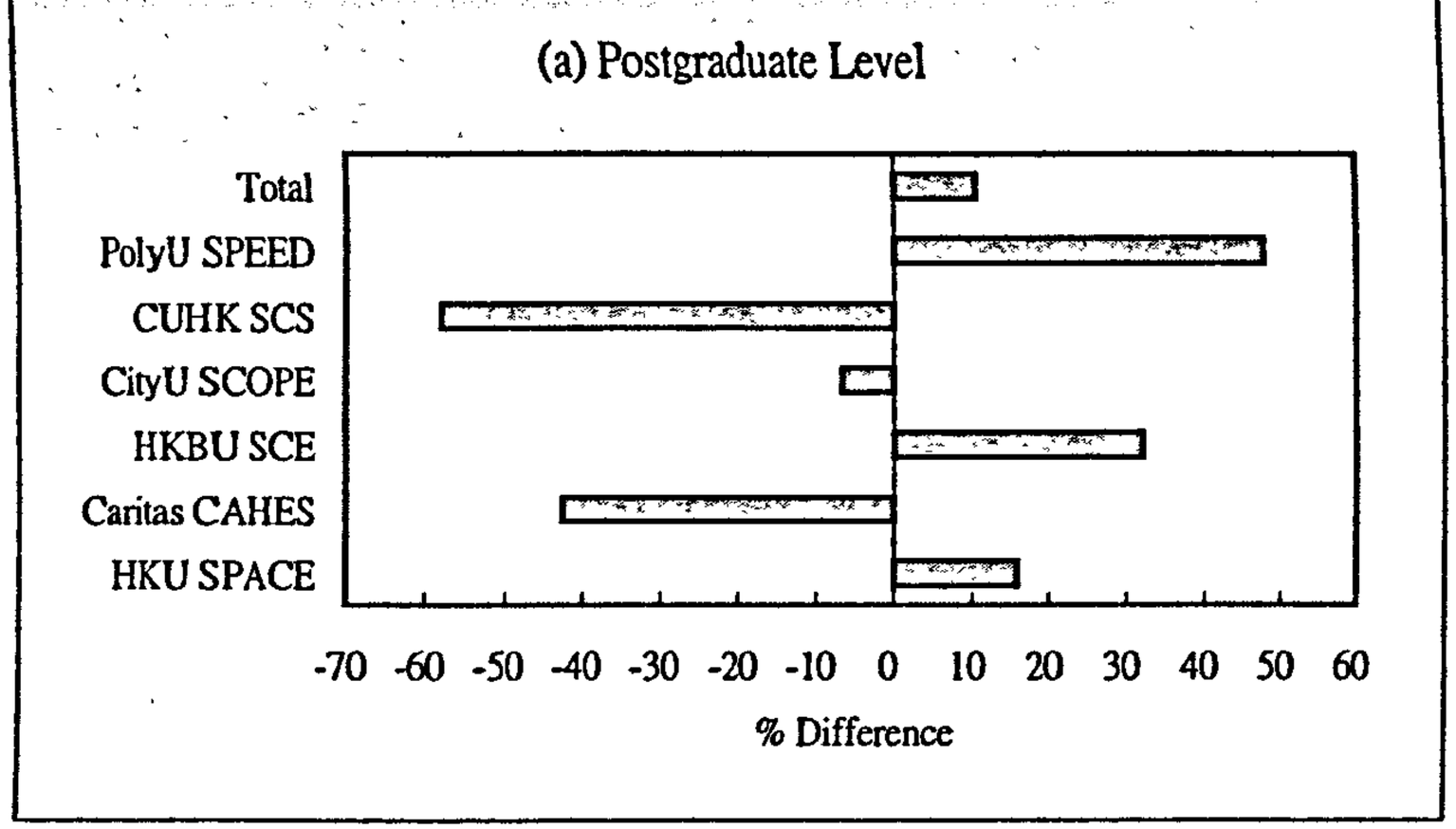
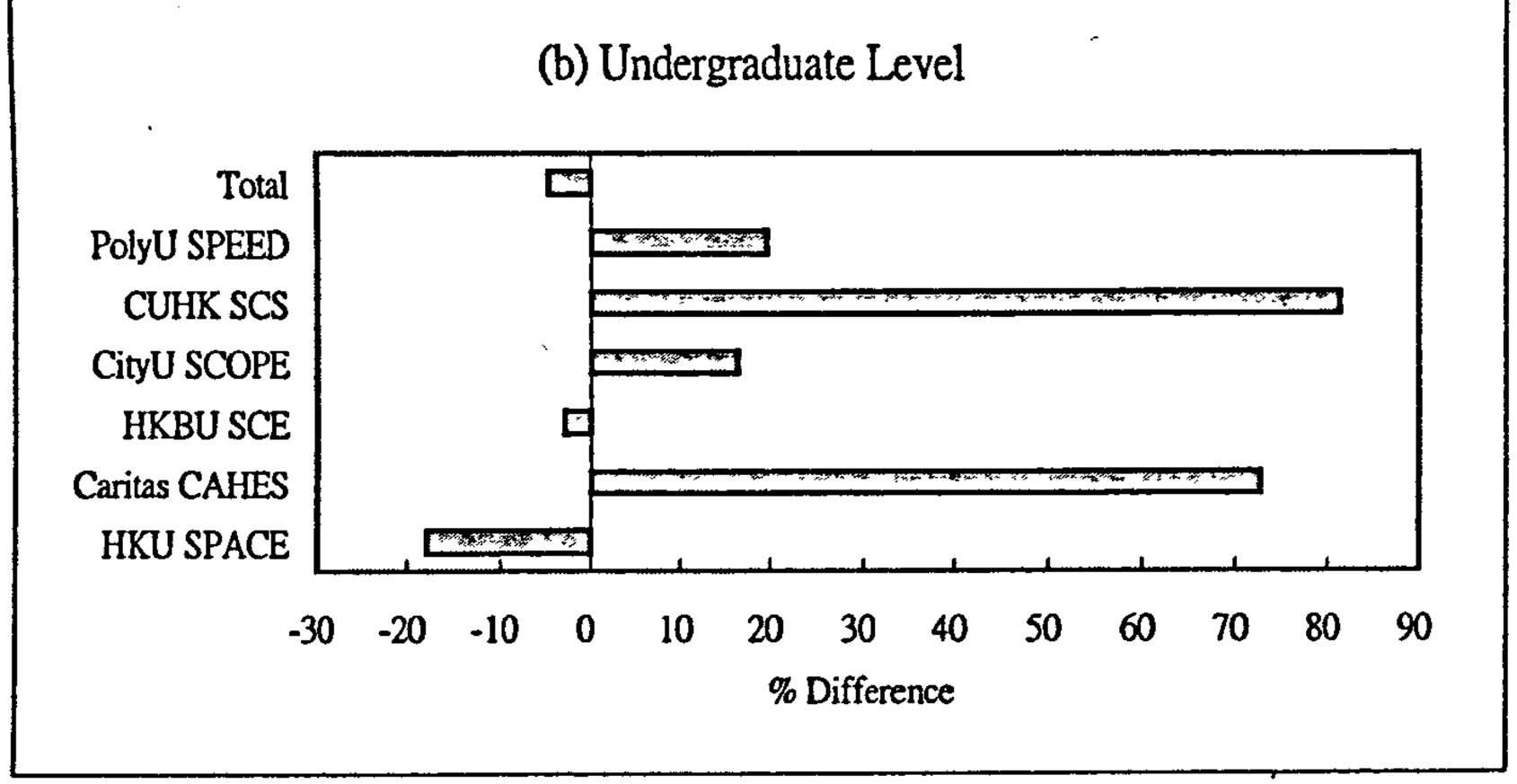
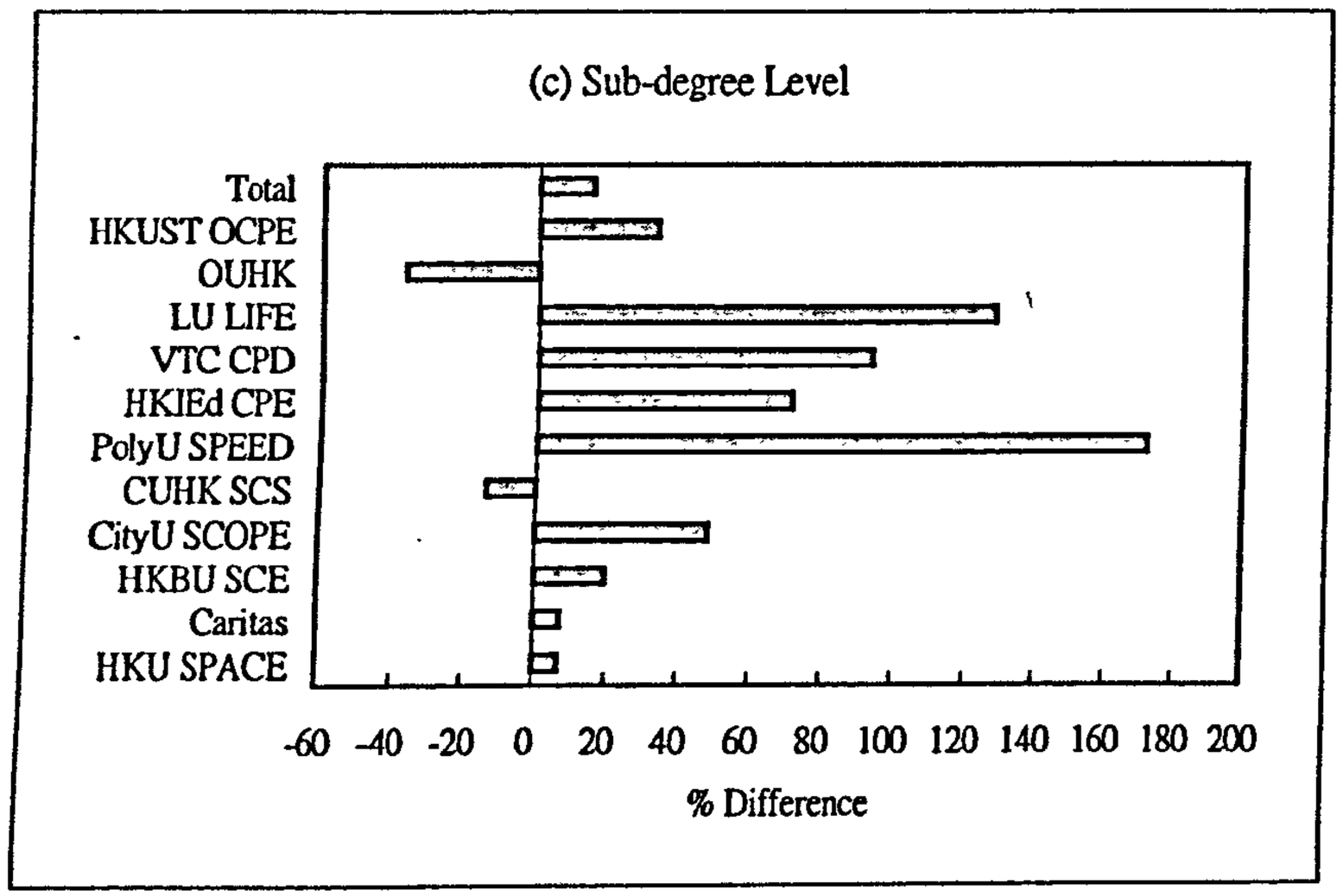
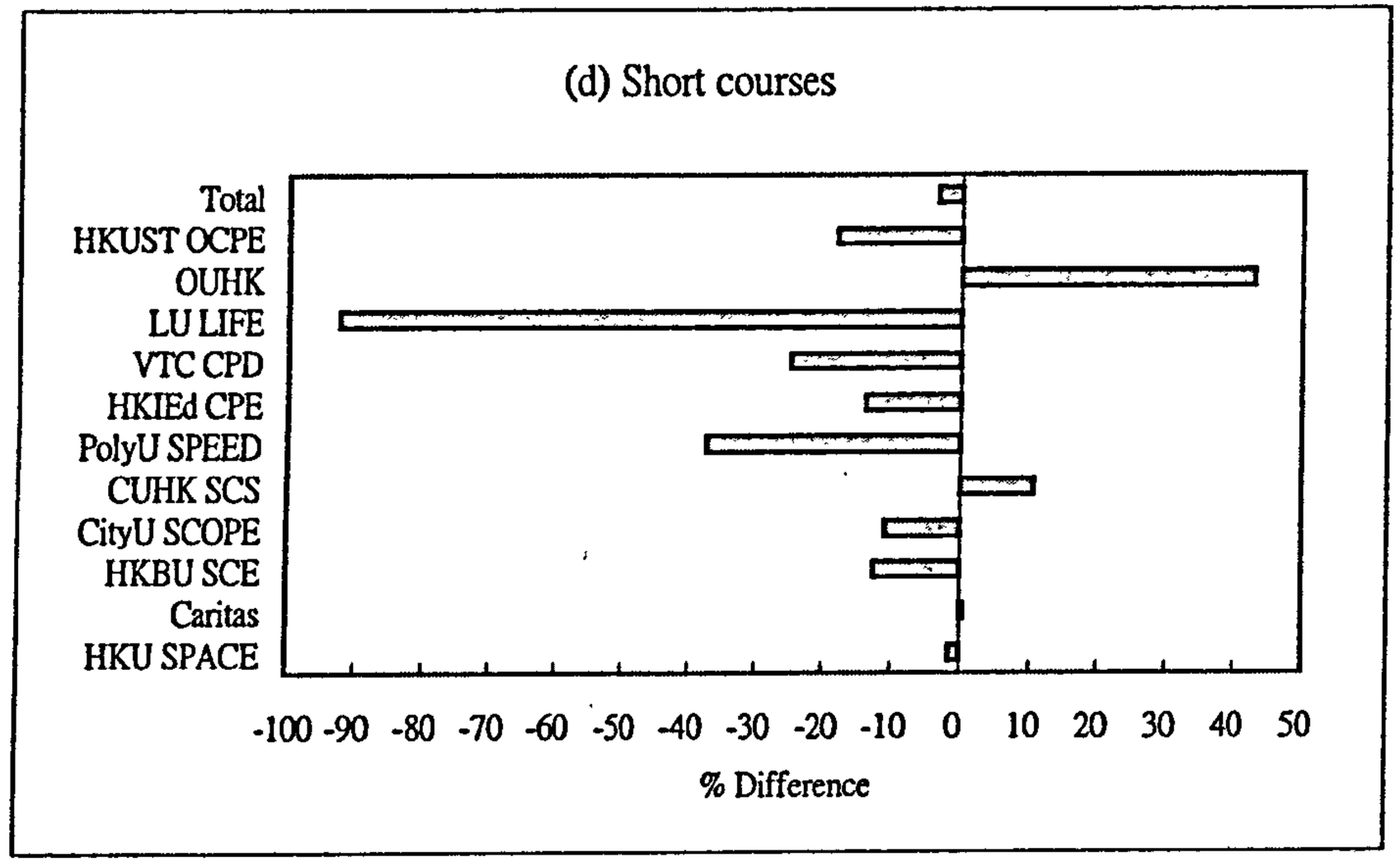


Figure 31 Types of program provision by academic level in FCETI member institutions for academic year 2002/2003



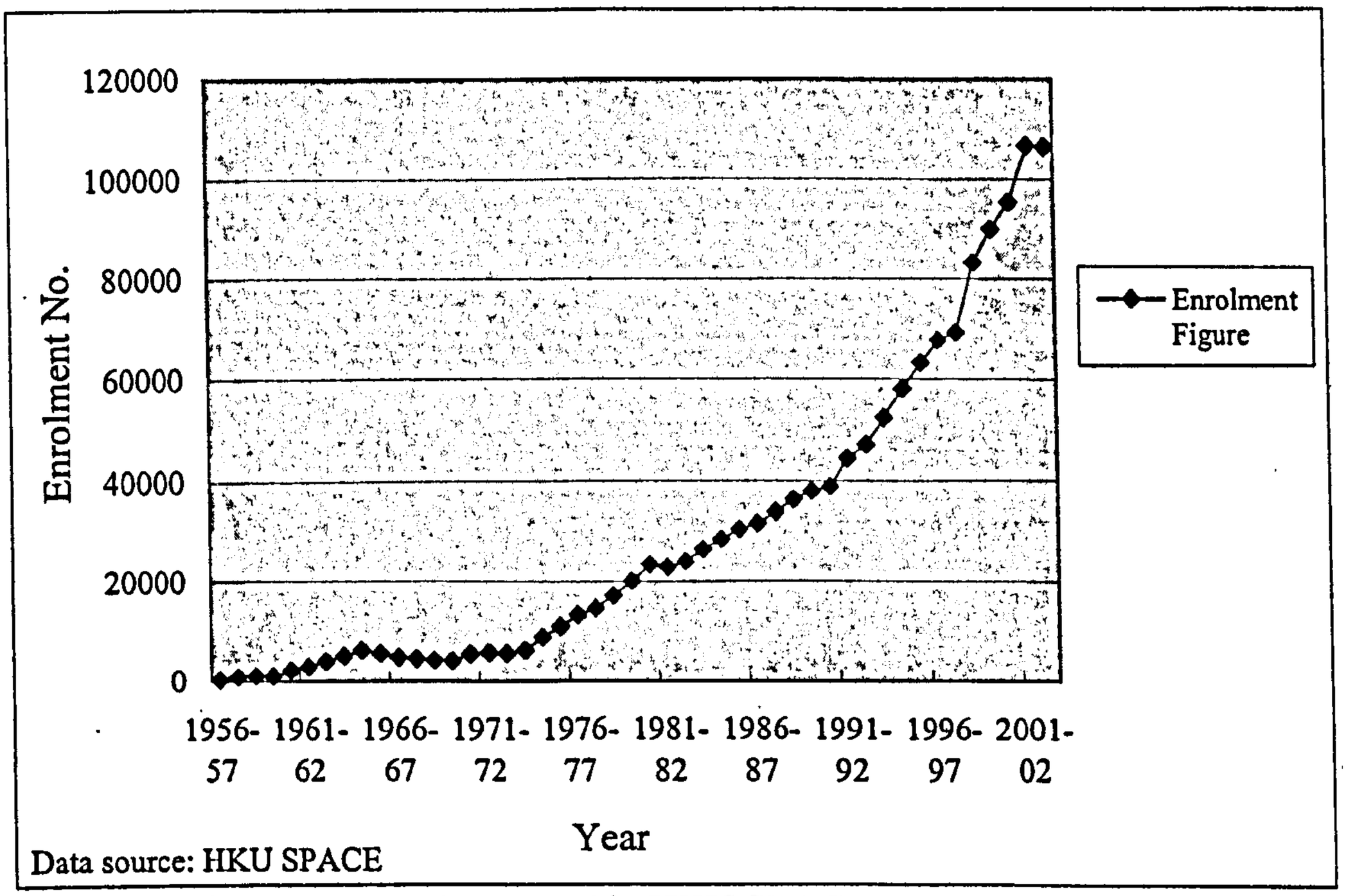




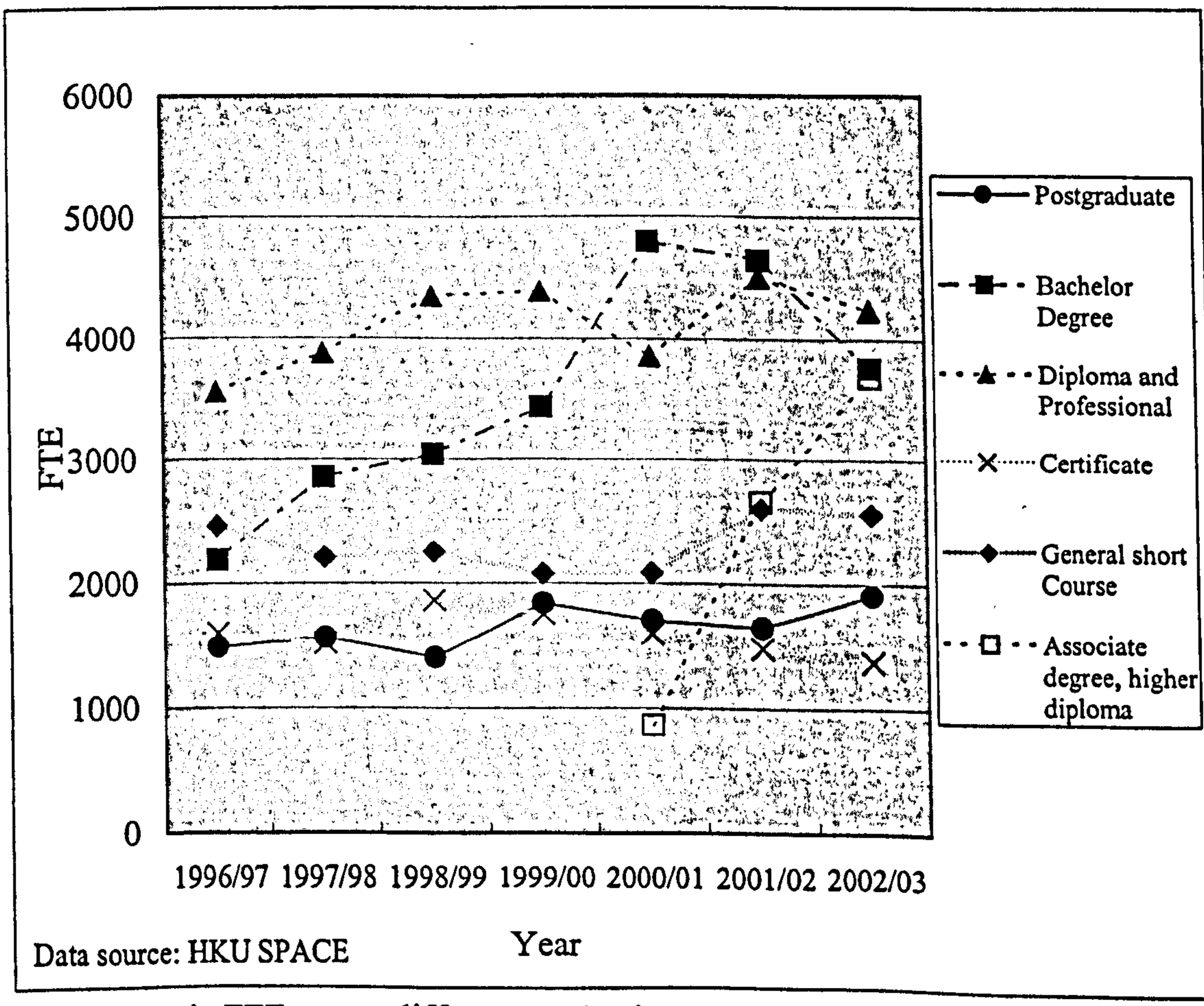


Data source: FCETI

Figure 32 Changes in FTE of FCETI member institutions in academic year 2001/2002 and 2002/2003

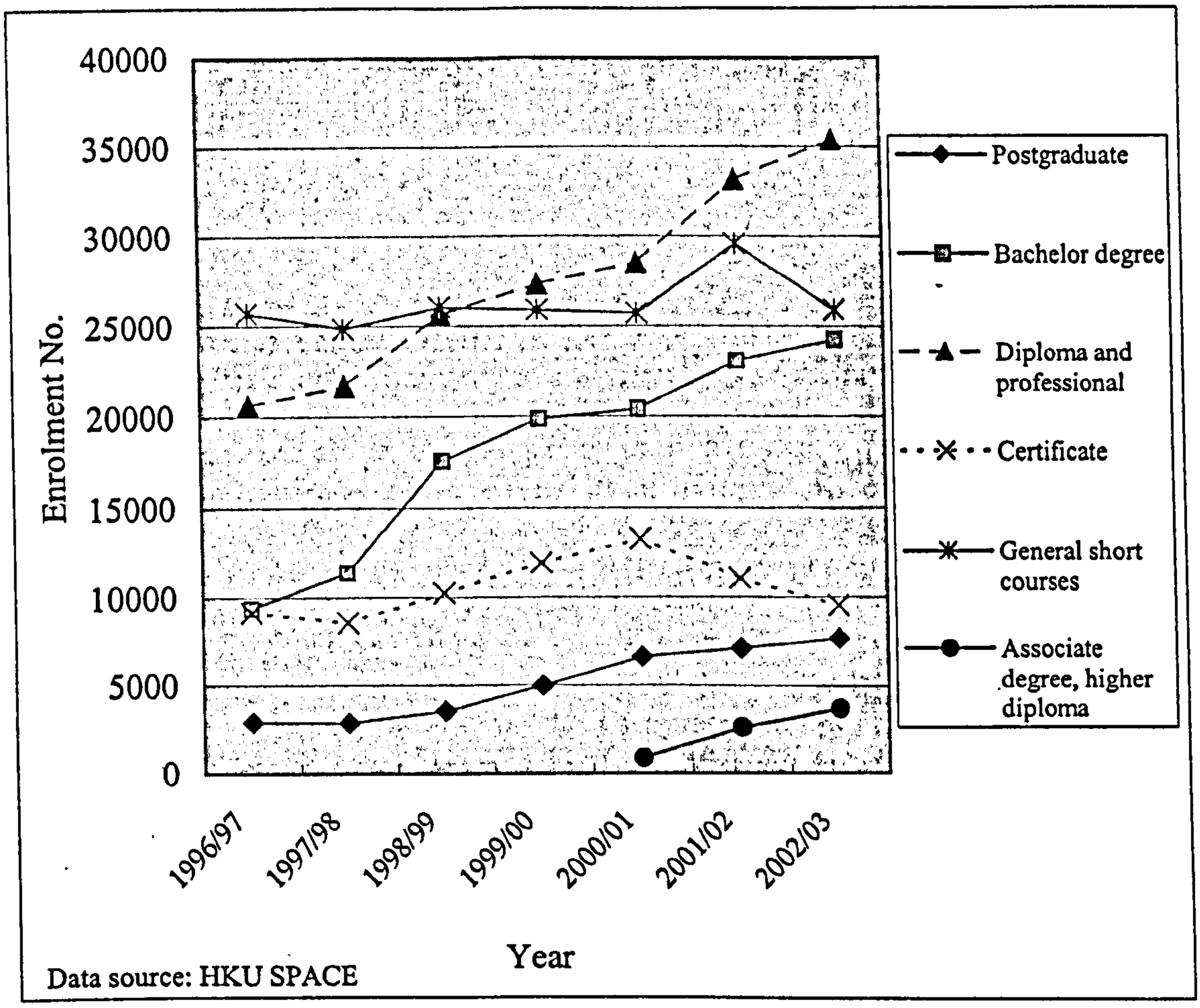


(a) Growth in enrolments from 1956 in HKU SPACE

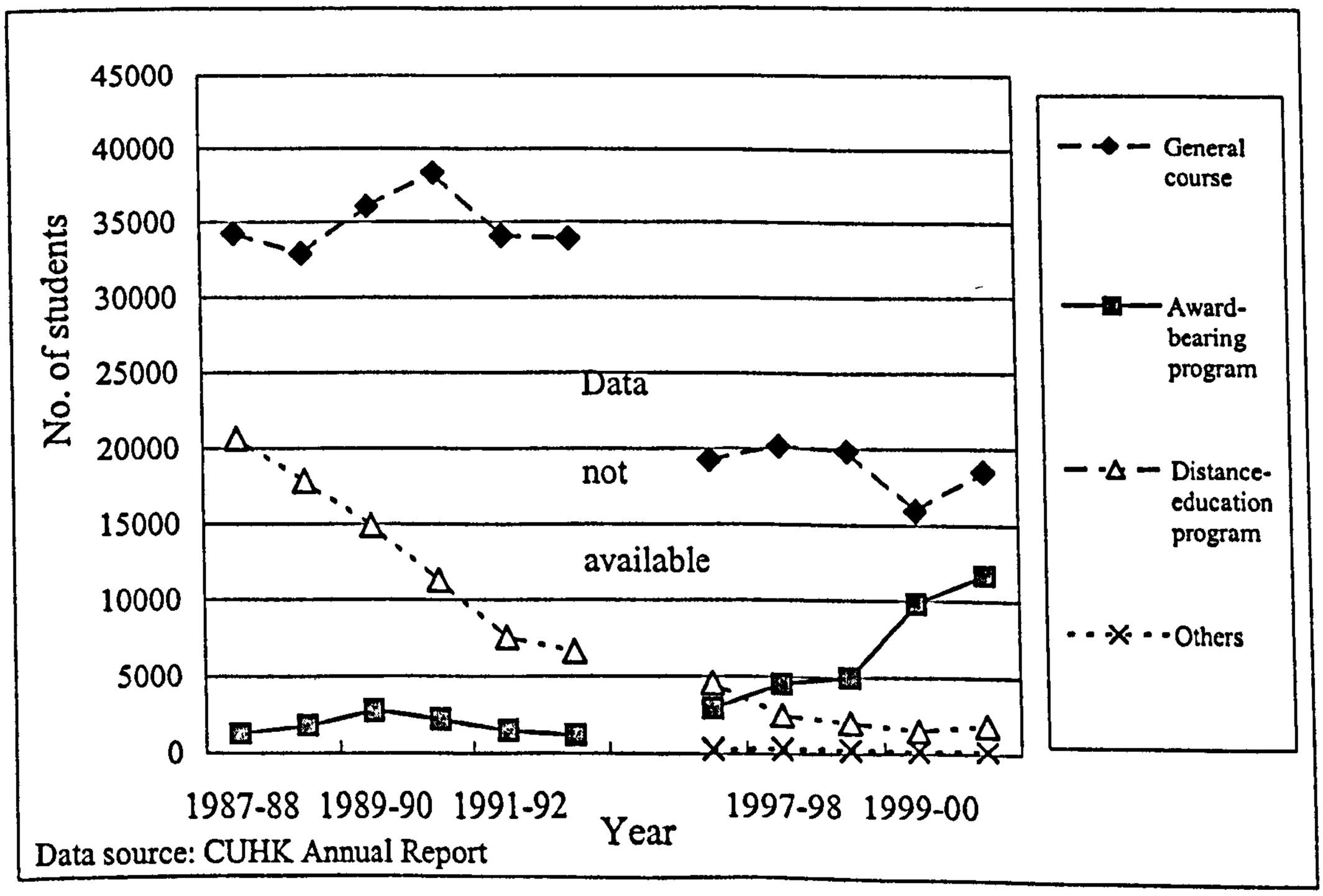


(b) Change in FTE across different academic levels over time - HKU SPACE

Figure 33 Profile of enrolment growth in representative FCETI member institutions



(c) Change in enrolment no. across different academic levels over time - HKU SPACE

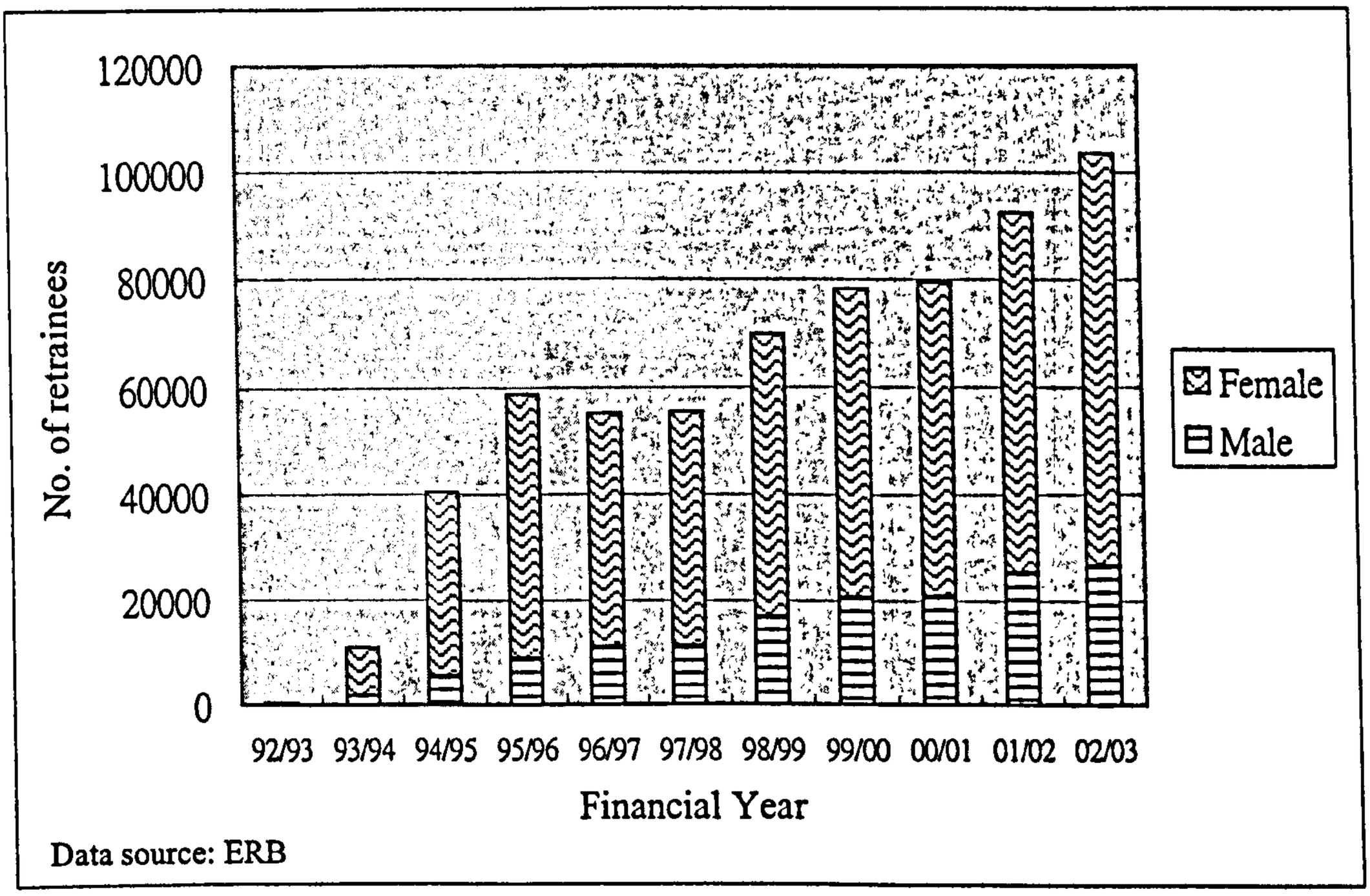


(d) Change in student no. across different types of program offering - CUHK SCS

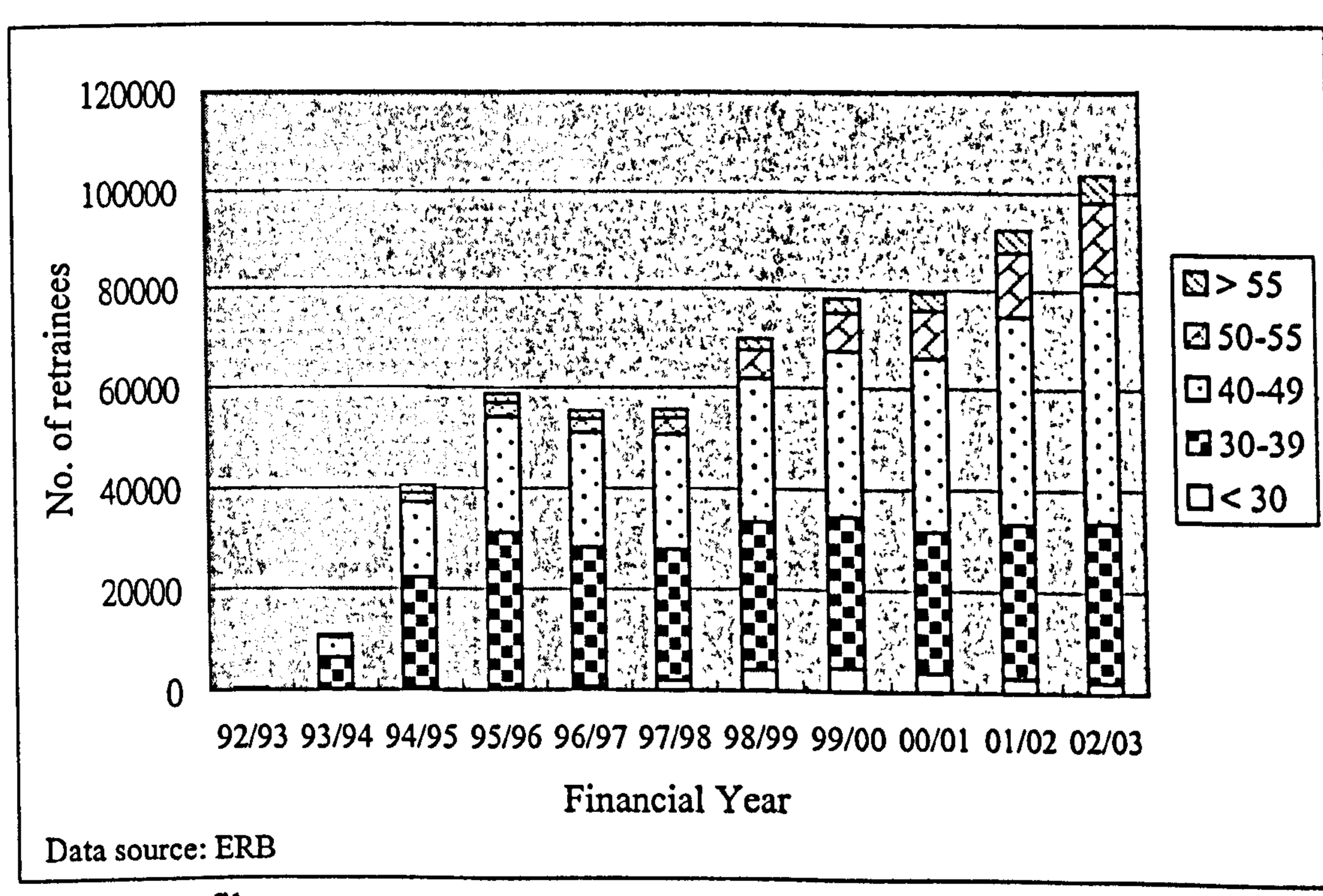
Figure 33 Profile of enrolment growth in representative FCETI member institutions (cont'd)

member institutions are likely to conceive their role as providing programs to meet market needs, staff of organizations running programs in retraining (funded by ERB) is responding to needs generated by a political agenda that needs to be seen as addressing the unemployment problem. Thus, output in the former is measured by indicators of income, enrolment number and full-time equivalent students (FTE); while that in the latter is measured by successful post-training placement rate and per-unit hour or per-student training cost. For the retraining sector, much has changed since the initial establishment of the Employees Retraining Scheme (ERS) that was aimed at helping displaced manufacturing workers, to a comprehensive coverage of all unemployed workers. Most prominent among the changes in student demography are the increase of retrainees at age 40 and above (Figure 34b) and the proportion of those with education level at upper secondary (Figure 35). In relation to policy advocacy and new initiatives related to lifelong learning, FCETI as the body representing CE schools of tertiary education institutions has been active in lobbying the government to support formal learning, whereas the voluntary sector (e.g. CARITAS, HKCT, HK Society for the Aged, YWCA, HK Christian Service) is more interested about extending learning to underserved constituencies (old people, women) (Table 16). When speaking of roles, AE and CE in Hong Kong are a multifarious diversity of activities to which questions about what the practitioner does, for whom and why is he doing it, and the external forces influencing his decisions all conjure up to give a picture of contemporary practice.

As the only sector with a significant number of full-time staff, CE schools of universities differentiate themselves from other providers by the quality of



(a) Gender profile



(b) Age profile

Figure 34 Gender and age profile of participants in retraining courses

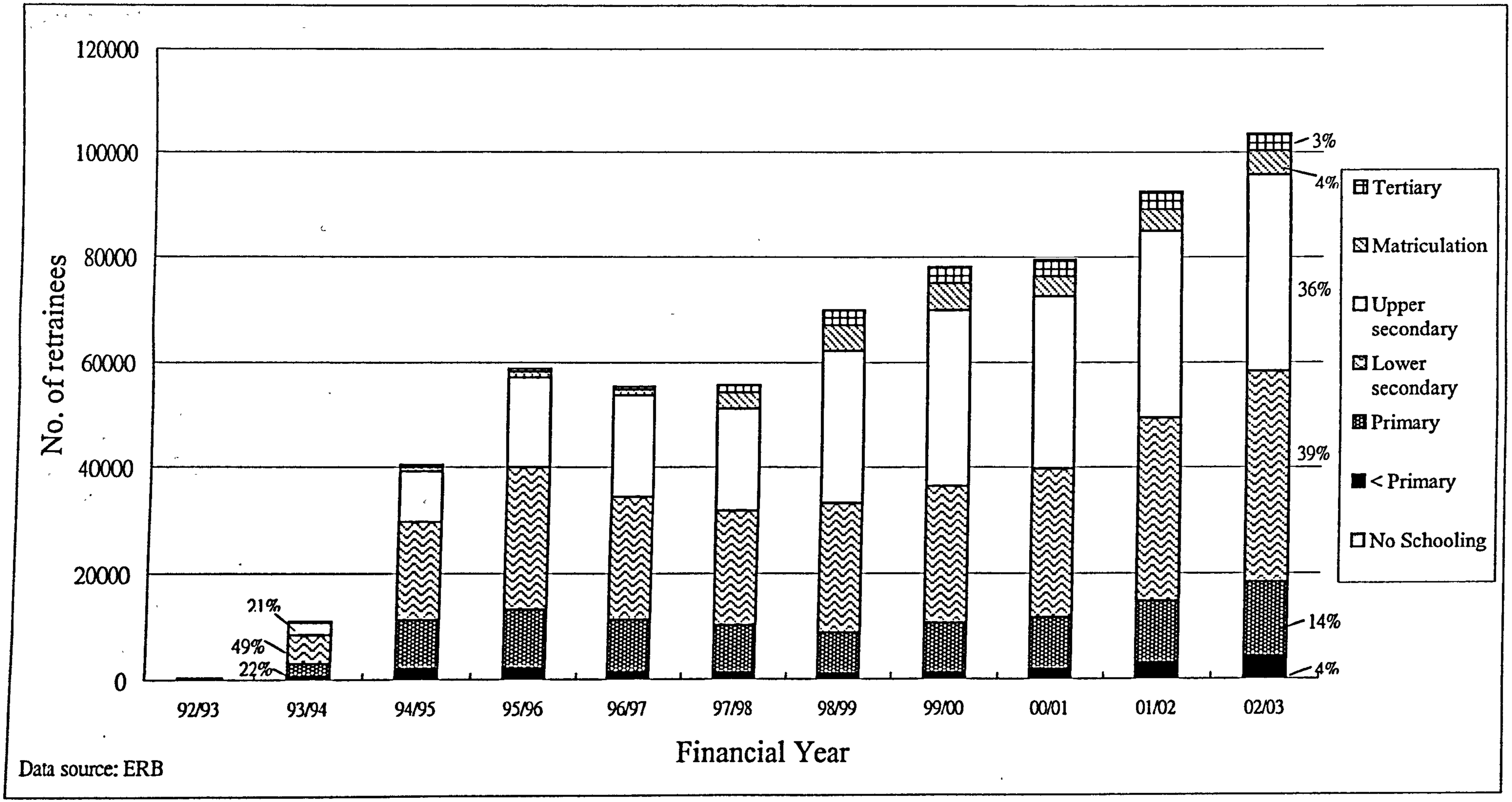


Figure 35 Education level of participants in retraining courses

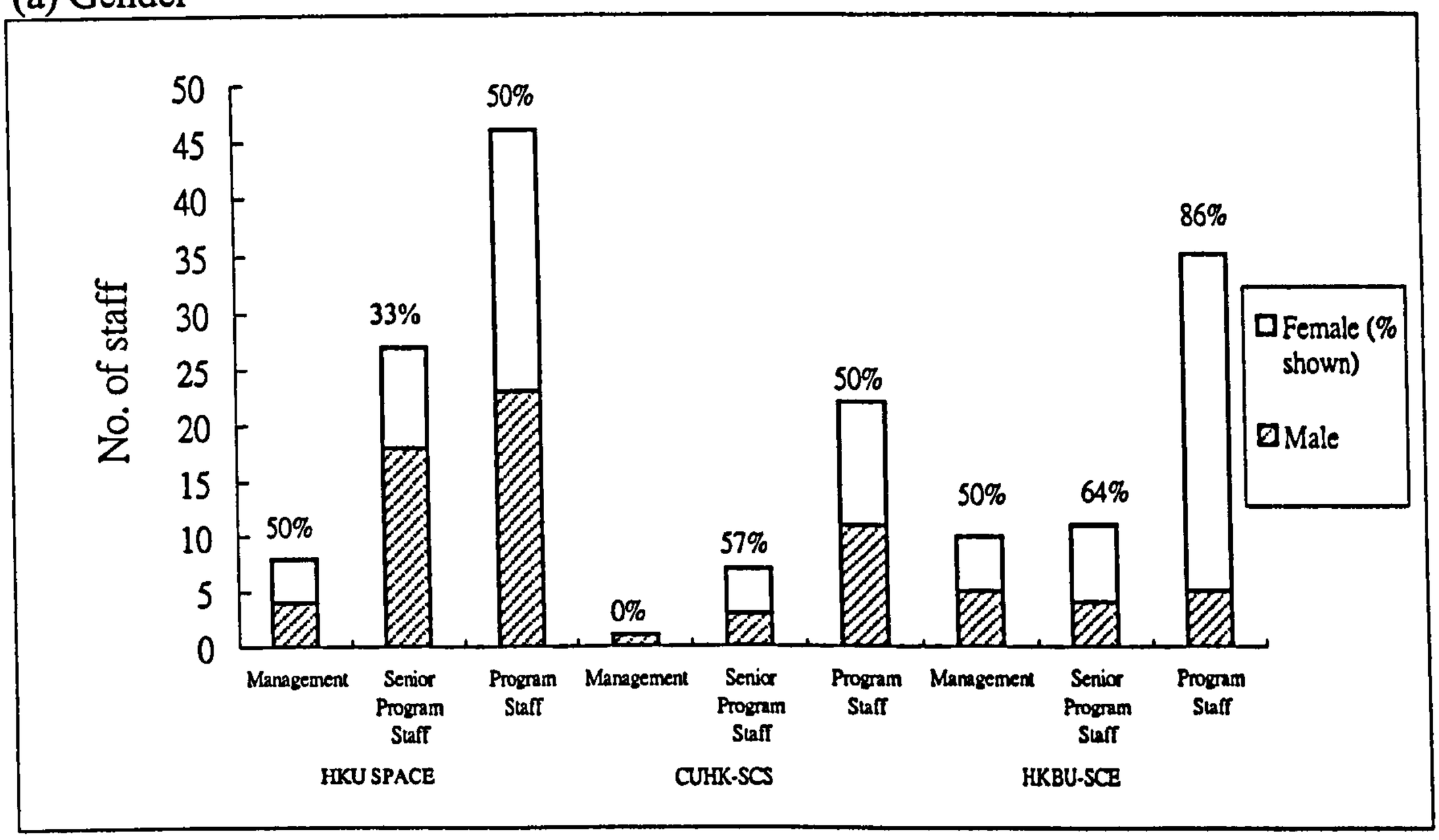
Table 16 Non-governmental sector initiatives in adult and continuing education

Year Founded / Started	Proposer / Organization	Nature of initiative	Implications:
1994	Federation for Continuing Education in Tertiary Education was established. The members include representatives from the CE units of the 8 universities, HK Institute of Education, Vocational Training Council and the Caritas Adult and Higher Education Service	Represent interest of continuing education sector to the Gov't and promote concept of lifelong learning. This organization represents the elite league of CE institutions in HK and claims legitimacy in power brokering.	- Successfully lobbied Education Commission to include 'continuing education' for discussion during the education reform process in 1999-2000. - Gained respect as Government's primary partner in expansion of post-secondary education and act as important consultant and opinion source to the Gov't for continuing education, further education and lifelong learning. - Benefited substantially from the Government's funding support for CE and FE from 2001.
1999	Motion by Hon. Tam Yiu Chung in the Legislative Council on Jan 13, 1999	Urge the Gov't to play a catalyst role in promoting continuing education and lifelong learning	- An influential Executive and Legislative Council Member (former trade union leader) who also heads the Employees Retraining Board and the HK College of Technology. His views helped to consolidate the needs of retraining and employment-related training within the overall framework of lifelong learning policy agenda.
2000	Consortium of Continuing Education Institutions (10 institutions including PolyU SPEED, HK College of Technology, HK Federation of Trade Unions, Caritas CAHES, HK Productivity Council, HKMA, Po Leung Kuk College of Professional and Continuing Education, HK Community College (Poly U), HK Housing Authority / Department, Macau Polytechnic Institute) was established to promote the Credit Accmmulation Mechanism (CAM) of SPEED, Poly U.	Set up a mechanism for mutual recognition of learning undertaken in member institution's continuing education courses for transfer to CE courses of Poly U and some of the said universities regular programs.	- CAM of the Consortium was cited by the Consultant Report for the 'Qualifications Framework and related QA mechanisms' in 2002 as a good example to emulate for formulating trans-sector wide credit transfer procedures and mechanism.
1999-2000	Lifelong Learning Festival (Caritas CAHES in association with Ming Pao newspaper and HK Productivity Council) held from September 1999 – January 2000	Promote the concept of lifelong learning to the whole of HK society by a longstanding NGO for adult education following the spirit of the Fifth International Conference on Adult Education, Hamburg Germany (1997)	- Effects not known but represents probably the world's first lifelong learning festival. - CARITAS CAHES had provided most of the information on international trends and developments in lifelong education to the Education Commission during the education reform consultation process.
2002	CPD (Continuing Professional Development) Alliance founded by 16 professional and learned societies in HK	Promote and enhance the culture of CPD among its member societies and the public at large	- Highlighted the needs of the professional service sector for lifelong learning.
2004	Capacity Building Mileage Program launched by Women's Commission in association with OUHK LiPace and Commercial Radio I	A non-vocational women-focused learning platform which is designed to enhance women's interest in and ability to learn, develop their potential, build up their confidence to meet various challenges and to live their life more fully	- Potential model for delivering non-formal learning to a mass audience that is free, flexible, open access and transformable to formal learning (by paying a small fee and doing assessment)
	Qualification –linked courses for the elderly run by: a. The HK Society for the Aged (SAGE) with Lingnan University LIFE b. YWCA Elderly Continuing Education Centre c. HK Christian Service Open Institute for the Senior Citizens		- Formal and non-formal education courses on a range of subjects of interest to the elderly for cultivating their personal interest and productive use of leisure time. - Voluntary sector's effort to fill in a void in provision not assumed by the state and the market.

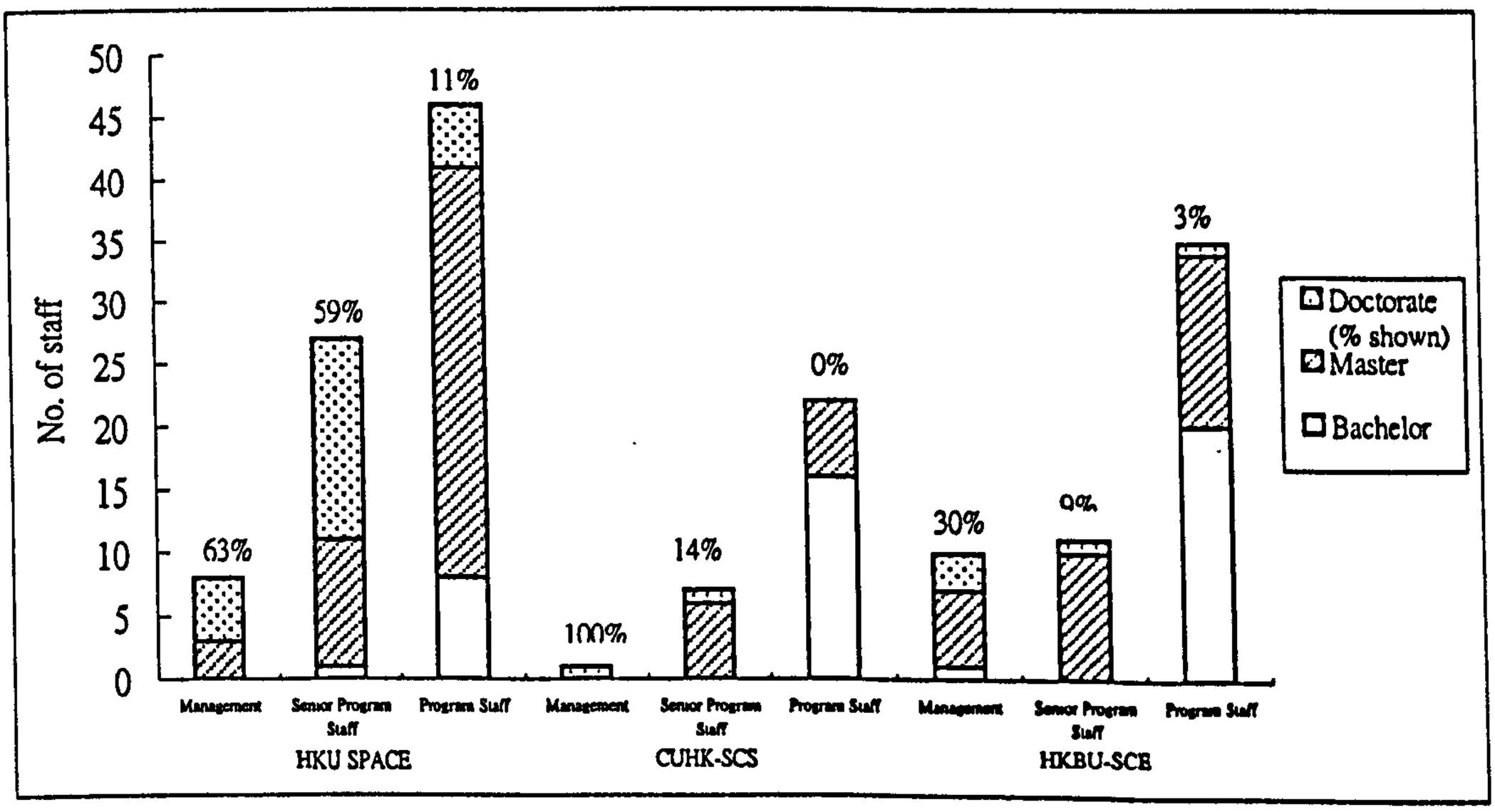
their programs and also the expertise and professionalism of their staff. A look at the staff profile of three dominant CE schools (HKU-SPACE, HKBU-SCE, and CUHK-SCS) would be indicative of the whole sector. By classifying staff into three categories: management; senior program staff; and program staff, no gender difference was apparent although there was indication of more women joining the occupation than men at the program staff level (Figure 36a). Most staff holds a masters degree but the possession of a doctoral qualification is still in relatively low proportion (Figure 36b). Staff growth was phenomenal beginning from the early 1990s, which resulted in considerable dilution of old staff by new comers. The proportion of old staff had been reduced to less than 20% of the total compared to a decade ago, or less than 40% compared to five years ago using 1993 as the base year (Figure 37). This trend has implication for the character of the organization because the entry of newcomers who are not familiar or may not identify with old institutional ethos would have an adverse effect on the continuity of traditions. However, since the 1990s represented a period of drastic change for the CE schools, the presence of these new comers would serve to hasten its transformation to a more managerialist and service-oriented type of organization that had effectively lost touch with academic culture.

To understand AE and CE practice under this context would require placing it on a continuum between two structures of the macro-level, i.e. state and market. In line with Alheit's observation, CE schools of universities and other voluntary sector educational institutions that belong to the meso-level are now playing roles assumed previously by the state. It has been the deliberate policy of the HKSAR government to transform the third sector into market

(a) Gender



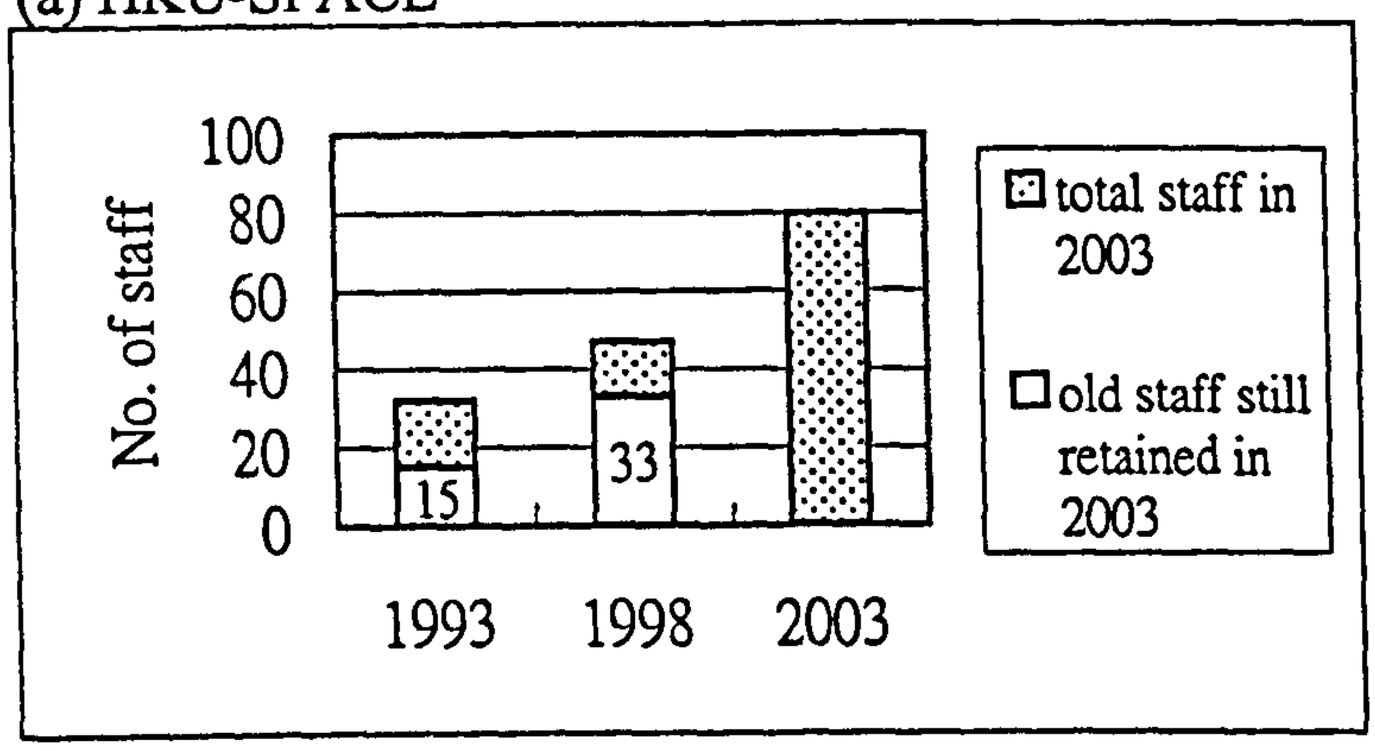
(b) Educational qualification



Source: Prospectuses of respective institutions

Figure 36 Gender and educational qualification profiles of management and program staff across three representative FCETI member institutions

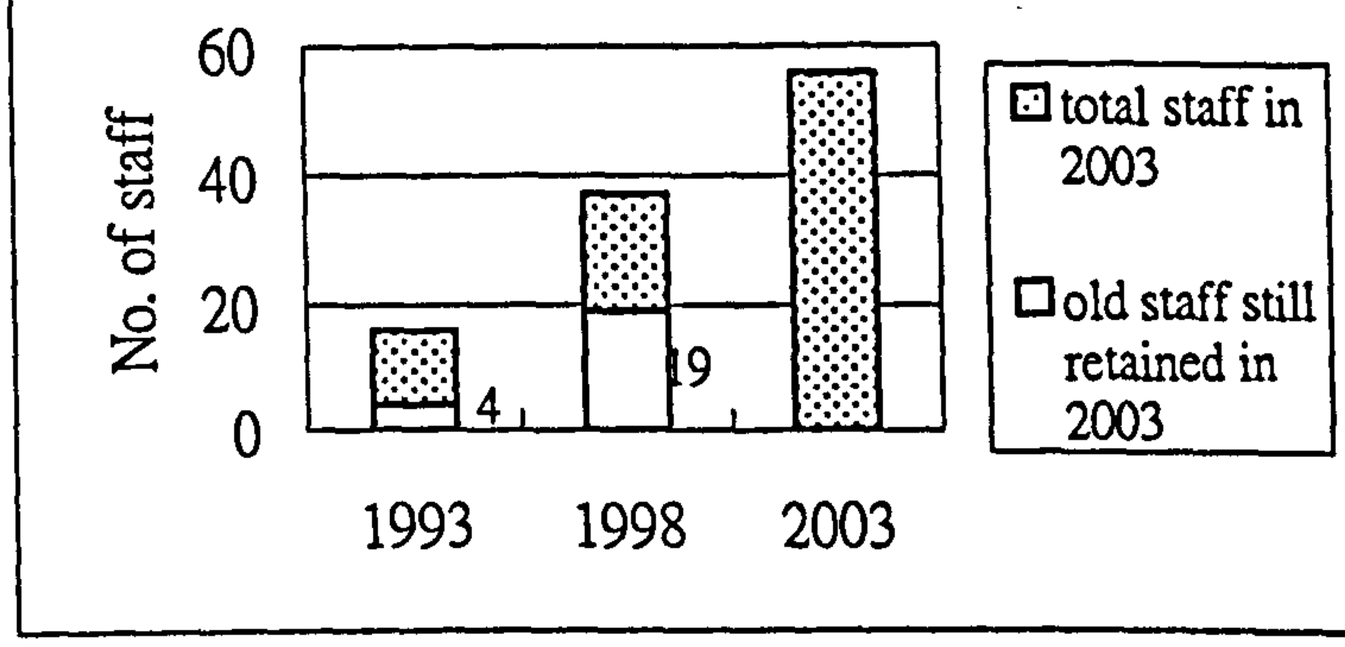
(a) HKU-SPACE



Growth in staff no: 250%

% of old staff in 2003: 41.3% (from 1998)
18.8% (from 1993)

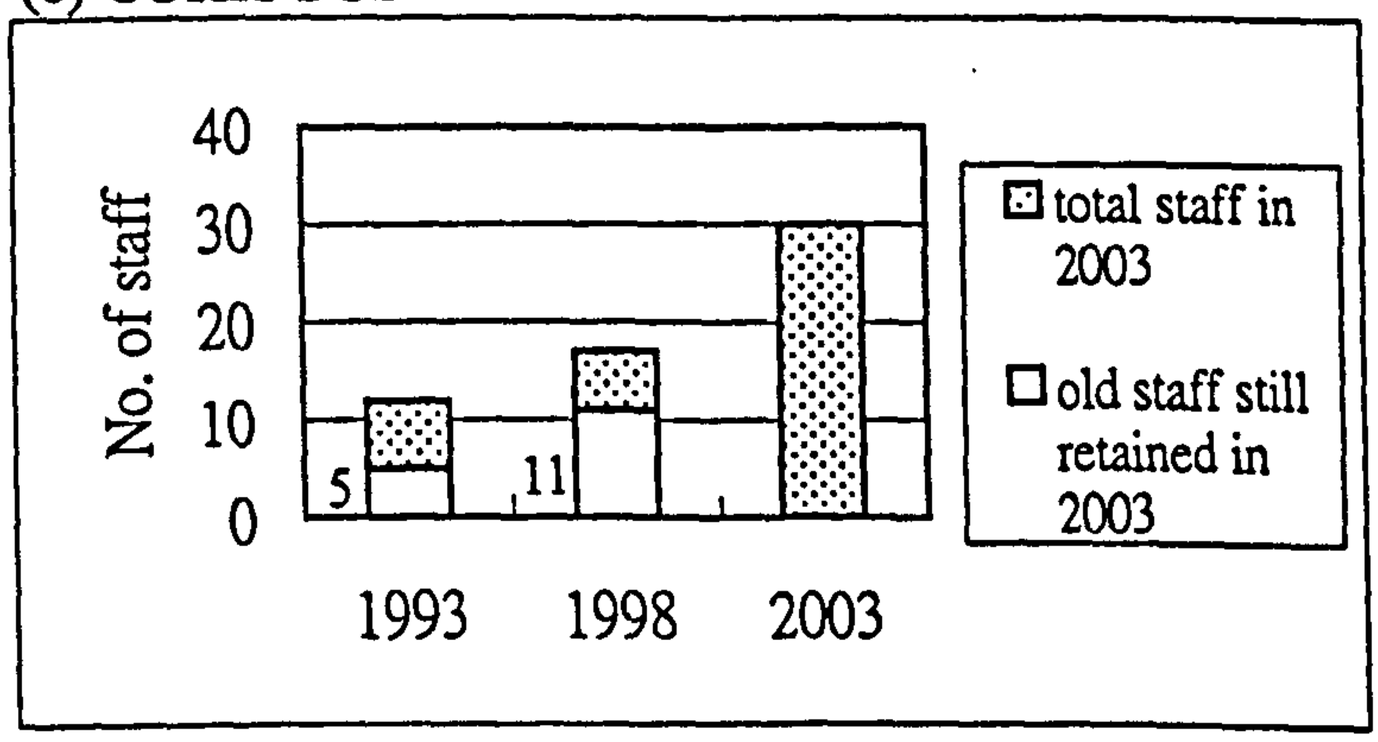
(b) HKBU-SCE



Growth in staff no: 350%

% of old staff in 2003: 33.9% (from 1998)
7.1% (from 1993)

(c) CUHK-SCS



Growth in staff no: 250%

% of old staff in 2003: 36.6% (from 1998)
16.6% (from 1993)

Source: Prospectuses of respective institutions

Figure 37 Growth in staff number (with management and program responsibility) and retention ratio of old staff across three representative FCETI member institutions

entities so that they can fill in the role of the government in such policy initiatives as postsecondary education expansion (Tung, 2000). The previous laissez-faire development of CE has been subjected to greater state interference although its locus remains securely in the market. The difficulty of justifying voluntary status (non-profit making) in the market context of operations creates dilemmas in determining purposes and values of practice (whether to generate income or to benefit society). At the other end of the continuum, there is tension to retain some evidence of association with universities, which is not in relation to classical academic culture but rather with the new bureaucratic practices of quality assurance and financial efficiency. The modern practice of AE and CE in the university CE sector in Hong Kong is therefore fraught with contradictions that exert a constant push-pull effect on the practitioner who is required to navigate between different images of self, roles, and strategies of action (see Figure 25, p. 209). This study is most concerned about the effect on values.

Practice sets

As previously suggested, the concept of 'practice set' placed in the light of historical developments and policy processes would seem to be an ideal way to analyze how practice has evolved over time and the consequences of policy advocacy by practitioners. Three periods have been delineated and are described as follows:

1. AE period (1954-1982).

This period was characterized in mainstream education by expansion at the primary level and concluded with 9-years of compulsory schooling in 1978. As such, the main thrust was to provide for basic education with a sole focus on numbers. The practice of AE was undertaken mainly in the specialist section of the Education Department (established in 1954), and the Extra-Mural Departments of the University of Hong Kong (established in 1956) and the Chinese University of Hong Kong (established in 1965). Voluntary organizations (e.g. CARITAS) became increasingly vocal on AE issues from the 1970s onwards although their work had started earlier than this. The most important educational policy affecting AE was the 1978 White Paper on Senior Secondary and Tertiary Education (Education Department, 1978). This document gave recognition for the provision of retrieval AE equivalent to 9 years of schooling for those who had missed their chances earlier in life; established an Adult Education Subvention Scheme (implemented from 1980) to subsidize some of the courses run by voluntary organizations; and sanctioned the provision of part-time degree programs in the two universities where only 2 percent of the relevant age-cohort was able to partake of university education. Although widely regarded as enlightened, the said policy was reflective of the conservative thinking of the colonial administration that envisioned education to be elitist.

The first generation of practitioners in AE showed very strong commitment to their work and had a good understanding about their field. Styler (1965) made the following observation on the work of adult educators in the Department of Education in Hong Kong:

> At the centre of the Division...is a small group of full-time adult educationists, well informed about adult education in all parts of the world. They see their work as consisting in part as providing opportunities for further education, but, more important, also of enabling people to make creative use of their leisure in an environment which, because of the gross overcrowding of housing conditions, presents acute problems as far as leisure is concerned. (p.17)

Practitioners in the two Departments of Extra-mural Studies were influenced to some extent by the British extra-mural tradition but their work had a much broader scope that encompassed also professional and technical education[4]. Although both Directors of the two Departments were experienced extra-mural educators or had undergone training in AE, other staff with formal training in AE remained few in numbers[5]. Staff tutors in the two Departments were either subject specialists (HKU) or administrators (CUHK) and tended to view their work in this light (Wong, 1980). Thus, from the very outset, a pragmatic focus on program planning, absence of formal training in AE, and lack of regard for AE as an academic discipline have ruled out the 'AE academics' model for application to practice in Hong Kong[6]. On the other hand, practitioners in the voluntary sector such as CARITAS had established themselves as part of the larger worldwide AE community through participation in international conference (e.g. 3rd UNESCO International Conference on Adult Education, Tokyo 1972) and regional organizations (Asia-South Pacific Bureau of Adult Education ASPBAE). This culminated in the founding of the Hong Kong Association for Continuing Education (HKACE) in 1975 as a constituent member of ASPBAE, which forms part of the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE) network.

Practitioners in this period worked with a clear identity as adult and continuing educators. They saw their role mainly as providing for educational opportunities in retrieval education (adult educators in Education Department), professional education (subject specialists in extra-mural departments), and non-work related learning pursuits such as leisure and life-enrichment courses (voluntary organizations and some educators in extra-mural departments). While their work dealt with education at the basic and intermediate levels, HKACE had set its sight on future developments in education at the higher level (i.e. senior secondary and above) and was active in various lobbying efforts to influence government policies on AE, CE and part-time higher education. It was also able to capitalize on the government's acknowledgement of the work of voluntary organizations (1978 White Paper) to campaign for widening of the scope of funding under the Adult Education Subvention Scheme; consultation on funding; and establishment of a policy coordinating body for AE (HKACE, 1982). The value espoused in their practice for this period was mainly that of 'equity'.

2. CE period (1983-1997).

This period was characterized by the review of Hong Kong's education system undertaken by a panel of OECD-backed experts. The report of the Llewellyn Commission (Education Department, 1982) led to the development of frameworks for policymaking (Education and Manpower Branch) and consultation (Education Commission) in education. The period was marked initially by a cautious approach of increasing the participation rate in higher

education, but the government ultimately sanctioned the move toward mass higher education targeted for attainment in the mid-1990s. Both political and economic reasons were behind this decision as the confidence crisis following June 4th, 1989 and the restructuring of the economy from manufacturing to service industry had created strong pressure to train local talents in great numbers. The government also attempted to solve previous unmet needs for higher education by establishing the Open Learning Institute (OLI) in 1989 (later renamed OUHK in 1996), a proposal suggested in Education Commission Report No. 2 (Education Commission, 1986) to provide second-chance tertiary education. Due to the strength of accumulated needs from working adults, part-time degree programs (previously offered only in regular departments of universities and polytechnics) started to be offered in CE schools in association with overseas universities from the late 1980s, and this led to a massive boom of the university CE sector in the 1990s. Accompanying this change, the extra-mural departments were replaced by CE schools in the two old universities and new ones were established in the new universities (e.g. CityU SCOPE). The market context of operation for CE also invited the entry of private providers offering courses alongside the university CE schools and voluntary organizations that led to a fragmentation of provisions. The success of CE however was met by indifference from the government which considered it appropriate to leave the sector on its own (UGC, 1996). The refusal by government to engage in policy formulation to coordinate activities and developments in CE was lamented by practitioners as missing the chance to construct a lifelong learning structure for Hong Kong (Holford, 1998). At the same time, the expansion in full-time higher education was achieved through funding cuts in other sectors, such as AE in evening schools run by the Education Department. This was considered a

retrogressive policy in light of worldwide trends in lifelong education (Cheung, 1993). While all the efforts of this period were directed at expanding tertiary education and tackling issues of school education, the government envisaged through the establishment of the OLI a one-off solution to problems associated with adult education at the tertiary level. This was in line with what Sweeting (1995) calls a bureaucratic incrementalist approach to educational policymaking in Hong Kong where the mere creation of an institution with specific remit for the problem at hand was regarded as providing for solutions to more complex issues.

Two distinct groups of practitioners can be identified during this period. The first group, working within the collective framework of HKACE, continued the work of the preceding period and attempted to professionalize their field by way of: (a) instituting formal training in AE through a joint diploma program with the University of British Columbia (run in Extra-mural Department of CUHK); (b) engaging in policy advocacy in CE; and (c) finding ways to impart social relevance to their work. Some of the proposals suggested by HKACE in response to the Llewellyn Report were sensible and valid approaches of providing study opportunities for adults and expanding tertiary education when viewed retrospectively. This included suggestions to validate and accredit programs of postsecondary colleges, establish community colleges to offer AD qualifications, and institute a proper framework for policy coordination in AE and CE (HKACE, 1983). The inability of these suggestions to make their way into the official agenda combined with the failure of HKACE to lobby the Education and Manpower Branch to revamp the Adult Education Subvention Scheme and to prevent funding cuts to AE had effectively put the HKACE into

irrelevance from the early 1990s onwards (HKACE, 1992). Apart from educational issues, the HKACE also expressed its positions on broad political issues of the 1980s, such as the 'Joint Declaration on the Future of Hong Kong' as well as consultation on representative government. Some practitioners who gained research degrees from overseas universities had attempted to bring AE into the attention of local policymakers and members of the CE community. Shak (1989) tried to introduce the concept of lifelong learning as a policy strategy for education and measured local educators' receptivity to this concept. Lau (1996), in applying Mezirow's perspective transformation and Freire's radical pedagogy, hoped to create a social movement out of AE through learning networks aimed at individual and collective transformations that could build a new social culture for HK following the 1997 political transition. While the intentions of these two were laudable, the remote chance for success of their proposals was predicted by Boshier (1997) who contended that it would be impossible for adult educators in Hong Kong to pursue radical-emancipatory approach to AE practice due to the lack of democracy after 1997. Boshier's concern for the deepening of functionalist orthodoxy in practice was echoed by Ma (1995), who saw serious problems facing the professionalization of AE, where the danger of substituting success measured in terms of educational outcomes for those measured in marketing terms was imminent in the unregulated and uncoordinated market of CE provisions.

Unlike the commitment of the first group to ideals of AE, the second group was motivated primarily by opportunities to expand part-time degree provisions through the vehicle of the CE schools given the preoccupation of university departments with expansion of full-time provisions and the inherent

conservativeness of staff in those departments. Thus, the predominantly short course and old-style subdegree provisions (certificates and diplomas) in Extra-mural Departments had to be replaced by new-style degree level provisions (access and top-up programs) offered on a self-financing basis in the market. This represented a new form of practice that required practitioners in the newly established CE schools of universities to move away from an educator's role to that of a manager, carrying out also the role of an entrepreneur. The irony out of this development was that the distancing of their work from the university had at the same time given practitioners the chance to perform higher-level work denied to them in the past[7]. The absence of an academic culture meant that part-time higher education was conducted largely without reference to general developments in higher education (e.g. quality audit) and tended to focus on non-educational concerns (e.g. marketability, profits). Change in the organizational setting was hastened by bringing in new staff to replace those who had reached retirement[8]. In this manner, resistance to change was significantly reduced; and the chance for ambiguities related to the purpose of practice to be brought up for discussion was thus minimized. Although some efforts in influencing policy had been attempted by practitioners in this group, such as request for government to formulate a human resource development policy; to consider funding strategies for CE; and to acknowledge the role of the CE sector in facilitating access to higher education (Lee and Lam, 1994a), these were largely turned down in favor of a hands-off policy which relegated CE to the domain of the market (Chung et al., 1994; UGC, 1996). Given the eclipse of the HKACE and the shift of focus to tertiary education, the Federation for Continuing Education in Tertiary Institutions (FCETI) was established in 1994 as the new voice to represent exclusively the CE schools in universities, CARITAS

and the VTC, but with the exclusion of OUHK. This organization, emulating the model of the Universities Association for Continuing Education (UACE) in UK, differs from the HKACE in that it works as a forum for senior managers to express collective institutional interests rather than serve as a participating ground for members of the CE community. Separated from the FCETI member institutions, the only segment of CE that had retained a reminiscent academic culture was the OUHK. However, practitioners working in this organization tended to view their work as part of higher education rather than of CE and would conceive of their role as educators and academics. OUHK also had chosen to associate itself with the open and distance learning community through membership in organizations such as the Asian Association of Open Universities (AAOU) and the International Council for Open and Distance Education (ICDE). In fulfilling their role as academics, some practitioners in OUHK also carried out research on adult learning and teaching and learning in the open and distance learning context (Carr et al., 1999). The culture of this group of practitioners was therefore different from the majority of practitioners in the FCETI sector who only performed administrative functions in program development (not curriculum development) and administration.

The uncertainties relating to the future of CE (including open and distance education) in the absence of government policy and in the face of challenges of the post-1997 era were summarized by Castro and Wong (1996:130-131):

> The development of 'open' and 'distance' education in Hong Kong under the British government has reached a plateau. The

current situation comprises inconsistent practices and piecemeal, contingent policies. In Hong Kong CE could have been managed better, and the lessons to be learned are salutary to teachers and administrators and teachers in the various collaborating local and overseas institutions, not to mention the students involved in CE. Hong Kong has not reached the stage of development where one can speak of 'empowerment' and 'liberation' of the adult learner, and how soon this stage will come probably depends on three factors: the SAR government 's willingness to endorse and resource CE with a clear and visionary policy; the commitment of UGC-funded universities in embracing, expanding and supporting mission objectives of their CE programmes; and the extent of the development and quality of full-fees professional education programmes operated by commercial and professional bodies using telecommunications, multimedia and the Internet.

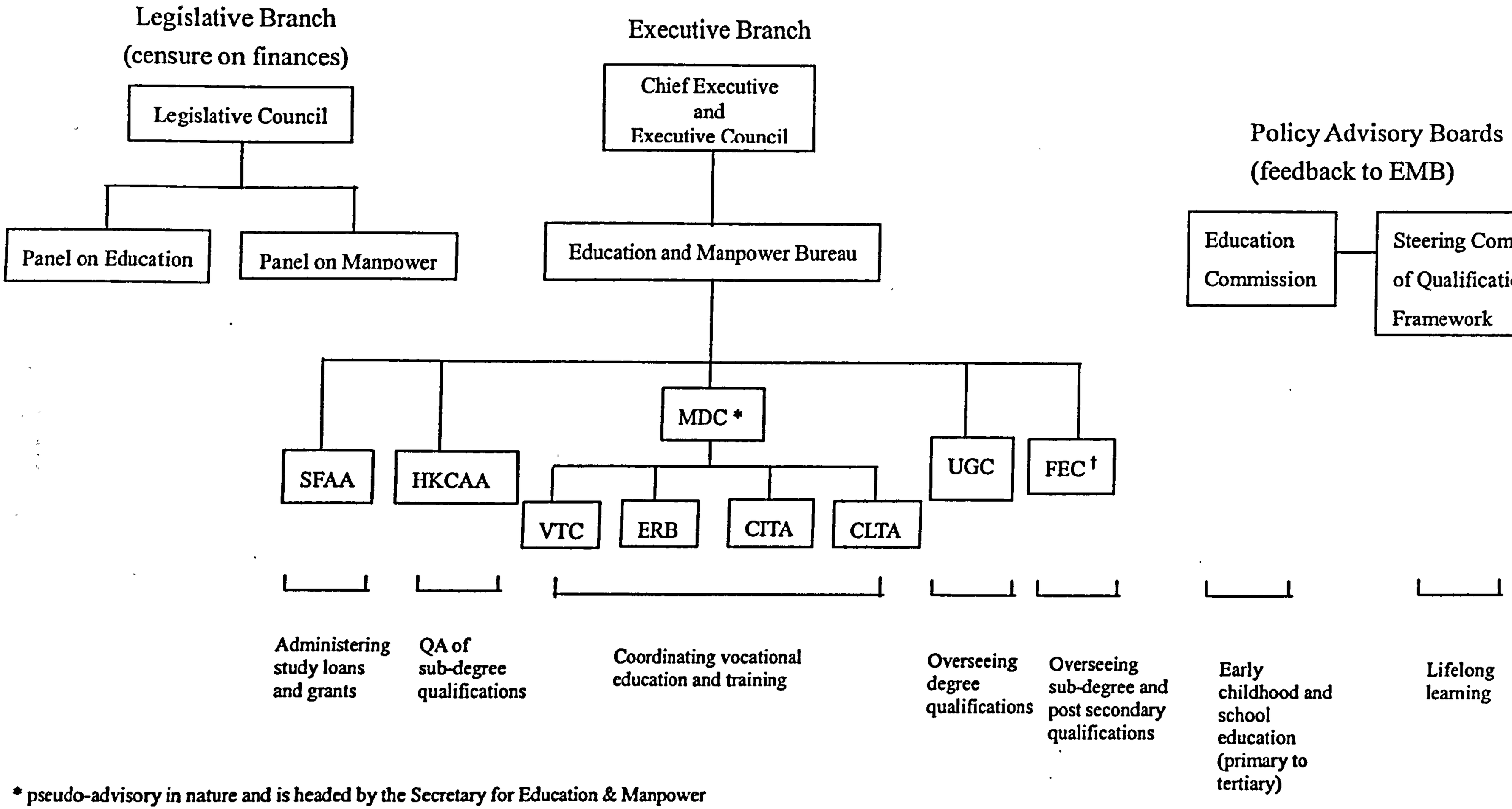
The values that had informed practice of CE during this period related to 'equity' when articulated in terms of access to higher education (e.g. top-up degrees, open education), and 'profit' (a non-educational value), when speaking of the way CE programs have been operated in the market with emphasis placed on satisfying customer needs and generating income for the institution.

3. Lifelong learning period (1998-present).

This period up to the present is characterized by the replacement of concepts of AE and CE by lifelong learning, which was adopted as the new paradigm for the educational reform carried out by the new HKSAR administration. The most significant issues affecting CE during this period are: (a) official recognition of the contribution of CE to human capital development via the concept of lifelong learning in the knowledge-based economy; (b) entry of CE into the educational

policy agenda and the institution of a comprehensive framework for policymaking in lifelong learning (Figure 38); (c) expansion of postsecondary education achieved through the cooption of CE sector in expanding its provisions at subdegree level (formation of a further education sector); (d) budget cuts in higher education leading to self-financing mode of operation for nearly all subdegree and taught postgraduate programs, and intensifying of competition among CE providers; (e) removal of public subsidy for core staff in CE schools which led to total marketization of operations; (f) abolition of the adult education section in the Education and Manpower Bureau (EMB) and closure of government-run adult evening schools which led to the demise of AE; (g) setting up of various funding schemes for CE but with a clear intention of subsidizing only courses with vocational relevance or related to employment (Table 17); (h) adoption of bureaucratic-managerialist strategies by the educational bureaucracy to control the quality of CE provisions; and (i) incorporation of lifelong learning into the repertoire of policies used by government to address social and economic problems (Table 18).

Compared to the indifference of the previous administration, the HKSAR government was prompted to rethink its position on CE in the hope of finding solutions to the unemployment problem resulting from economic downturn since 1998. In promoting lifelong learning, its objectives are partly economic and partly social. In the latter, the transformation of third sector organizations, such as CE schools of universities, into market entities represents a new conception of social policy by government. In this, it is envisaged that the delivery of essential social services (e.g. education) can be privatized and the responsibility for provision can be transferred from the state to non-profit organizations that



* pseudo-advisory in nature and is headed by the Secretary for Education & Manpower

† proposed in the Sutherland Report (for FEC) and the Consultant Report for the Qualifications Framework (for Steering Committee of Qualifications Framework)

Figure 38 Education and manpower policy making structure in Hong Kong

Table 17 Government funding schemes for adult and continuing education

Name of scheme / program	Objectives	Target	Year started	Advisory body / Administering agency	Amount of funding (Total / used)	Evaluation / review
Adult Education Subvention Scheme	To assist NGOs to run basic adult education program within the following purview: - basic Chinese language courses - general education courses - re-orientation and Cantonese language courses - courses for new arrivals - social and moral education courses - pre-vocational training programmes - special education courses - careers education courses - pre-retirement / retirement education courses - job-oriented courses	Adults in the community	September 1980	Education and Manpower Bureau	In 2002-2003, 109 NGOs received subvention for 815 programs	Scheme started with only 5 areas and later expanded to cover 11 areas in FY 1981/1982. 3 areas (labor education, courses conducted on experimental basis, activities in geographical areas not covered by education department) have now been dropped from the scheme.
Employees Retraining Scheme	To help target group secure employment, hold down their jobs, and to provide post-training job counseling and placement services. Courses offered are those relevant to the service economy at generic or semi-skill levels (e.g. basic language and computer skills, hotel housekeeping, estate management)	Mainly for eligible employees (including new arrivals, elderly, disabled and industrial accident victims) aged 30 or above	October 1992	Employees Retraining Board / Education and Manpower Bureau	Funded by Employees Retraining Fund capital injection of $300 million in 1992. Subsequent capital injections totally $1.6 billion. Recurrent income from levy on labor importation scheme. From 2001-2002, annual recurrent subvention of $400 million from the	Reviewed by consultant Deloitte and Touche Group in 1996. New immigrants included in the scheme from Jan 1997. Eligible employees aged below 30 are allowed to enroll in full-time retraining courses if they have difficulty in finding job from April 1998.

Name of scheme / program	Objectives	Target	Year started	Advisory body / Administering agency	Amount of funding (Total / used)	Evaluation / review
					government.	
New Technology Training Scheme	To assist companies to train staff in new technologies that would be useful to their business. The new technology must not be widely applied in HK and application of which will significantly benefit HK.	Employees of non-gov't. subvented organizations whose company wishes to acquire new technology for commercial application	June 1992	Vocational Training Council	$105 million total capital injections in 1992 and 1993. Interest income from the New Technology Training Fund is used to finance this scheme.	
Youth Pre-employment Training Programme	To provide employment related training (job search and interpersonal skills; leadership, disciplines and team building; computer application; job-specific skills), workplace attachment, career counseling and support services for young school leavers to enhance their employability & competitiveness	Young school leavers aged 15-19	September 1999	Labor Department	Recurrent funding of $116 million from FY 2001-2002 onwards for 5 years	Reviewed by HK Polytechnic University Centre for Social Policy in September 2001.
Workplace English Campaign	To subsidize employees to attend English training courses (written and spoken) in the market to attain bench marks of their job types in specified international Business English examinations	Non-civil service employees but excluding teachers and the unemployed. Targeted at lower to middle grade employees	March 2000	Standing Committee on Language Education & Research / Education and Manpower Bureau	$50 million / $25.7 million disbursed and $12.32 million earmarked	Stop subsidy for individual applications (to be catered by CEF) and focus on in-house English training commissioned by employers for their employees from Jan 2005. Reviewed in Jan 2004.

Name of scheme / program	Objectives	Target	Year started	Advisory body / Administering agency	Amount of funding (Total / used)	Evaluation / review
		assuming front-line duties that require use of English in their daily work.				
Skills Upgrading Scheme	To subsidize low skill laborers and trades person to upgrade skills for employability and competitiveness through attending trade organization-vetted training courses (covers 17 trades)	Laborers and trades person at secondary education level or below and employed in the relevant trade	July 2001	Vocational Training Council	$400 million in FY 2001-2002	
Training Incentive Scheme	To subsidize gov't employees in external study programs which are employment related and suit their personal development needs. General interest classes are excluded	In-service civil servants	April 2001	Civil Service Training & Development Institute & training units of departments / bureau	$18 million for 3 years from FY 2001-2002 to 2003-2004	
Small and Medium Enterprise Training Fund	To provide training grant to SME for training relevant to their business operations	Employers and employees of SME	January 2002	SME Committee / Trade & Industry Department	$900 million shared with SME Export Marketing Fund and SME Development Fund / $60 million has been approved in August 2003	Reviewed by SME Committee in December 2002. Amount of grant increased per application from February 2003
Professional Services Development Assistance Scheme	To provide financial support to non-profit distributing professional bodies to undertake projects which aim at increasing the competitiveness of HK's	Professional bodies classified by WTO scheme and the HK	February 2002	Commerce, Industry and Technology Bureau	$100 million / 22.56 millions has been approved in June 2003. Training takes up 46% of grant money	Minor adjustment to application procedures in 2003 August.

Name of scheme / program	Objectives	Target	Year started	Advisory body / Administering agency	Amount of funding (Total / used)	Evaluation / review
	professional services sector or enhancing the standard of professional services in HK	Trade Development Council scheme			approved	
Continuing Education Fund	To subsidize adults with learning aspirations to pursue continuing education & training courses in high growth potential and manpower / skills deficient economic sectors. These include: - Industry specific sectors (logistics, financial services, business services, tourism, creative industries) - Generic skills (language, design, interpersonal and intrapersonal skills for the workplace)	Adults aged 18-60	June 2002	Education & Manpower Bureau	$5 billion / $628 million has been committed at December 2003	Degree holders allowed to apply from September 2003. Expansion of industry sector and skills domain covered in January 2004.

Table 18 HKSAR Government policy initiatives in adult and continuing education

Year	Chief Executive's Policy Address (Policy theme)	*Policy bureau (policy theme)	Related statutory organization and advisory body (Policy theme)	Reference
1997	Turn the OUHK into a Centre of Excellence in adult and distance learning. $50 million grant is given to OUHK for developing adult distance learning courses in both English and Chinese. (Tertiary education) development based on quality			Tung (1997)
1998	1. Promote life-long learning in the knowledge-based society through the work of the OUHK as a leading institution and encourage other institutions to follow suit. (Investing in human capital) 2. Reorganize structures of VTC technical colleges and institutes and to promote vocational education and training as an attractive& viable alternative to traditional academic education. 3. Expand training capacity and quality of courses of the ERB to benefit the unemployed.			Tung (1998)
1999	1. Explain rationale for embracing "life-long learning" as the main theme of education reform. This helps to transform HK into a knowledge-based economy in the information age (Cultivating talents for a knowledge-based society) 2. Launch territory-wide campaign to promote the use of English and enhance the English standards of the workforce. 3. Re-emphasize significance of "life-long learning" and laud the incorporation of this concept into ongoing education reform consultation process. 4. Extend coverage of Non-Means Tested Loans Scheme to students on self-financing courses of Gov't funded tertiary and post-secondary education sectors. 5. Report on new employment-oriented programs developed by the VTC and ERB as well as launch of Youth Pre-employment Training Programme to equip young people for employment. (Training people for jobs)			Tung (1999)
		EMB's four directions and related policy	**Education Commission's "Learning for life, learning though life" (Issues relevant to continuing education and lifelong learning)**	
2000	1. Re-emphasize importance of education reform in transforming HK into a knowledge-based New Economy. Acceptance of EC's reform proposals. "Learning for Life-learning through Life" by Gov't. Look forward to life-long learning becoming a norm in the new education system. (Education and training as areas of social policy) 2. Achieve 60% target for senior secondary school graduates to pursue tertiary education in 10 years time. 3. Partner with tertiary institutions, private enterprise and other organizations to provide flexible, multi-channel and multi-mode learning at professional diploma and sub-degree levels as alternative to traditional sixth form education (creation of a market-led further education sector). 4. To achieve 60% target, Gov't to provide support to interested institutions and learners as follows: a. land grant b. one-off loan to institutions c. extend scope of Non-means Tested Loan Scheme and fee remission to the most needy students. 5. Develop lifelong learning ladder and qualifications framework and establish program standards in partnership with the education, industrial and commercial sectors. This will help to enhance recognition of programs by employers and professional bodies 6. Encourage civil servants to pursue continuous and life-long learning. $50 million will be provided for this purpose. 7. Urge employers to encourage staff to continue their learning and to allow time for it. 8. Request Financial Secretary to raise amount of "deduction for expenses on self-education" for	EMB proposed four directions to implement expansion of full-time post-secondary education (mainly self-financing programs): 1. First direction (local course, offered in HK) 2. Second direction (local course, offered outside HK) 3. Third direction (non-local course, offered in HK) 4. Fourth direction (non-local course, offered outside HK) In addition, assistance is provided to: 1. students on loans, grants and travel subsidy 2. providers on start up and accreditation loans, local grants and land usage Quality is assured though accreditation by HKCAA or institutional (if self-accrediting) and though courses following a set of common descriptors (developed by the FCETI for EMB) for the Associate degree. Recognition of Associate degree through: (a) parity of recognition with Higher Diploma (b) Gov't to take lead in recognizing associate degree as a valid qualification for civil service appointments (c) promote and encourage local/overseas institutions and professional bodies to recognize associate degree qualification. Note: objective of attaining 60% target for eligible age cohort to pursue post-secondary education was not discussed by EC. (Administrative policy purporting to incorporate values of quality, efficiency, choice and equity in course provision delivered through market mechanism with governmental steering)	1. Lifelong learning and all-round development is expected of everyone and education is infinitely important for everyone. (Education reform should incorporate the continuing education sector and lifelong learning should be encouraged and made a responsibility of everyone.) 2. Vision of reform is to develop HK into a society that values lifelong learning, so that everyone enjoys learning, has the attitudinal ability for lifelong learning, and has access to diverse channels and opportunities for learning. 3. Principles of reform in education are that no one should lose out, emphasis in placed on the learner, quality is stressed, learning must be life-wide (not secluded within schools or formal context) and there must be society-wide mobilization to support reforms. 4. Focus of academic structure should be on providing diverse and flexible opportunities at senior secondary level and beyond with continuing education providers keeping in tune with social change and learners' needs. 5. Focus of curriculum should be flexibility, diversity and internationalization. These must be increasing use of IT and work-learning integration 6. Interface of continuing education with other stages of education though qualifications accreditation & recognition mechanisms. 7. Recommend Gov't to formulate policy on Community College that offers associate degree. Financial subsidy to students and institutions (initial setting up) may be considered	Tung (2000); Legislative Council (2001); Leung (2002); Education Commission (2000c)

*Also refer to Table 17 for funding schemes set up to implement policy initiatives in CE's policy

Year	Chief Executive's Policy Address (Policy theme)	Policy bureau (policy theme)	Related statutory organization and advisory body (Policy theme)	Reference
2000	Salaries Tax. 9. Upgrade skills of laborers though training programs developed in consultation with local trade and industry. $400 million is earmarked for training to achieve this purpose. 10. Provide annual recurrent budget of $400 million to ERB from FY 2001-2002 for it to pursue longer term plans. 11. Endorse the view that economic hardship faced by the poor (low income workers) the needy (aged, single parent families, new arrivals) should be tackled by holistic and integrated social and economic policies. Solutions include: a. provide education opportunities to facilitate social advancement; b. improve training and re-training of grass-root workers to fit into skills requirement of the knowledge-based New Economy; c. enhance training program for older workers and the disabled. 12. Enlist voluntary sector to provide social services along-side the Gov't (utilitarian notion of civil society performing roles assumed by market and government). 13. Expand Youth Pre-employment Training Program for job seeking school leavers. State that continuing education is a must.		by the Gov't. 8. Establish EC working group on continuing education to advise on accreditation of academic qualifications across continuing education sector. 9. Establish lifelong education centers using existing community resources and infrastructure. 10. Establish database for continuing education for the public to access course information.	
			UGC – Second TLQPR 2001-2003	
2001	1. Reiterate the need to achieve targets of: a. increasing no. of post-secondary places as a condition for achieving 60% participation in 10 years. b. promoting life-long learning as a pre-requisite for participation in the knowledge-based economy. (Investing in education for economic restructuring towards the knowledge-based economy) 2. Subsidize those with learning aspirations to pursue continuing education and training programs. $5 billion is set aside for this purpose. 3. Reassert Gov't responsibility to improve vocational training & retraining. To review the entire training & retraining framework to ensure resources are used most effectively. 4. Report on the work of the Elderly Commission which has launched a "Healthy Ageing Campaign" and has helped to promote lifelong learning among the elderly. (Social policy is to nurture self-help and community development in time of economic adversity) 5. Establish the "Community Investment and Inclusion Fund" with $300 million grant to encourage the grassroots to develop their spirit of self-help and mutual aid. 6. Study the learning needs of HK's professional sector. Set aside $150 million to establish a fund to support projects (includes training) that can enhance the standard of professionals in HK. (Supporting development of economic structure though training) 7. Report on findings of Small and Medium Enterprises Committee to help SME (training as one measure) through Gov't funding.		1. Include CE units of UGC institutions within the ambit of the teaching and learning quality audit (Second TLQPR 2001-2003) 2. Self-funded degree and subdegree programs of CE units in UGC institutions to be covered in the audit 3. Audit will focus on processes (systems, mechanisms, procedures) to assure and improve the quality of education and not the quality of education itself (Quality factor emphasized throughout higher education sector irrespective of mode of funding)	Tung (2001a); University Grants Committee (2003).
		EMB - Review of AE courses	**UGC-Sutherland Report and UGC's Final Recommendations**	
2003	Reiterate investing in education for economic restructuring as priority even in face of budgetary deficit. Endeavor to develop local human resources and provide opportunities for continuing education. (Human resources development for economic restructuring)	EMB to outsource evening primary and secondary education courses to not-for-profit private operators (HK College of Technology and PLK Professional and Continuing Education College for 2 years (2003-2005), while still under subvention. This is due to failing demand and low completion rate. Plan was pushed ahead despite Legco panel motion urging EMB to stop outsourcing and to conduct further review and consultation. EMB cites resource constraint and availability of other funding schemes (e.g. CEF) as reasons for urgent decision to go ahead with outsourcing. (Rationalization of course operation by efficiency)	1. Gov't to seek greater momentum for private sector participation in higher education financing. 2. Sub-degree and associate degree programs under UGC to be made largely self-financing. 3. Further Education Council to be established and which would take over from UGC the responsibility for looking after sub-degree, associate degree and lifelong learning 4. HEI to enter into collaboration with their CE units though franchising (emulating HE-FE partnership overseas). 5. Joint QA body to be established for FE and CE sectors in due time 6. Provide some additional places for undergraduate second year to accommodate for associate degree (Change in response to post-secondary education expansion and need for articulation between FE and HE under no substantive increase of funding)	Tung (2003); Legislative Council (2003 a, b, c, d); University Grants Committee (2002); Manpower Development Committee (2002)

Year	Chief Executive's Policy Address (Policy theme)	Policy bureau (policy theme)	Related statutory organization and advisory body (Policy theme)	Reference
2003			students articulating into higher education.	
		EMB - Review of the funding of subdegree program	**MDC – Consultation Paper on QF and its associated QA mechanism**	
2003		Withdrawal of subvention for subdegree programs given expansion of self-financing post-secondary sector. Only programs with high start up cost, pure science or arts, or those that meet specific manpower needs should continue to receive subsidy. This decision follows the UGC's Final Recommendations for the Higher Education Review and was recommended by a specialist group appointed to review the UGC-funded subdegree programs in City U and HK Polytechnic University. Any savings can be ploughed back to help students such as providing financial assistance. (Rationalization of course operation by efficiency)	1. Qualifications framework and its associated QA mechanism to be developed as a step in upgrading HK's human resources. Through it: a. People can plan for upgrading of skills and pursue lifelong learning b. Employers can participate to bring wider recognition to qualifications c. Training providers can be encouraged to provide more quality courses 2. QF to encompass all postcompulsory education qualifications (secondary 3 to doctorate) awarded in mainstream HE, vocational and CE sectors as well as qualifications awarded by professional bodies. 3. Programs to be placed in QF after passing QA mechanisms and then to be publicized in a Qualifications Register made open to the public. Participation in QF is voluntary but is expected to benefit course marketing. 4. QF Steering Committee recommended to be established with advisory role in QF, policy direction for lifelong learning and post compulsory education This committee will work with EMB, UGC (representing HEI) and MDC. Thus QF steering committee will become an advisory body for lifelong learning along-side EC which will deal with school education. 5. MDC to represent two sectors: vocational education & training and continuing education. 6. MDC to be responsible for post compulsory and vocational qualifications while UGC takes care of all degree qualifications irrespective of nature of course providers. 7. HKCAA to assume expanded role for administering QA mechanism for QF including all sub-degree programs. 8. EMB to assume role for promotion, making arrangement on legislation, funding and administrative support for QF and Qualifications Register. 9. Articulation to HE should be encouraged but left to universities to decide while CATS should be supported through some form of Gov't funding. 10. Overseas courses encouraged to be localized into QF. Creating an education system and system to recognize individual learning that (a) can meet rapidly changing needs and priorities for knowledge and skills development – lifelong learning in the knowledge economy (b) achieve 60% post-secondary participantion targets	
2004	1. Increase proportion of people engaged in continuing education and further education on the basis of present achievement. 2. Establish qualifications framework to provide learners with a clear articulation ladder. 3. Continue to promote training & retraining though courses offered by VTC and ERB. 4. Provide continuing learning and employment for young people though YPTP. A "Youth Sustainable Development and Employment Fund" is to be set up. 5. Develop strategies to enhance "social capital" though tri-partite partnership between government, the business community and the not-for-profit sector. This should based on the success of the "Community Investment and Inclusion Fund". 6. Education can be developed into an industry that could benefit the economy 7. Implement the UGC's recommendation on review of Higher Education. (Investing in education, training and social capital development within the framework of economic development strategy)			Tung (2004)

will carry out their operations in the market. This period has seen a close working relationship between the FCETI and the EMB, where FCETI becomes the latter's partner in carrying out the postsecondary education expansion through a common curriculum framework drafted by FCETI (common descriptors for AD) (FCETI, 2001). It has also superseded the OUHK as the primary voice of CE through lobbying efforts that successfully placed CE into the framework for consultations on aims of education (FCETI, 1999), and later, the program of educational reform (Education Commission, 2000c). FCETI also used its leverage as a component of the university system to gain autonomy from quality inspections of the Hong Kong Council for Academic Accreditation (HKCAA), which other providers are subjected to following implementation of the Qualifications Framework (QF) (Manpower Development Committee, 2002; FCETI, 2003)[9]. By demonstrating support for most of the government's initiatives in lifelong learning, FCETI has consolidated its influence over policymaking and has been viewed with particular favor by the EMB vis-à-vis other providers.

To enable CE schools to ride the crest of favorable political environment resulting from the FCETI-EMB alliance, changes in organizational management strategy and style have been implemented in most of these institutions. These include adopting the strategy of mission integration with the university and submission to administrative measures for proving quality and efficiency; as well as pursuing a strategic differentiation of roles between management and program level staff. Liu and Wan (1999), the latter former Dean of HKBU-SCE, were the first to propose a structural integration of CE school operation within the management and strategic planning of parent universities as a way of making the

will carry out their operations in the market. This period has seen a close working relationship between the FCETI and the EMB, where FCETI becomes the latter's partner in carrying out the postsecondary education expansion through a common curriculum framework drafted by FCETI (common descriptors for AD) (FCETI, 2001). It has also superseded the OUHK as the primary voice of CE through lobbying efforts that successfully placed CE into the framework for consultations on aims of education (FCETI, 1999), and later, the program of educational reform (Education Commission, 2000c). FCETI also used its leverage as a component of the university system to gain autonomy from quality inspections of the Hong Kong Council for Academic Accreditation (HKCAA), which other providers are subjected to following implementation of the Qualifications Framework (*QF*) (Manpower Development Committee, 2002; FCETI, 2003)[9]. By demonstrating support for most of the government's initiatives in lifelong learning, FCETI has consolidated its influence over policymaking and has been viewed with particular favor by the EMB vis-à-vis other providers.

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latter understand the working of their CE units and to allow broad acceptance of the concept of lifelong learning. The current mission integration of CE into mainstream university is founded however on the basis of CE units' attempt to raise their profile in a marketing sense, and the universities' financial stringency which sees CE units as cash cows. The closer integration would require alignment of procedures and practices with mainstream universities, such as in quality audit. This is evidenced by the inclusion of the CE sector within the ambit of TLQPR 2nd cycle quality audit alongside regular academic departments (UGC, 2003) and the strengthening of quality assurance procedures in CE schools. The implementation of bureaucratic procedures of quality assurance and quality audit derived from business practices (Massy, 2001) was initially met with resistance by some in the CE sector who regarded traditional notions of planning centered on student needs as superior (Tam et al., 1999) than these quality assurance procedures. In contrast, there were those who espoused formal quality assurance procedures combined with strategies to monitor support for learners and part-time teachers as contributing to the overall development of a quality culture in CE (Lai, 1999). To ensure that desired outcomes could be attained quickly and without hindrance, a greater degree of top-down direction was necessary. This has resulted in the emergence of leaders and followers in the organization where loss of power and initiative by the latter would follow as a natural consequence. There is, therefore, a two-layered centralization of power and increase of control imposed by the state on CE schools, and by CE schools on practitioners. The loss of core staff funding which had turned these institutions into market entities coupled with the intensification of competition caused by entrance of both new public and private sector providers served to

intensify the pursuit of profit, a non-educational value, as a matter of institutional imperative for survival.

The ambiguity in the purpose of practice and role of practitioners is further intensified as they are required to navigate between loci in higher education, third sector and the market. By doing so, they are at the same time claiming to be educators (due to closer alignment of practices with higher education and that some higher educators have significant proportion of their work related to CE, especially in taught part-time postgraduate programs), while performing managerial functions in program development and administration, as well as serving as academic entrepreneurs. This latter role is maligned by some in the community as constituting a profiteering image of practitioners, especially when other values of education are not articulated to the public. When speaking of themselves as members of higher education, practitioners can articulate the values of 'quality' and 'financial efficiency', as defined from a bureaucratic-managerialist sense. Apart from this, they can also articulate a 'choice' value for adding diversity to course offerings to facilitate selection of suitable programs by learners (see Figure 25, p. 209).

Notes

1. One example of a training program for lifelong learning professionals working in all types of organizations and contexts is the "Certified Program Planner (CPP)" offered by the Learning Resources Network (LERN). The CPP program defines program planner as a professional position administering classes or educational events for a lifelong learning program. The purpose of the position is to serve the lifelong learning needs of one or

more populations or audiences by effectively administering the effective delivery of educational events or classes. Knowledge competencies professional program planners need to know include (a) learning and teaching; (b) finances and budgeting; (c) brochures; (d) marketing; (e) promotion; (f) needs assessments; (g) program development; (h) pricing; and (i) program management. Details of the program can be found in: http://www.lern.org/cpp

2. A thorough account of CE providers and types of provisions can be found in Cribbin (2002b).

3. Community centers traditionally play a role in fostering relations between local residents through organized social activities and in engendering a sense of belonging to their district and promoting civic awareness. These centers also take part in organizing adult and continuing educations courses, which are subsidized by the adult education subvention scheme, employees retraining scheme, and the youth pre-employment training program. Although maintaining a low profile, community adult educators are able to articulate a clear mission of their work. The proximity of these practitioners to the grassroots enables them to introduce to their clientele, who are generally less-informed and less-educated, about opportunities of participating in continuing education and becoming aware of personal learning needs (Chan and Yuen, 2000).

4. The establishment of the Extra-mural Department at HKU can be traced to a post-war colonial universities development policy emanating from UK which encouraged setting up of such departments to offer courses of a general nature unrelated to work and which could act to tone down the excessive elitist character of higher education in the colonies. This idea was supported in the recommendations of the Keswick Report (Committee on Higher Education in Hong Kong, 1952). Given the severely restricted entry to university at that time and the inadequacy of parallel institutions offering training in technical education and preparation for professional examinations (e.g. accounting), the said Report considered the Department of Extra-mural Studies should play a larger role than their British counterparts by offering programs in these areas too. Its possible offering of technical education and degree level studies would serve as testing grounds for new initiatives that could eventually be relocated to the University and other suitable institutions

when established. The financing for the Department was understood to be based on a funding of core staff only, and recurrent expenditures would have to be recouped from fees paid by students. Thus, from the very outset, the Department of Extra-mural Studies in HKU had been conceived as a pragmatic service (not academic) entity to meet needs not able to be served by the University.

5. The first two directors of the Department of Extra-mural Studies in HKU were seasoned adult educators who both were associated with AE at the University of Manchester and had worked at Makarere University College in Kenya (Wong, 1980). Their enthusiasm in importing the liberal AE tradition to Hong Kong was noted by Styler (1965), Head of Department of Adult Education at the University of Hull, who acted as adviser to the Hong Kong government on AE. The first director of the Extra-mural Studies Department at CUHK was an assistant to the Director at HKU, and was sent for training in AE at the University of Manchester. The only PhD holder in AE by a practicing staff of the Extra-mural departments was Spencer Wong who studied at the University of Edinburgh.

6. There was a brief period of attempt to establish research within HKU-SPACE from 1992-1996 for studies on adult learning and participation, models of CE provisions, manpower and training policy (Lee and Lam, 1994a). This effort failed due to an institutional focus on programming and the departure of staff who made up the group. The only sustainable research unit was established with a small number of dedicated researchers in the Center for Research in Distance and Adult Learning (CRIDAL) of OUHK. Although there was no permanent forum for researchers to exchange views and present their findings as in the Standing Committee on University Teaching and Research of Adults (SCUTREA), CRIDAL has been active in sponsoring conferences with international and regional open and distance learning bodies.

7. The Extra-mural Department at CUHK was the first to propose the offering of part-time degrees in 1968. This was followed by a similar view expressed by the Convocation of the University of Hong Kong in 1972. As a result of the official sanctioning of part-time degrees by the 1978 White Paper on Senior Secondary and Tertiary Education, the two departments were eager to offer such degree programs but were objected by the regular

departments in the two universities who instead gained the right to run those programs (Lai, 1980; Wong, 1980).

8. The period of rapid expansion in CE from early to mid-1990s was accompanied by the retirement of old staff in the former Extra-mural Studies Department (mostly senior program staff level) and change of leadership. The heads of three CE schools (HKU-SPACE, CUHK-SCS, and HKBU-SCS) had resigned between 1994-1996.

9. The implementation of Qualifications Framework and the running of AD both entail significant participation by providers from the non-university sectors, such as voluntary organizations (e.g. CARITAS, YMCA, HKCT) and private enterprises. The HKCAA was the designated body to conduct accreditation of institutions and validation of programs for these two initiatives (Manpower Development Committee, 2002; Leung, 2002). The integrity of the university sector with respect to subdegree work that they are undertaking is assured by the UGC Higher Education Report (UGC, 2002), which favored the creation of a further education council to take over responsibility for this segment of operation. Subsequently, the Heads of University Committee (HUCOM) has decided to establish a quality committee under its aegis to look after quality of the subdegree programs undertaken by CE schools of the universities. By so doing, it has effectively defended intrusion of the HKCAA into the universities' claimed domain.

Table 19 Government bureaus / departments responsible for administering / coordinating adult and continuing education and policy advising

(a) Formal education and training

Policy bureau	Implementing department / agency	Non-governmental subvented body	Advisory committee / bodies
Education and Manpower Bureau	Student Financial Assistance Agency	Vocational Training Council Employees Retraining Board Construction Industry Training Authority Clothing Industry Training Authority Hong Kong Council for Academic Accreditation University Grants Committee	Standing Committee on Language Education & Research Manpower Development Committee Education Commission
Civil Service Bureau	Civil Service Training & Development Institute		
Economic Development and Labor Bureau	Labor Department		
Commerce Industry and Technology Bureau (Commerce and Industry Branch) (Communications and Technology Branch)	Trade & Industry Department Radio Television HK	HK Trade Development Council. (TDC) - Business School for SMEs HK Productivity Council	Small and Medium Enterprises Committee
Home Affairs Bureau		HK Arts Centre-HK Arts School Scout Association of HK – Education Centre	

(b) Non-formal learning

Learning domain	Funding scheme / program	Policy bureau / implementing department	Advisory committee / body (Year established)	Year started / Amount of Funding
Sustainable development	Sustainable Development Fund	Chief Secretary for Administration's Office	Council for Sustainable Development (2003)	$100 million / 2003
Social capital and community development	Community Investment and Inclusion Fund	Health, Welfare and Food Bureau	Community Investment and Inclusion Fund Committee (2002)	$300 million / 2002
Environmental issues	Environment and Conservation Fund / Woo Wheelock Green Fund	Environment, Transport and Works Bureau	Environmental Campaign Committee (1990)	$200 million / 1994
Elderly learning	Community Partnership Scheme, Healthy Aging Campaign	Health, Welfare and Food Bureau	Elderly Commission (1997)	$21 million grant from HK Jockey Club Charity Trust / 2001
Women's learning	Capacity Building Mileage Program	Health, Welfare and Food Bureau	Women's Commission (2001)	In partnership with OUHK LiPace, and Commercial Radio I / 2004
Civic education	Community Participation Scheme	Home Affairs Bureau	Committee on the Promotion of Civic Education (1986)	

(c) Government agencies and related bodies with a subsidiary role to educate the public or to provide resources for public education (the following list is not exhaustive)

Learning domain	Gov't agency / related body
i. Health	Central Health Education Unit, Department of Health
ii. Consumer rights	Consumer Council
iii. Occupational health and safety	Occupational Safety and Health Council
iv. Anti-smoking	HK Council on Smoking and Health
v. Anti-discrimination	Equal Opportunities Commission
vi. Environmental protection	Environmental Protection Department
vii. Conservation of natural habitat, flora and fauna	Agriculture, Fisheries and Conservation Department
viii. Museums, libraries, arts and cultural services	Leisure and Cultural Services Department
ix. Food safety and public health	Food and Environmental Hygiene Department
x. Arts education	HK Arts Development Council
xi. Sports	Sports Development Board

Appendix II

Values on policy of lifelong learning survey instrument

2376 6787
2527 0112

July 10, 2002

Dear Colleague,

I am writing to seek your assistance in providing your views on policy choices and priorities in adult, continuing, further and professional education. The aforementioned areas of education have received significant attention in recent years as a result of the Education Commission's Reform Proposals, the Sutherland Report, and the various initiatives launched by the Education and Manpower Bureau.

The current study is being conducted as part of a doctoral research that looks into the value systems of practitioners. Your name has been identified for inclusion in this survey from reading your institution's prospectus / published staff list. As an experienced worker in these fields of education, your views are vital for gaining understanding of how policy choices and priorities are interpreted by frontline personnel who are involved in program development, planning and administration.

The findings in this study will be used solely for academic purposes. You are welcomed to contact me for a copy of the summary of findings when the study is completed.

I would be grateful if you could return the completed questionnaire to me before July 31, 2002. If you are away during this period, a late return would also be appreciated. Should you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me at 2376 6787.

Thank you very much for your kind attention.

Yours sincerely,

Benjamin T.Y. Chan

15 August 2002

Dear Colleague,

I would like to express my thanks to colleagues who have completed and returned the questionnaire sent out in mid-July. Your kind response has been most helpful towards completing the task of data compilation and analysis.

I would also like to seek the goodwill of colleagues who have not yet responded to please kindly render their support and return the completed questionnaire at the earliest convenience. I apologize for requesting the extra effort on your part and for subjecting you to making difficult choices amongst items enumerated in the questionnaire. Due to the small size of the adult and continuing education practitioner's community, every response counts equally important towards understanding the profession as a whole.

Enclosed please find a copy of the same questionnaire and you may either return in upon completion to the undersigned using the stamped-self addressed envelop included in the previous mailing or by fax (2527 0112). For colleagues who had already returned the questionnaire, kindly ignore this reminder. Please return the completed questionnaire on or before September 7, 2002.

Should you have any queries, please get in touch by phone at 2376 6787.

Thank you in anticipation for your understanding and support.

Yours faithfully,

Benjamin T.Y. Chan

The following is to collect your views on policy choices and priorities and the relative importance you would attach to specific issues and problems affecting adult, continuing, further and professional education.

PLEASE INDICATE YOUR VIEWS BY PLACING AN 'X' ON THE LINE NEARER TO THE PHRASE IN EACH PAIR THAT YOU FEEL IS MORE IMPORTANT. MARK THE SPACE CLOSEST TO THE END OF THE LINE IF THAT ITEM IS <u>MUCH</u> MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE OTHER; MARK THE NEXT ITEM IF IT IS <u>SOMEWHAT</u> MORE IMPORTANT; AND MARK THE SPACE CLOSE TO THE CENTER OF THE LINE IF IT IS ONLY A <u>LITTLE</u> MORE IMPORTANT. PLEASE NOTE THAT THERE IS NO PROVISION FOR A NEUTRAL ANSWER AND ONLY ONE 'X' SHOULD APPEAR FOR EACH ITEM PAIR.

Example:

Increasing program flexibility	Much more important	:	Somewhat more important	:	Little more important	:	Little More important	:	Somewhat More important	:	Much More important	Making programs more cost-effective
	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	:	X	:	___	

If you think 'Making programs more cost effective' is <u>somewhat</u> more important that 'Increasing program flexibility', please indicate the degree of your preference as shown above.

PART I.

A.1 ___	Enhancing diversity of program offerings	___ Much : ___ Somewhat : ___ Little : ___ Little : ___ Somewhat : ___ Much	Achieving flexibility in admission and mode of delivery of programs	B.1 ___
A.2 ___	Recruiting subject expertise widely from as many sources of acknowledged authority, local and international	___ Much : ___ Somewhat : ___ Little : ___ Little : ___ Somewhat : ___ Much	Introducing appropriate use of IT and adapting appropriate teaching and learning strategies	B.2 ___
A.3 ___	Ensuring program operation is cost effective and financially accountable	___ Much : ___ Somewhat : ___ Little : ___ Little : ___ Somewhat : ___ Much	Providing discriminatory funding for courses with identified need for public investment amidst self-financing imperative	B.3 ___
A.4 ___	Establishing framework for policy consultation, coordination and regulation of adult continuing, further and professional education	___ Much : ___ Somewhat : ___ Little : ___ Little : ___ Somewhat : ___ Much	Facilitating information availability to guide learner's choice of programs	B.4 ___
A.5 ___	Achieving flexibility in admission and mode of delivery of programs	___ Much : ___ Somewhat : ___ Little : ___ Little : ___ Somewhat : ___ Much	Benchmaking programs to ensure recognition and fitness for purpose	B.5___
A.6___	Introducing appropriate use of IT and adapting appropriate teaching and learning strategies	___ Much : ___ Somewhat : ___ Little : ___ Little : ___ Somewhat : ___ Much	Ensuring learning is useful, teaching is effective and proper support to learners is available	B.6___
A.7 ___	Operating programs under mixed funding models	___ Much : ___ Somewhat : ___ Little : ___ Little : ___ Somewhat : ___ Much	Ensuring program operation is cost effective and financially accountable	B.7___
A.8 ___	Enhancing diversity of program offerings	___ Much : ___ Somewhat : ___ Little : ___ Little : ___ Somewhat : ___ Much	Providing programs for marginalized and disadvantaged groups	B.8___

Cont'd to P. 2

A.9__	Allocating resources according to merit-based approach	Much : Somewhat : Little : Little : Somewhat : Much	Providing discriminatory funding for courses with identified need for public investment amidst self-financing imperative	B.9__
A.10__	Recruiting subject expertise widely from as many sources of acknowledged authority, local and international	Much : Somewhat : Little : Little : Somewhat : Much	Attending to special needs of particular groups of learners (e.g. language, learning style, ability, etc.); giving emphasis to social relevance of knowledge apart from its technical/applied usages	B.10_
A.11__	Endeavoring wider representation in policy making process, non-discriminatory regulation of providers, and collaborative partnership between local and overseas institutions	Much : Somewhat : Little : Little : Somewhat : Much	Establishing framework for policy consultation, coordination and regulation of adult, continuing, further and professional education	B.11_
A.12__	Providing programs for marginalized and disadvantaged groups	Much : Somewhat : Little : Little : Somewhat : Much	Benchmarking programs to ensure recognition and fitness for purpose	B.12_
A.13__	Operating programs under mixed funding models	Much : Somewhat : Little : Little : Somewhat : Much	Allocating resources according to merit-based approach	B.13_
A.14__	Attending to special needs of particular groups of learners (e.g. language, learning style, ability, etc.); giving emphasis to social relevance of knowledge apart from its technical/applied usages	Much : Somewhat : Little : Little : Somewhat : Much	Ensuring learning is useful, teaching is effective and proper support to learners is available	B.14_
A.15__	Building a quality culture	Much : Somewhat : Little : Little : Somewhat : Much	Facilitating information availability to guide learner's choice of programs	B.15_
A.16__	Benchmarking programs to ensure recognition and fitness for purpose	Much : Somewhat : Little : Little : Somewhat : Much	Enhancing diversity of program offerings	B.16_
A.17__	Providing discriminatory funding for courses with identified need for public investment amidst self-financing imperative	Much : Somewhat : Little : Little : Somewhat : Much	Operating programs under mixed funding models	B.17_
A.18__	Ensuring learning is useful, teaching is effective, and proper support to learners is available	Much : Somewhat : Little : Little : Somewhat : Much	Recruiting subject expertise widely from as many sources of acknowledged authority, local and international	B.18_
A.19__	Facilitating information availability to guide learner's choice of programs	Much : Somewhat : Little : Little : Somewhat : Much	Endeavoring wider representation in policy making process, non-discriminatory regulation of providers and collaborative partnership between local and overseas institutions	B.19_

Cont'd to P. 3

A.20__	Establishing framework for policy consultation, coordination and regulation of adult, continuing, further and professional education	___ Much : ___ Somewhat : ___ Little : ___ Little : ___ Somewhat : ___ Much	Building a quality culture B.20_
A.21__	Providing programs for marginalized and disadvantaged groups	___ Much : ___ Somewhat : ___ Little : ___ Little : ___ Somewhat : ___ Much	Achieving flexibility in admission and mode of delivery of programs B.21_
A.22__	Attending to special needs of learners (e.g. language, learning style, ability, etc.); giving emphasis to social relevance of knowledge apart from its technical/applied usages	___ Much : ___ Somewhat : ___ Little : ___ Little : ___ Somewhat : ___ Much	Introducing appropriate use of IT and adapting appropriate teaching and learning strategies B.22_
A.23__	Ensuring program operation is cost effective and financially accountable	___ Much : ___ Somewhat : ___ Little : ___ Little : ___ Somewhat : ___ Much	Allocating resources according to merit-based approach B.23_
A.24__	Building a quality culture	___ Much : ___ Somewhat : ___ Little : ___ Little : ___ Somewhat : ___ Much	Endeavoring wider representation in policy making process, non-discriminatory regulation of providers and collaborative partnership between local and overseas institutions B.24_

PART II.
RESPONDENT'S PROFILE

Please put a tick ✓ on the box corresponding to your response for items listed in 1-7.

1.	Gender	Male	☐ (1)
		Female	☐ (2)
2.	Age	Less than 30	☐ (1)
		30 to 39	☐ (2)
		40 to 49	☐ (3)
		50 to 59	☐ (4)
3.	Years of working experience in adult, continuing, further and professional education (Hong Kong)	Less than 2	☐ (1)
		2 to 5	☐ (2)
		6 to 10	☐ (3)
		More than 10	☐ (4)
4.	Program activity engaged in	Adult education (literacy; evening school; interest courses; retraining and skills upgrading courses to enhance employment opportunities; community and social education)	☐ (1)
		Continuing education (part-time post-secondary and higher education leading to an academic award; courses for personal development with a relevance to the workplace; in-house training)	☐ (2)
		Further education (associate degree and higher diploma)	☐ (3)
		Professional education (continuing professional development courses, courses to prepare for professional exams)	☐ (4)
		Mixed program activity	☐ (5)

Cont'd to P. 4

5.	Sector	Continuing education unit of UGC institutions and OUHK LiPACE	☐ (1)
		OUHK	☐ (2)
		Gov't, quasi-gov't bodies and non-profit making organizations	☐ (3)
		Private companies	☐ (4)
6.	Discipline/subject areas engaged in (indicate area where work is focused)	Accounting/business/mgt.	☐ (1)
		IT/computing	☐ (2)
		Language	☐ (3)
		Education	☐ (4)
		Law	☐ (5)
		Medical, nursing and health sciences	☐ (6)
		Engineering	☐ (7)
		Social Science	☐ (8)
		Science	☐ (9)
		Arts and humanities	☐ (10)
		Vocational and semi-skilled (secretarial, manual trade, etc)	☐ (11)
		More than 1 discipline	☐ (12)
		Others: pls. Specify _____	☐ (13)
7.	Duties engaged in (indicate main duty if more than one)	Program development, planning & administration	☐ (1)
		Curriculum planning, development of teaching materials, teaching and assessment	☐ (2)
		Unit management	☐ (3)
		Mixed duties	☐ (4)

Please rank in ascending order your response to item 8.

8. Which of the following adult education philosophy do you identify with most? Please rank in ascending order of preference (most preferred = 1, least preferred = 5)

Characteristics	Philosophy		
Education is about mastery of knowledge; program activity emphasizes content mastery and assessment of knowledge retention.	Liberal		(1)
Education is concerned with the experience of the learner; program activity stresses a problem-solving approach where the learner's experience assumes prominence.	Progressive		(2)
Education is about shaping desired behavior; program activity involves a systematic learning approach to bring about desired end results.	Behaviorist		(3)
Education is to help achieve personal growth and self-direction in learning; program activity emphasizes the worth of the individual and results in a positive feeling by participants.	Humanist		(4)
Education is a means of bringing about social change; program activity is directed at increasing awareness of specific issues and, in turn, provide opportunity for possible community change.	Radical		(5)

THANK YOU FOR YOUR KIND ATTENTION AND COOPERATION

Please return to Benjamin T.Y. Chan (Fax: 2317 0296) By 31 July 2002.

- End-

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