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Postcolonial patterns and paradoxes: language and education in Hong Kong and Macao

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The literature on postcolonialism covers a diverse set of geographic areas, cultures, timeframes, and economic and political circumstances. Within the context of this literature, this article focuses on two territories which underwent colonial transition right at the end of the twentieth century, and moved not to sovereignty but to reintegration with their motherland. Language in education systems has long been recognized not only as a very significant indicator of power relations in societies but also as a very important instrument for continuity and/or change. Hong Kong's education sector is a complex arena for language, in which English, Cantonese and Putonghua each play different and changing roles. Macao's education sector has all of these factors plus additional complexities arising from the place of Portuguese. The article notes various paradoxes in the ways that patterns developed in Hong Kong and Macao in the initial postcolonial period. It identifies lessons not only from comparison between Hong Kong and Macao, but also from comparison of experiences in the territories as a pair with experiences in other parts of the world.

This article differs from the others in this Special Issue of the journal by focusing on a pair of territories that underwent formal colonial transition rather recently and that moved from colonial status not to sovereignty but to reintegration with their mother country. This set of circumstances, together with other distinctive features of Hong Kong and Macao, adds an instructive element to the conceptual map of postcolonial studies. The article, moreover, has a dual-faceted basis for comparison. On the one hand is the comparison of patterns in Hong Kong and Macao, and on the other hand is comparison of patterns in the two territories as a pair with other parts of the world.

In some respects, the article updates earlier writings by the authors. Hong Kong, part of which had been a British territory since 1842, reverted to Chinese sover-

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eignty in 1997; and Macao, which had been under Portuguese administration since 1557, reverted to China in 1999. A special issue of this journal (Bray & Lee, 1997) was published at the time of Hong Kong's reversion of sovereignty and analysed patterns in the territory up to that time. Patterns in Macao were analysed in a book edited by the present authors in 1999 (Bray & Koo, 1999), as well as in other writings (for example, Bray, 2000; Choi & Koo, 2001). However, only parts of these publications addressed issues of language in education. This article presents deeper and updated analysis, and does so with a conceptual lens that is slightly different from that used in earlier writings.

The article begins with the comparative literature on colonial transition and postcolonialism. It then outlines examples of language policies and practices in the education systems of various postcolonial states. With this conceptual framework, the article turns to the specific features of Hong Kong and Macao. It commences with information on socio-political contexts, and then turns to features of the territories' education systems. In both territories major questions have concerned the roles of the colonial languages in education, but the place of English in Hong Kong has been very different from the place of Portuguese in Macao. Both territories have also had to address the place of Putonghua, the official spoken form of Chinese in the People's Republic of China (PRC), particularly in relation to Cantonese, the spoken Chinese dialect that dominates in both Hong Kong and Macao. In addition, Macao has had to consider the role not only of its own colonial language but also that of Hong Kong, since the influence of English in the region is considerably greater than that of Portuguese. The balances that emerged in the immediate postcolonial period revealed a number of paradoxes, and analysis helps to extend understanding of broader forces of continuity and change in education systems.

Colonial transition and postcolonialism: themes in the literature

The literatures on colonial transition and postcolonialism are related, voluminous, and multifaceted. All concern politics, but beneath that umbrella are works on literature, economics, culture and many other domains (see, for example, Chamberlain, 1985; Chambers & Curti, 1996; Quayson, 2000). Diversity arises from the cultural and historical contexts of individual works, with considerable difference, for example, in the literatures on Australasia, South Asia, Central Africa, and South America. Tikly (1999, p. 605) has revisited the question of whether the term postcolonialism is too homogenising, given the diverse experiences and histories of formerly colonized countries. Nevertheless, he rightly points out that the concepts that underlie the term are of considerable importance.

Within the literature on postcolonialism, one major question concerns the appropriate starting points for analysis. Ashcroft *et al.* (1995, p. 2), suggest that post-colonial studies can legitimately focus on 'all aspects of the colonial process from the beginning of colonial contact'. Other observers argue that this definition is too extended, and that it inadequately distinguishes colonial periods from postcolonial

periods (see, for example, Young, 2001, p. 57). One definition which provides easily comprehended boundaries differentiates colonial from postcolonial according to formal changes of sovereignty. Such a definition is perhaps especially useful for states which moved from colonial status to sovereignty. Yet even in these cases ambiguity may arise, because in most settings the forces of colonial transition were evident prior to the changes of sovereignty; and in almost all countries many characteristics of colonial regimes remained evident even after the changes of sovereignty. These remarks are relevant to Hong Kong and Macao as well as to other parts of the world. On the one hand it is arguable that colonial transition commenced earlier than the actual change of sovereignty (Chang & Chuang, 1997; Cheng, 1999); but on the other hand it will be clear from this paper that many continuities were evident.

A further twist concerning Hong Kong and Macao is whether indeed they have been decolonized or whether they have been recolonized, for the perspective of many citizens in the two territories has been that the roles of the UK and of Portugal have been replaced by Beijing (McMillen & DeGolyer, 1993; Yee, 2001). This complexity creates major undercurrents, though they are less evident in education than in some other sectors. On a broader canvas, Loomba (1998, p. 12) described postcolonialism as a term that is 'riddled with contradictions and qualifications'. The experiences of Hong Kong and Macao certainly fit this description.

Insofar as patterns in Hong Kong and Macao are now influenced by Beijing, the literature on neocolonialism becomes relevant. Much of the literature focuses on the activities of the United States and other Western countries (see, for example, Chambers & Curti, 1996), but this example shows that the concept may be also relevant to other countries and cultures. Further, dimensions of influence and control may be multifaceted and overlapping, as exemplified by the fact that Macao has long been overshadowed by Hong Kong. As noted by Lo (1999):

> It can be argued that Macao represents a neo-colonial model of development in the sense that it successfully relies on Hong Kong's capital, expertise and knowledge to develop its economy. In other words, economically speaking, Macao is a *de facto* colony of Hong Kong rather than of Portugal. (p. 54)

This set of forces has had an impact in education as well as other sectors, and creates a further layer of complexity for analysis of the multiple dimensions of control, continuity and change.

Also important to note from the literature is the tendency to portray colonialism as a period of oppression and exploitation, with postcolonialism by implication bringing liberation from these traits (Slemon, 1995; Loomba, 1998). Again, with regard to Hong Kong and Macao various qualifications are necessary. Certainly in many domains colonial policies and practices brought hegemonies which advantaged some and disadvantaged others, and this paper will illustrate this observation with specific reference to languages in education. However, both Hong Kong and Macao differ from the majority of other colonies insofar as their precolonial

populations were very small and, particularly after the 1949 triumph of the Communist revolution in China, a large proportion of their populations consisted of migrants who had chosen to live in the territories under the colonial framework rather than in China under the Communist system. Moreover, whereas many other colonial transitions were the result of nationalist revolutions which pushed out the colonial regimes, many individuals and families in Hong Kong and Macao during the late colonial period viewed the impending transition with considerable misgivings and would have preferred maintenance of the status quo (McMillen & DeGolyer, 1993; Lo, 1995).

Language in education in postcolonial states

Many of the broad remarks about contradictions and qualifications in the context of postcolonial theory can be illustrated in the domain of language. Pennycook's (1998) book is especially relevant to this paper because it commences with Hong Kong shortly after midnight on 30 June/1 July 1997, when the UK flag had been replaced by the PRC one. Pennycook explained that he had come to Hong Kong to observe the handover ceremony. He added:

> I am also here in Hong Kong to argue that in many ways it doesn't make a whole lot of difference. There is a conference here, a conference to talk about the future, about building bridges, about language and education in the new Hong Kong. And I am here to argue that many things won't be changing. My argument is not one that suggests that the recolonization of Hong Kong by the Chinese is as bad as or worse than the British colonial presence (though there are indeed a lot of interesting arguments that could be made about such matters). Nor am I arguing that it doesn't matter that the British colonial administration sailed off at sunset (or a little afterwards) in the Royal Yacht…. But my interest is more in the point that this mighty symbol of the governor sailing away masks the crucial issue that the traces left by colonialism run deep. And these traces, these discourses, are not just to do with Hong Kong, or with other former colonies, but have emanated from these colonial contexts to inhabit large domains of Western thought and culture. (p. 2)

In addition to Hong Kong, Pennycook's book included particular focus on India. Other remarks focused on Australia, Malaysia and various other places, though not on Macao. Pennycook argued for 'clear … understandings of the political contexts of language policies' (p. 127), noting that different interests can be served at any one time by different policies.

In some postcolonial states, particularly ones that were keen to assert their own national identities, governments vigorously promoted local languages in place of colonial ones. For example, the Tanzanian government replaced English with Swahili in much of its education system; the Pakistan government emphasized Urdu instead of English; the Indonesian government stressed Bahasa Indonesia instead of Dutch; the Republic of Korea government replaced Japanese with Korean; the Tajikistan government replaced Russian with Tajik; and the Malaysian government emphasized Malay rather than English.

Nowhere was the shift unproblematic, however. The choice of single national languages was made despite the existence of other languages in those countries. Also, the emphasis on national languages reduced channels of communication with external communities that did not use those languages. Further, national languages were easier to justify at the lower levels of education than at higher levels, since essential domains of scientific and technical knowledge could not all be translated into national languages.

In other postcolonial contexts, policy-makers decided to retain an ongoing major role for the colonial languages. In some cases this was because their countries did not have single dominant languages that could become national languages without serious dispute. In this sense, the colonial languages had an element of neutrality in the face of competing claims among other national languages. Thus Kyrgyzstan, for example, retained Russian as the only official language despite the existence of significant local languages; and similarly Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands retained English as the only official language. Other states, such as India and Madagascar did make local languages official ones, but did so alongside the colonial ones. In some settings, the colonial language was a force for unification and for differentiation from neighbouring states. This was a strong emphasis in Singapore, for example, which used English to bring together different racial and language groups and to distinguish Singapore from Malaysia and other countries. More recently, Portuguese has been made an official language in East Timor in order to strengthen the country's identity and distinguish it from Indonesia.

Some patterns have however changed with the advance of globalization and the need for strong international discourse (Watson, 2001; Crystal, 2003). Perceptions of international isolation caused a relaxation of advocacy of national languages in Pakistan and Malaysia, and some resurgence of what had been the colonial language but what was now perceived more as an international language than as a colonial one. With a similar goal of access to international affairs, English has become the favoured foreign language in Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam, displacing the French colonial language; and in Rwanda English has been made an official language alongside French and Kinyarwanda, and has been made the medium of instruction in part of the education system. This is to some extent despite efforts by the French government to retain a strong role for their language in those countries. Yet even if English can be described as an international rather than a colonial language, its spread and use still has political implications and is arguably part of a neocolonial framework which has displaced one form of colonialism by another (Phillipson, 1992; Maurais, 2003).

Socio-political contexts in Hong Kong and Macao

Hong Kong

Since the resumption of Chinese sovereignty on 1 July 1997, Hong Kong has been a Special Administrative Region within the PRC. Hong Kong has its own currency, laws and education system, and is administered with a high degree of autonomy

under the formula 'one country, two systems'. While China remains officially a socialist country, Hong Kong's Basic Law states that the socialist system shall not be practised in Hong Kong, and that 'the previous capitalist system and way of life' shall remain unchanged for 50 years from the date of reunification (China, 1990, Article 4). Concerning languages, the Basic Law indicates (Article 9) that 'in addition to the Chinese language, English may also be used as an official language by the executive authorities, legislature and judiciary'. This clause gives Chinese higher status, but nevertheless makes English an official language.

The territory of Hong Kong comprises the island of Hong Kong, a number of other islands, and part of the neighbouring mainland. The island of Hong Kong was ceded to the British in 1842. A section of the Kowloon Peninsula was ceded in 1860; and the New Territories were acquired on a 99-year lease in 1898. The total land area is 1070 square kilometres. The timetable for Hong Kong's colonial transition was, to a large extent, set by the lease on the New Territories, because the expiry of this lease set the date for return of sovereignty. The terms under which Chinese sovereignty resumed were established between the UK and PRC governments in 1984. The negotiation processes included some discussion whether Hong Kong Island, which had been ceded 'in perpetuity', would be treated differently from the other parts of the territory. Different treatment was deemed inappropriate and impossible, and sovereignty of Hong Kong Island was therefore returned to China together with the other parts of the territory (Miners, 1998).

The population of Hong Kong is approximately 7 million. Almost 98% are Chinese, and among the remainder, the largest groups are from the Philippines, Indonesia, the USA, Canada and the UK. The 1996 census indicated that 89% of the population spoke Cantonese as the usual language (Bauer, 2000, p. 38); but many Hong Kong families are migrants from Fukien, Shanghai, Beijing and other parts of mainland China, and these people speak their own dialects instead of, or in addition to, Cantonese. The 1996 census indicated that only 1.1% of the population spoke Putonghua as the usual language, but since the resumption of Chinese sovereignty Putonghua has become increasingly audible in social, business and official circles. Chinese was made an official language alongside English in 1974 (Liu, 2001).

While Hong Kong has been a destination for many waves of migrants during its history, it has also been a departure point. Especially after the incident in and around Beijing's Tiananmen Square in June 1989, when the Communist government cracked down on dissent, many Hong Kong families migrated to other countries, particularly Australia, Canada and the USA, in order to secure foreign passports. However, most retained right of residency in Hong Kong, and many, after having secured the foreign passports, returned for social reasons and/or because the employment prospects were better in Hong Kong. Many families who still had school-aged children found that their children no longer had sufficient language competence to cope with a Chinese-medium school system, and these families therefore sought places in English-medium schools.

Economically, Hong Kong became known in the last quarter of the twentieth century for its high rates of growth, much of which was built on the service sector (Sweeting, 1995). The trajectory of economic growth faltered in the immediate postcolonial period, but in 2002 Hong Kong was estimated to have a per capita Gross Domestic Product of US$24,000 (Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, 2003, p. 3). A substantial gap exists between average incomes in Hong Kong and the rest of China. However, during the years building up to and following the resumption of Chinese sovereignty, this gap was greatly reduced. In part the reduction reflected economic recession in Hong Kong, but more obviously it reflected economic growth in mainland China. This economic growth was especially obvious in neighbouring Guangdong Province, in Beijing and environs, and in the eastern coastal regions, and has had implications for education policy and practice. Indeed, with the build-up to China becoming a member of the World Trade Organization (WTO), and following its entry in 2001, many private and international schools have been established by investors from Hong Kong and elsewhere to serve clients who want their children to learn English in early grades and across the curriculum.

Macao

As a distinct political entity, Macao is much older than Hong Kong since Portuguese traders secured from the Chinese authorities rights of settlement in 1557. Although the Portuguese were primarily interested in Macao for economic reasons, the territory also played a major religious and cultural role. After the mid-seventeenth century, Macao's fortunes declined. Portugal proved unable to hold its empire together, and competition for East Asian trade increased. Hong Kong was itself a major factor in the competition, since it had a far superior port. However, during the last quarter of the twentieth century Macao developed rapidly.

In 1987, the Portuguese and Chinese governments agreed that Macao would revert to China on 20 December 1999. Like Hong Kong, Macao became a Special Administrative Region with considerable autonomy over internal affairs. Macao's Basic Law (China, 1993) was modelled on that for Hong Kong, and included the clause (Article 5) that Macao's capitalist system and way of life would remain unchanged for 50 years. Concerning official languages, whereas the Hong Kong Basic Law indicated that English could continue to be used, the Macao Basic Law indicated that Portuguese could continue to be used (Article 9).

Some confusion can arise concerning the official spelling of the territory's name. During the initial centuries of the colonial period, in Portuguese the territory was called Macao. During the nineteenth century the Portuguese authorities changed the spelling to Macau, and in the Portuguese language that remains the spelling of the name. However in English some people, especially ones outside the territory, preferred to spell the name Macao even after the change of spelling in Portuguese; and after the 1999 resumption of sovereignty, the authorities in Beijing announced that that would be the spelling in English (Bruning, 2001). Following this announcement, some institutions changed the spelling in the English versions of their names, but others did not; and in any case, whereas Portuguese is an official

language, English is not. This matter again perhaps illustrates the nature of post-colonial complexities. It explains why the present paper uses different spellings for different institutions and to refer to documents from different origins and points in history.

The total land area of Macao is just 27 square kilometres. A population of approximately 470,000 gives a density of 19,600 persons per square kilometre, which far exceeds Hong Kong's 6500 persons per square kilometre. As in Hong Kong, the vast majority of the population is Chinese. According to official figures, in 1996 Cantonese was the 'current' language of 87.1% of the population (Cónim & Teixeira, 2000, p. 32). This was very similar to the proportion in Hong Kong. The figure for Putonghua was 1.2%, and for other Chinese dialects 7.8%. For Portuguese the figure was 1.8%, for English it was 0.8%, and for other languages it was 1.3%. Only in 1987, that is, 13 years after Hong Kong, did Chinese become an official language, alongside Portuguese (Berlie, 1999). As in Hong Kong, Putonghua has become increasingly audible in social, business and official circles since the resumption of Chinese sovereignty. Unlike Hong Kong, however, Macao did not experience a large exodus of population prior to the resumption of Chinese sovereignty. Pressure to emigrate was less intense because persons born in Macao could obtain full Portuguese passports which gave them right of abode not only in Portugal but also elsewhere in the European Union. This contrasted with the situation in Hong Kong, where most people only had British National Overseas passports that did not give right of abode in the UK.

Official figures placed Macao's 2002 per capita Gross Domestic Product at US$15,400 (Macao, 2003, p. 5). This was less than Hong Kong, but still considerably more than mainland China. Manufacturing employed about 20% of the labour force, with restaurants, hotels and other services employing over half. Within the service sector, tourism and gambling were particularly significant.

Education in Hong Kong and Macao

Hong Kong

With reference to education, Hong Kong's Basic Law (China, 1990) states that:

> On the basis of the previous educational system, the Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region shall, on its own, formulate policies on the development and improvement of education, including policies regarding the educational system and its administration, the language of instruction, the allocation of funds, the examination system, the system of academic awards and the recognition of educational qualifications. (Article 136)

The autonomy promised by this clause has been fiercely protected by the Hong Kong authorities and has been respected by their Beijing counterparts. However, changes in the postcolonial era did show some significant shifts as a result of the change of sovereignty. In some cases these reflected Hong Kong citizens' behavioural changes.

Table 1. Institutions by level and ownership, Hong Kong, 2002/03

	Government		Aided		Private		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Primary	41	5.4	657	86.7	60	7.9	758	100.0
Secondary	37	7.8	368	77.5	70	14.7	475	100.0

Source: Hong Kong, Education & Manpower Bureau (2003a).

The Hong Kong government provides access to nine years of free and compulsory education, comprising six years of primary schooling and three years of junior secondary schooling. Two years of senior secondary schooling follow, and culminate in the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination (HKCEE). This in turn is followed by two years of advanced secondary schooling and concludes with the Hong Kong Advanced Level Examination (HKALE). The medium of instruction is shaped in different ways at the different levels of schooling.

In terms of mode of operation, Hong Kong schools can be classified as government, aided and private (Table 1). Government schools are wholly operated by the government, and are staffed by civil servants. Aided schools receive strong subsidies from the government, and in effect are part of the public sector, but are run by voluntary bodies. Private schools are owned and operated by private organizations or individuals, although some receive financial assistance from the government. This system of sponsorship has major implications for language in education, because it reflects avenues of control.

In the aided sector, the majority of schools are part of the local education system and follow a curriculum that leads to the HKCEE and HKALE. However, one group of schools is operated by the English Schools Foundation (ESF), which in 2002/03 had 10 primary schools, five secondary schools and one multi-age special needs school. The ESF had been created in 1967 to serve expatriate children following the education system of England, but over the next three decades its clientele diversified to include children of many races and nationalities (Yamato & Bray, 2002).

At the post-secondary level, Hong Kong has 11 degree-awarding institutions, of which eight are funded by the University Grants Committee (UGC). Government funding is to some extent linked to government control, but at the post-secondary level the government has largely been willing to leave decisions on the medium of instruction to the institutions themselves.

Macao

Until the late 1980s, the Macao government took very little interest in education. It operated a small number of Portuguese-medium schools which catered mainly for families with close ties to Portugal including many civil servants. These schools

served less than 10% of the population, and other children either went to private schools or did not go to school at all. The private schools were not supported, controlled or even monitored by the government. Many schools were operated by religious bodies, but others were run by social service organizations and commercial enterprises.

One result of the government's non-interventionist attitude was the development of a poly-centred collection of education systems rather than a distinct unified education system (Pinto, 1987). The systems were imported, with or without adaptation, from Portugal, the PRC, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. An alternative way to classify Macao schools was by language of instruction, since some schools operated in Portuguese, others in Chinese, and yet others in English. In addition, official documents (for example, Macau, 1994, p. 205) referred to a hybrid group of Luso-Chinese schools. These institutions, which were run by the government, used Chinese as the main medium of instruction but taught some classes in Portuguese.

As the 1990s progressed, the government adopted a more interventionist approach to education. Awareness of the impending political transition was a direct stimulus to this change, for the authorities felt that Macao's identity needed strengthening in order to promote self-confidence within the new framework (Tang, 2003). Government subsidies were provided for many private schools, though did not reach the scale of funding for aided schools in Hong Kong.

Macao has 12 post-secondary institutions, of which eight are private bodies (Bray *et al.*, 2002). The oldest was founded as a private institution in 1981 and at that time was called the University of East Asia (UEA). In 1988, this institution was purchased by the government, and in 1991 its name was changed to the University of Macau (UM). The other government institutions are a polytechnic institute, an institute for tourism studies, and a police training school. The largest institutions in the private sector are the Asia International Open University (AIOU) and the Macao University of Science & Technology (MUST).

Language and education in Hong Kong and Macao

Hong Kong

Almost all Hong Kong primary schools in the government and aided sectors have traditionally used Cantonese as their medium of instruction, with English taught as a subject. Most immigrant children who have not had fluency in Cantonese have had either to learn it fast or to join the private sector. Setting aside the ESF system, at the time of the change of sovereignty in 1997 only one primary school in the government and aided sector taught in English, and only one taught in Putonghua. In the private sector, schools serving non-local populations taught in English, Japanese, Korean, and various other languages, while most of the schools serving locals taught in Cantonese or English. Only one private-sector primary school taught fully in Putonghua.

Concerning secondary education, among the ironies of the 1980s and 1990s was that the colonial authorities were keen to emphasize Chinese in the school system but found that families were more interested in English. Part of the government rationale was that Chinese was the mother tongue of the majority population, and that learning would be more effective in the mother tongue than in a second language. The government had support in this view from various scholars. For example, Lord and T'sou (1985) had described the situation as a 'language bomb', adding that the products of the English-dominated education system emerged as 'cultural eunuchs ... with insufficient command or literacy in either English or Chinese' (p. 17). Lord and T'sou suggested that the bomb could only be defused by a bilingual education policy which strengthened the teaching of Chinese and delayed the introduction of English as a medium of instruction until as late as possible.

However, many families favoured English, first because school leavers who were fluent in the language were perceived to have an edge over their competitors in the labour market, and second because English fluency gave more opportunities for post-secondary studies. These forces brought a shift in the medium of instruction in secondary schools. Whereas in 1960, 57.9% of pupils were in schools that claimed to teach in English, by 1980 the proportion was 87.7% and by 1990 it had reached 91.7% (Lee, 1998, p. 166). In reality, however, many such schools taught in mixed code since their pupils were unable to cope with a curriculum taught fully in English. The colonial government frowned on this situation, arguing that pupils should be taught fully in English or (preferably) Chinese, but felt constrained by its public image at the end of the colonial era and did not wish to create antagonism by forcing change.

Firm measures to change the situation were therefore launched only in 1998, by the postcolonial government. Many of the key personnel held the same posts as they had held under the previous regime, but they evidently felt that the new climate was more conducive to a firm policy. The authorities rigorously screened the secondary schools' ability to teach in English, and pupils' ability to learn in English, and decreed that only one quarter of government and aided schools would be permitted to retain English as the medium of instruction. Officials claimed that the policy was introduced for educational reasons, but it was widely perceived as being primarily driven by political motives (Lai & Byram, 2003, p. 315). The fact that the post-colonial government was only implementing a policy that the colonial government had aspired to implement was lost on many observers who saw it as a triumph for Chinese over English in the new era.

The official goal of the new regime was that all pupils should be 'biliterate and trilingual'. The biliterate side refers to literacy in English and Chinese; and the trilingual side means ability to speak in English, Cantonese and Putonghua. The role of Cantonese is perhaps particularly significant. In addition to being the mother tongue of the majority of Hong Kong people, it is an identification marker in the postcolonial framework, distinguishing Hong Kong from mainland China (Bauer, 2000). Although Cantonese is also the mother tongue in neighbouring Guangdong Province of the PRC, all schools there are required to teach in Putonghua.

Further identity is asserted through the writing system. Although Cantonese and Putonghua have different tonal structures, and to some extent different vocabularies and grammars, they share a common written form. Thus, pupils in both mainland China and Hong Kong are taught to write Modern Standard Chinese, which is based on Putonghua. This system is also used in Taiwan, where the term Mandarin is used rather than Putonghua. However, mainland China uses a system of simplified written characters whereas Hong Kong and Taiwan use the traditional complex characters. Hong Kong has heard some advocacy of simplified characters on the grounds that they are easier to learn and faster to write, as well as on the grounds that they are used in mainland China. However, the continued use of traditional characters helps Hong Kong to retain its identity within the framework of reunification.

The colonial government nevertheless prepared for the 1997 transition by strengthening the place of Putonghua in the school curriculum (Kwo, 1992; Adamson & Auyeung Lai, 1997). This included plans, implemented in 1998, for Putonghua to become a core subject in Primary One, Secondary One, and Secondary Four. It also included plans, implemented in 2000, for Putonghua to become an independent subject in the HKCEE.

Some continuity across colonial and postcolonial periods was also evident in schemes to employ native speakers of English. In 1987 the government had launched an Expatriate English Teachers Scheme (EETS), which had sought on the one hand to maintain or raise standards of English and on the other hand to facilitate a transition to Chinese (Cantonese) as the medium of instruction. English-medium secondary schools that agreed to convert to Chinese as the medium were offered two free-of-charge expatriate teachers of English. The scheme was administered by the British Council, which recruited most of the teachers from the UK. Boyle (1997, p. 179) pointed out that its colonial flavour was out of keeping with international trends to upgrade local teachers of English, and that the scheme created some resentment among local teachers.

The EETS had a poor start; and although it was extended for two years after the initial two years, it faltered in the mid-1990s. To the surprise of some observers, the concept was resurrected on the eve of the colonial transition by the Education Commission (1995, p. 53), and given a considerable boost shortly after the change of sovereignty by the launch in 1998 of a Native-speaking English Teacher (NET) scheme in secondary schools. In 2001 the Chief Executive declared that 'although the scheme had had some teething problems,' it had 'gradually brought about a new culture of teaching English in our schools that is widely supported' (Tung, 2001, p. 13). On this basis, he announced that the scheme would be expanded to primary schools, and allocated HK$560 million (US$70 million) as an annual budget. By 2003/04 Hong Kong had 800 NET teachers compared with just 30 five years previously (Forestier & Gibb, 2003).

Native-speakers of English of course may come from many countries other than the UK, and the NET teachers were more diverse than their EETS predecessors. Nevertheless, the majority of NET teachers were westerners, and the scheme seemed to carry very visible cultural baggage. Walker's (2001) evaluation found that

NETs were less 'missionizing' than their predecessors, but that problems of integration with local cultures remained evident. Moreover, continuing controversies about medium-of-instruction policies and perceptions of falling standards in languages kept the whole topic strongly in the public eye.

One result of this continued concern was an 'action plan to raise language standards' proposed by the Standing Committee on Language Education & Research (SCOLAR), which had been created in 1996 (SCOLAR, 2003). The document supported efforts to benchmark language-teachers' competence, and recommended (p. 80) that all language teachers joining the profession from 2004/05 should hold at least a Bachelor of Education degree majoring in the relevant language, or both a first degree and a Postgraduate Certificate/Diploma in Education majoring in the relevant language. The document noted (p. 36) that under current policy schools could use either Putonghua or Cantonese to teach Chinese language, but endorsed the view of the Curriculum Development Council that the long-term goal should be to use Putonghua for this purpose.

To support this goal, the government had provided training for 2,800 Putonghua teachers between 1997 and 2000, and 400 teachers completed summer immersion programmes in mainland China between 2000 and 2002 with support from the government's Language Fund. In 2003 the government decided to extend the programme for five more years, giving priority to Chinese-language teachers who did not teach in Putonghua. This support was given to local Hong Kong teachers, even though many thousands of fully-qualified teachers could have been available from mainland China who, had they been allowed to come, would have accepted considerably lower salaries. Protection of the Hong Kong teaching force was another mechanism for retaining identity within the postcolonial framework. Nevertheless, the protection was not absolute. The SCOLAR report indicated (2003) that:

> Before there are enough local Chinese Language teachers with sufficient proficiency in Putonghua, some schools have expressed the desire to engage teachers of Chinese Language from the mainland … to help them teach the subject in Putonghua. We fully support such initiative during the transitional period, provided that the teachers to be engaged hold qualifications equivalent to a local degree and recognised teacher training both in Chinese Language. (p. 37)

Market forces and the new political climate also brought further change in the balance between Cantonese and Putonghua as the medium of instruction across the curriculum. By 2003/04, six primary schools in the government and aided sectors were using Putonghua as the medium of instruction, compared with just one in 1997; and four private primary schools taught in Putonghua compared with one in 1997. At the secondary level, the first school to teach fully in Putonghua was opened in 2002/03; and a further four schools used Putonghua for some subjects in addition to Chinese Language, Chinese Literature and Chinese History. This was a very small proportion of the total, but was a significant shift.

Nevertheless, the government insistence on the majority of secondary schools using Chinese as the medium was softened by other developments. First, the policy

had only applied rigidly to the first three forms of secondary schooling. In 1998, the government had agreed that Chinese-medium schools could switch to English for certain subjects beginning in Secondary Four or above if they could demonstrate ability to recruit appropriate teachers, if students were prepared to study in English, and if there was adequate school-based support to assist students in making the transition. Second, a growing number of schools gained exemption by joining a Direct Subsidy Scheme which took them out of the aided sector and thus beyond the reach of the requirement that they teach in Chinese. By 2003/04, 42 secondary and 10 primary schools were in the scheme (Hong Kong, Education & Manpower Bureau, 2003b), though not all had joined the scheme through the same route and with the same motivation. In addition, increasing numbers of English-medium places were taken by local families in ESF and international schools (Yamato & Bray, 2002). These developments to some extent acted as a safety valve, allowing the government to maintain its stance and image while certain groups in the population retained access to education in English.

In higher education, patterns were somewhat different. The oldest institution is the University of Hong Kong (HKU), which was established as an English-medium institution in 1911 to serve as the apex for the English-medium school system. Having been mindful that the Chinese-medium system lacked an apex, in 1963 the colonial government created a second university, the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK), as a Chinese-medium institution which mainly taught in Cantonese. During the following decades, HKU strictly retained its English-medium policy, but the CUHK drifted to a mix of media. Cantonese remained the dominant medium, but some courses were taught in Putonghua and others in English. Along with this, as described by Yeung (2003):

> the University's values have somehow changed. It now talks about internationalization, and selects students with a different set of criteria. In the past CU [Chinese University] students were proud of their mastery of the Chinese language, now with globalization being the catchword of the day, English prevails in importance. (p. 14)

A third institution, the Hong Kong University of Science & Technology (HKUST) was established in 1988. In addition to local recruitment, it recruited many academics from Taiwan as well as other places, and taught some courses in Putonghua and others in English. The other institutions mostly have a mix of English-language and Cantonese-language programmes. For example, at the Hong Kong Institute of Education, which is a major body for the training of teachers, most courses are taught in Cantonese but some, taught by non-local academics, are in English and a few are in Putonghua. To enhance the language competence of student teachers, since 2002/03 all students in the four-year B.Ed programmes have been required to complete at least 25% of their courses through English as the medium of instruction.

The postcolonial authorities, viewing English as an essential tool for access to international knowledge and desiring to retain Hong Kong's position as an international city, have broadly supported these institutional language policies. The mix of languages that gives a special place to English may be compared with that in

mainland China, where universities have exclusively taught in Putonghua but where English is also being given increasing emphasis (Yang, 2002).

Macao

The complexities of language policy and practice in Macao have all the ingredients of Hong Kong, that is, Cantonese, Putonghua and English, plus the additional ingredient of Portuguese. Because the Macao government played a less interventionist role until the end of the colonial period, the mixture of ingredients evolved in a more *laissez faire* way than in Hong Kong.

In 1988/89, that is, just over a decade before the resumption of Chinese sovereignty and at the beginning of the period in which the government began to view the education sector in a more serious way, 84.1% of Macao primary school pupils studied in Chinese, 9.2% studied in English, 4.8% studied in Portuguese, and 1.9% studied in both Chinese and Portuguese (Macau, 1990). At the secondary level, 73.0% of pupils studied in Chinese, 16.3% studied in English, 8.1% studied in Portuguese, and 2.1% studied in both Chinese and Portuguese. Thus English-medium schooling was more extensive than Portuguese-medium schooling. All the English-medium schooling was in the private sector, and reflected market forces rather than official policy. Portuguese-medium schooling was partly in the government sector (where it was particularly well-resourced), and partly in the private sector. At the primary level, the proportion of pupils in Macao's English-medium sector was higher than the counterpart proportion in Hong Kong. At the secondary level, the sector catered for a lower proportion than in Hong Kong; but in general, because the classes were serving an elite, they were taught fully in English rather than in mixed code. In both territories more secondary pupils than primary pupils studied in English, reflecting parents' concerns about the labour market.

As in Hong Kong, the majority of Chinese-medium schools in Macao use Cantonese rather than Putonghua. However, one school has a long history of teaching some subjects in Putonghua, and the group of schools operated by the Macau Chinese Education Association (MCEA) have long used Putonghua for teaching Chinese and Chinese History. As a left-wing body the MCEA has always been allied to mainland China, and therefore more inclined to use Putonghua. Also, because the Macao government had been largely *laissez faire*, schools were able to employ teachers from mainland China who were willing to work for much lower salaries than their local counterparts. Thus this dimension of the medium of instruction evolved largely by default in the absence of government overview and management. According to official figures, in 1989/90 36.5% of teachers in Macao were Chinese nationals (Macau, 1991). Later statistics indicated place of birth rather than nationality; but in 2001/02, 41.1% of Macao's teachers were recorded as having been born in mainland China (Macau, 2003). Many of course were long-term residents and had thus become Macao citizens, but others were relatively recent migrants.

Table 2. Types of schools by medium of instruction and enrolment, Macao, 2002/03

	Government		Private		Total	
School Type	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils
Chinese-medium	11*	5216	61	74,853	72	80,069
English-medium	—	–	8	5644	8	5644
Portuguese-medium	—	155**	1	676	1	831
TOTAL	11	5371	70	81,173	81	86,544

*Includes three schools with Portuguese sections
**Students registered in the Portuguese-medium sections of three government Luso-Chinese schools, in which the other students are in Chinese-medium sections.
Source: Information from the Education & Youth Affairs Department, Macao.

During the 1990s, the colonial government became more actively concerned about the Portuguese language in education. Given the 400 years of official neglect of education, this move during the sunset of the colonial era was somewhat ironic. It was motivated by realization in Portugal that East Asia was a vigorous part of the world in which it would be desirable to retain influence, and was facilitated by the fact that Macao was Portugal's last colony and could therefore be given stronger attention than had previously been possible. The most dramatic move was an attempt in 1994 to make Portuguese a compulsory subject in all schools receiving government funding. However, this proposal was sharply opposed by the Roman Catholic Church and the MCEA which, despite ideological differences, were able to work together (Yue, 1994). These bodies forced the government to abandon compulsion, though the government still proceeded with grants and various other measures for encouragement (Ieong, 1994).

Despite these efforts, however, by 2002/03 the proportion of pupils educated through the medium of Portuguese was lower than it had been a decade earlier. At the time of the change of sovereignty, the government's Portuguese-medium school was transferred to the private sector, thereby allowing the new regime to focus its attention more fully on the mainstream demands of the population. A few pupils studied in the Portuguese-medium streams in Luso-Chinese schools, and the other students in these schools took Portuguese as a subject. However, the total number of pupils studying through Portuguese across the curriculum had declined to 1.0% of the total. By contrast, 92.5% studied in Chinese-medium classes, and 6.5% were in English-medium classes (Table 2).

Part of the motivation for local people (as opposed to expatriates) to attend Portuguese-medium schools arose from the structure of the civil service. Prior to the resumption of Chinese sovereignty, the civil service, which was widely considered a well-remunerated, stable and desirable career, required fluency in Portuguese. As noted above, only in 1987 did Chinese become an official language alongside Portuguese, and for the initial years it was clearly the subsidiary language in government. Towards and after the transition the role of Chinese became stronger;

but knowledge of Portuguese remained an asset, partly because of the statement in the Basic Law that Portuguese remained an official language.

This continued official role for Portuguese deserves further comment. When Hong Kong's Basic Law was drafted, the fact that English would remain an official language for at least 50 years after the resumption of Chinese sovereignty was uncontroversial because of the international nature of that language. When the Macao Basic Law was drafted subsequently, Hong Kong's clause about English became Macao's clause about Portuguese. This occurred even though Portuguese is more obviously a colonial language and less obviously an international language. Comparing Macao's political transition with that of other former Portuguese colonies such as Angola, Cape Verde and Mozambique, it is ironic that the colony which was reintegrated with its motherland was the one in which the role of the Portuguese language was officially preserved for at least 50 years after the transition. It seems inconceivable that in the other territories postcolonial arrangements could only have been established with a clause requiring the colonial language to be preserved in the same way.

From the government perspective, among the factors which influence language policy are visions for Macao's development and aspirations for identity. The Portuguese language does bring Macao connections with Portugal itself and also with Brazil, East Timor, and Portuguese-speaking countries in Africa. These connections are among the ways through which Macao differentiates itself from Hong Kong, mainland China, and other parts of the region. However, Macao needs many more connections than this, and at least some sectors of the population need fluency in English and Putonghua. Also, as in Hong Kong the place of Cantonese in the education system seems to be assured by Macao's continuing desire for a social and political identity separate from that of the mainland. It seems likely that in the future the role of Portuguese will diminish further, despite its ongoing official status. The roles of Putonghua and English are likely to expand, and the role of Cantonese will remain fairly constant or diminish. For the writing of Chinese, the government has not made official statements about the use of simplified or traditional characters. At this point in history Macao continues to favour traditional characters in its schooling systems and in the broader society, and as in Hong Kong this is partly a mechanism to assert its continued identity and operation of 'one country, two systems' within the larger picture. However, the situation is less clear-cut than in Hong Kong, and some Macao schools have been using simplified characters for a number of years (Berlie, 1999).

At the level of higher education, patterns are again more complicated than in Hong Kong. This is partly because of the role of Portuguese, and partly because of the stronger private sector. When the University of East Asia was founded in 1981, it was an English-medium institution which mainly sought external students, particularly from Hong Kong, rather than local ones (Mellor, 1988). This was a rather clear example in which Macao could be described as a *de facto* colony of Hong Kong as well as of Portugal. Following the government purchase of the university in 1988, the authorities expanded the Portuguese presence. An Institute of Portuguese

Studies was created, and stronger emphasis was placed on Portuguese in the management and teaching of the institution. In 1988, Jorge Rangel (1989), then President of the government's Macau Foundation, approvingly quoted an anonymous person who declared that 'a university built according to the modern mode' would be 'the greatest heirloom that Portugal can leave in Macau' (p. 16). Rangel added that the university would be the focus of intellectual interchange and a bridge between East and West. The following year, the President of the Portuguese Republic, Mário Soares (quoted by Hui, 1998) noted during an official visit to the university that 'to some of the Portuguese who are living in Macau the attempts to spread and defend the Portuguese language have been a failure', and that 'there is sufficient reason to support that from now on we need to double our effort' (p. 195). Hui (1998) remarked that:

> It is obvious that the Portuguese government intended to use the University as a means of spreading the Portuguese culture and language in Macau. Therefore, moves were made to strengthen the Portuguese presence at the University after it became publicly-funded. (p. 196)

In 1991 the degree structure was reformed to match the Portuguese model, and the number of Portuguese academic staff was increased while the number from other countries was reduced. However the university did retain some courses in English, and also taught some courses in Chinese. The Faculty of Education was mainly Chinese-medium, with courses taught by Macao and Hong Kong academics being in Cantonese and those taught by mainland China academics being in Putonghua.

During the 1990s, aspects of this pattern were extended to other parts of the post-secondary sector. In 1991 the Macau Polytechnic Institute was created along Portuguese lines, and in 1995 an Institute of European Studies of Macau (IEEM) was formed (Bray, 2001, p. 148). The following year brought a further body, the Inter-University Institute of Macau (IIUM) which was linked to the Catholic University of Portugal.

These institutions continued to operate after the resumption of Chinese sovereignty, but the scale of funding from the Portuguese government was reduced and adjustments were made to fit new circumstances (Bray *et al.*, 2002). In addition, new actors in the higher education scene brought changes in the overall balance. The largest of these new actors was the Macau University of Science & Technology (MUST), which primarily employed academic staff from mainland China and taught in Putonghua. This university also increased the intensity of competition between Macao's institutions of higher education. One way in which the institutions responded to the competition was by enlarging the catchment pool through recruitment of students from mainland China. Some of these students sought English-medium courses, but many preferred Putonghua-medium courses. And once these courses were on offer, many local students took them too. For mainland China and local students without adequate competence in English, the Centre for Pre-University Studies at the University of Macau offered Intensive English Programmes.

On the other side of the balance sheet, many Macao students went outside the territory for higher education. This pattern had long roots, since before 1981 Macao had not had any university-level institutions. The destination of Macao students was to a considerable extent shaped by their secondary schooling. Many pupils who had studied in English-medium streams went to Australia, North America and the UK, while many pupils in Chinese-medium streams went to mainland China and Taiwan. To some extent this outward migration continued after 1999, but larger numbers of students went to mainland China (Berlie, 1999). Many students were attracted by the greater range of programmes available in mainland China, and valued the social, political and economic contacts in China's increasingly dynamic society.

Conclusions

Among the starting points for this paper was the work of Pennycook (1998), who employed a comparative framework to analyse the role of English in colonial and postcolonial eras. The broad literature on postcolonialism, Pennycook suggested, 'calls for a major rethinking of pre-given categories and histories, [and] a major calling-into-question of assumed givens and structures' (p. 17). The present paper echoes this sentiment; and through analysis of both policies and practices in language and education in Hong Kong and Macao, it reveals various paradoxes.

Concerning Hong Kong, one of these paradoxes is that the colonial government in the years prior to the transition desired to increase the proportion of schooling in Chinese rather than English, particularly at the secondary level, but felt that it lacked the legitimacy and ability to force families to follow this route. The postcolonial government did force the change, but encountered strong opposition. The colonial government in Macao, by contrast, used its sunset years to expand the place of Portuguese in the education system. It did this despite centuries of neglect during the main colonial period, and despite the fact that Portuguese was of practically no use as a regional language and of limited use internationally. This contrast helps to show that the roles of government may differ significantly, even in territories that otherwise have very similar cultural and economic circumstances. The different choices made by governments clearly have a major impact on the nature of colonial transitions.

Also part of the paradox in Macao is the fact that Portuguese as an official language was guaranteed for 50 years after the colonial transition despite the reunification of the territory with its Chinese-speaking motherland. This pattern resulted from the fact that although Macao had been colonized earlier than Hong Kong, it was decolonized slightly later and in the process followed the model set by Hong Kong. This model raised the status of Portuguese to a higher level than it would otherwise have had.

A further part of the paradox is that in Macao market forces contributed to a stronger role for Hong Kong's colonial language (English) than Macao's colonial language (Portuguese)—and that indeed in primary education a larger proportion of pupils studied in English in Macao than in Hong Kong. One factor in this situation

is that to a large extent Macao has been economically a colony of Hong Kong rather than of Portugal. However, this should not be over-emphasized in the education sector, and since the early 1990s Macao has asserted its identity and self-determination much more vigorously. More relevant are the forces of globalization. The strong demand for English in Macao helps to show that it was widely viewed as an international language rather than as a colonial one, for few Macao pupils learned the language in order to communicate with people in Hong Kong or the UK. Rather, their dominant motivation was to access information from many countries around the world via the printed word, the Internet, films and other media. Hong Kong society had stronger ongoing links with the UK, but these were also relatively modest compared with the links to other parts of the world.

Such remarks do, however, raise the question of whether English as an international language is part of a neocolonial force, as suggested by Phillipson (1992) and Pennycook (1998). In this case, it may be argued that one form of colonialism has merely been replaced by another. Tikly (1999, pp. 616–617) has observed that the conceptual literature on postcolonialism needs to be dovetailed with that on globalization for full understanding of the action of multiple forces in the shaping of educational processes. The present article echoes this observation.

Recognition of the broader forces at play must also include focus on the Chinese language. Despite the 'one country, two systems' formula, reintegration with China had a strong impact on the education systems of the two territories. Each preserved some identity by insisting on continued use of traditional characters for writing and by retaining a dominant role for Cantonese rather than Putonghua; yet these patterns were eroded during the initial years of the postcolonial period, and seemed likely to be further eroded in the future. One factor in the erosion was reduction in economic gaps between the two Special Administrative Regions and mainland China. This was caused on the one hand by economic deflation in Hong Kong (but less obviously in Macao), and on the other hand by economic growth in the mainland. As in other parts of the world, political forces and the actions which follow from them are closely shaped by economic forces. This has relevance to postcolonial theory as much as to other domains.

Nevertheless, it is also relevant to recall that neither of the colonial transitions in Hong Kong and Macao was the result of freedom movements or other strong anticolonial campaigns of the type found in many other countries. Indeed this paper has noted rather the reverse, that many families, especially in Hong Kong, had major misgivings about the transition and emigrated to foreign countries. This is another dimension in which the circumstances of Hong Kong and Macao have been rather different from those of other parts of the world, and is a domain in which analysis of the pair of territories can add to broader conceptual understanding. At the heart of much postcolonial literature are issues of identity; but the cases of Hong Kong and Macao show that these issues may be rather different from those of other postcolonial states, which in turn adds an important dimension to that broader literature.

In a related vein, it is instructive to speculate on what the language policies might have been had the two territories not been reintegrated with China but instead had moved to sovereign independence like most other colonies. For this speculation, one of the clearest pointers comes from Singapore. That country has emphasized English in its education system, in part to strengthen its international competitiveness (Cheah, 2002). At the same time, Singapore has encouraged its Chinese population to speak Mandarin (Putonghua) rather than regional dialects in order to encourage competitiveness within the framework of Greater China. If Hong Kong had followed Singapore's path to sovereign independence, it seems likely that the policy-makers would have stressed English more than Chinese; and it is possible that the same would have happened in Macao. In East Timor, political forces have led to emphasis on Portuguese in the postcolonial period. In Macao, Portuguese does convey some distinctive identity; but it does not seem likely that it would have been given sustained prominence—and indeed it seems unlikely that in East Timor it will permanently be a strong feature of the official machinery.

The beginning of this article also noted that for study of postcolonialism one major question concerns the appropriate starting point for analysis. Although this article has chiefly taken the specific dates of change of sovereignty as a starting point, earlier starting points could be argued for in some respects. Sweeting (1997, p. 177), for example, highlights the importance of the 1984 Sino-British Agreement for Hong Kong; and in Macao the 1987 Sino-Portuguese Agreement played a similar role. Yet while the periods between these Agreements and the changes of sovereignty did indeed bring important decolonizing policies, evident for example in the promotion of Putonghua in Hong Kong and the efforts to make the whole of Macao's education sector more systematic, the periods also brought some measures resembling classic colonial policies. In Hong Kong, the Expatriate English Teachers Scheme (EETS), launched in 1987, seems to be in that category, and in Macau the 1994 attempt by the government to make teaching of Portuguese compulsory seems to be an even more obvious example.

These conflicting patterns before the change of sovereignty were also evident afterwards. Among the paradoxes is that although the postcolonial Hong Kong government stressed the teaching of Chinese, it also launched the Native-speaking English Teacher (NET) scheme which resembled the EETS, and extended it to the primary sector. The article has also shown other dimensions in which continuity has been at least as obvious as change, for example in the continued use of English in higher education. This again raises the question about the appropriate starting point for analysis of postcolonialism.

Quayson's (2000) book on postcolonialism is in some respects related to Pennycook's work. Certainly the two authors agree that postcolonial theory can help expose patterns and paradoxes which might otherwise be overlooked. Quayson (p. 26) describes part of the process through which this is achieved as 'the defamiliarization of the "everyday" '. Such a process can also be achieved through comparative studies more generally, including comparative education (Spindler & Spindler 1982, p. 43; Bray, 1999, p. 222; Grant, 2000, pp. 316–317). By looking at patterns in each others' territories, residents in Hong Kong and in Macao may come to

understand more about their own societies as well as about each other. The same may also be true, of course, for people who are resident in neither Hong Kong nor Macao. The pair of territories are in many ways distinctive, and their colonial transitions were markedly different from the majority of colonial transitions in other parts of the world during earlier decades and centuries. To some extent, however, patterns in the two territories' initial postcolonial periods can be charted on a larger map that promotes understanding of wider forces. Thus, patterns in Hong Kong and Macao have significance far beyond the borders of the two territories themselves.

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