# 第八章 對整個香港教育界的貢獻

1962年,在一位朋友遊說下,葉錫恩加入革新會(Reform Club),革新會招她為會員的原因,是因為希望找一位在教育界中的女性候選人參選市政局。<sup>1</sup> 葉錫恩本來並無擔任議員的想法,她當時已註冊為選民,一心準備投票支持革新會。後來,得到革新會邀請她代表參選,葉錫恩亦覺得當時香港社會太黑暗,貪污風氣嚴重,她希望通過議員身份,在更大的平台為香港市民爭取權益。而且她十分欣賞革新會的創辦人貝納祺(Brook Antony Bernacchi),他關注貧窮階層的生活狀況,也有志建設更民主和公正的體制,與葉氏一直的努力的方向契合,故同意出選。<sup>2</sup>

當年革新會及公民協會(Civic Association)為當時較具聲望的團體,以往多次選舉中革新會與公民協會是競爭對手,1963年市政局直選,雙方決定改為合作,聯手出擊,組成「革新公民聯合陣綫」,3葉錫恩成為兩會聯合派出的四位候撰人之一。該年市政局撰民從六名候撰人中撰出四人,結果葉錫恩獲

#### 2.287 票排名第四常撰。4

葉氏從政後,杜學魁自是需要承擔更多校政工作,但杜校長不僅鼓勵葉錫恩參選,願意擔任葉氏的選舉代理人,為她拉票,給予葉錫恩很大的支持與鼓勵。5葉錫恩最終勝出,慕光全體師生均喜不自勝,與有榮焉。葉氏從政後,保持關注香港的教育發展,並積極就不同教育議題發聲。慕光校監之身份,不僅使她更切身了解教育界辦學困難,慕光學校也協助葉氏在社會上發揮更大的作用。本章闡述杜太如何以她的影響力,為香港教育界發聲。



1983年,杜葉錫恩在市政局辦公室工作。(照片由慕光資料庫提供)

<sup>1</sup> 杜葉錫恩著、隋麗君譯:〈第3章·香港的兩個市政局〉,《我眼中的殖民時代香港》,頁15。

<sup>2</sup> 見杜學魁:〈代表革新會角逐市政局議員 校監勝出〉,《慕光校史》,頁49。

<sup>3</sup> 香港革新會及香港公民協會是戰後香港最主要的兩個政黨,他們積極爭取政治、經濟及社會改革,為政府與市民之間的橋樑,並特別關注香港的城市發展、房屋政策、醫療保障、經濟發展、教育普及、治安及小販等問題。兩個政黨的活躍成員除葉錫恩外,還包括前文提及的貝納祺(見本書第四章,第四節),此外,還有簡悅強、胡鴻烈、張有興、鄒偉雄、陳子鈞等人,在當年香港社會和政壇甚有影響力。有關兩個政黨在背景、發展及影響,見曾奕文:《香港最早期政黨及民主鬥士:革新會及公民協會》(香港:中華書局,2019年)一書。

<sup>4</sup> 其餘三位為李有璇醫生(爭取連任的革新會秘書)、張永賢律師(香港屋宇建設委員會委員)、 吳頌堯。最終,陳樹垣得票最多,兩會的李有璇和張永賢亦當選,吳頌堯落選。見〈市政局議員 選舉 今晨二時揭曉 陳樹垣、李有璇、張永賢、葉錫恩當選〉,《華僑日報》,1974年5月17 日。

<sup>5</sup> Elsie Tu, Andrew Tu, Shouting at the Mountain, p.149.



上:葉錫恩(右一)十分欣賞 革新會主席貝納祺(左一)的 政治理念,照片中為葉錫恩在 市政局會議上發言。(照片由 慕光資料庫提供)

下:葉錫恩(左一)當選市政局議員。《市政局議員選舉今晨二時揭曉 陳樹垣、李拜璇、張永賢、葉錫恩當選》,《華僑日報》,1974年5月



#### 一、關注私校發展前景

七十年代以前,官立和資助學校,跟私立學校為兩大壁壘分明的系統,兩者在學生來源、師資水平、校舍設備等方面都有很大差別。因應時代發展與社會需要,時任教育司簡寧(John Canning)曾承諾會在1971年會為學童提供免費小學教育,此後政府採取津貼辦學方法,每年增加數萬個津貼小學學位,他認為所有學童均「渴求」免費學校的教育機會。杜葉錫恩雖不反對政府推行免費教育,卻對簡寧的說法提出質疑。她認為政府忽略了私立學校的處境及香港教育發展的真正需要,葉錫恩更指教育局此舉無疑是差別對待私立學校與資助學校,單方面以為學生及家長必然「渴求」免費教育,無視當時二十四萬正在私立學校就學的小學學童、廣大學生家長及一眾在任教師的利益。6

葉錫恩身為慕光英文學校的創辦者之一,比一般的從政者更能切身體會到私立學校發展的困難。葉氏通過報章撰文,向教育局反映對廣設資助學校的憂慮,<sup>7</sup> 她先指出,共有三種類型的小學會因被視為私立小學而不納入政府資助或津貼學校的範圍內,包括本身具有良好聲譽與師資的學校——這些學校的發展雖不會太差,但仍因與資助學校的待遇不平等而有所影響;二是在遍遠地區的私立小學——這些學校因位置偏僻,即使師資情況未如理想,仍有一定的生存價值,政府似乎沒有為它們提供任何形式的幫助;三是當時十分普遍的天台學校,香港自五十年代起,因石峽尾大火廣置徙置大廈,加上戰後人口膨脹等因素,徙置大廈多在天台開辦學校,慕光在1964年開設的慕光樂富幼稚園等均屬天台學校。高峰時期,全港十二個徙置區合共有一百四十七所天台小學,學童數目更逾四萬。8儘管天台小學環境大多參差,但在教育機會匱乏的時代下,貧窮的孩子能得到入讀機會已是十分難得,天台學校雖設備十分簡陋,但已成為當時常見的辦學形式。9

1971年3月10日,葉錫恩藉着她市政局議員的身份,再次去信市政局成員,表達她對小學落實行免費普及教育的看法,並指出這項政策的不足,如全

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<sup>6 &</sup>quot;John Canning and childhood desires", *The China Mail*, 1970-08-19. 另見 "Education policy", *South China Morning Post*, 1970-08-13.

<sup>7 &</sup>quot;A critical situation", Hong Kong Standard, 1970-08-23.

<sup>8</sup> 有關戰後的香港小學教育發展情況,詳見彭勝鏜:〈第六章·重建與昌盛時期的香港教育(1946-1979)〉,《香港教育史》(長沙:湖南人民出版社,2010年),頁 260-353。

<sup>9</sup> 天台學校的辦校環境及情況,可參考《「從天台學校到後千禧學校:戰後香港學校建築的演變」 展覽》(香港:香港教育學院,2012年)一書。

民免費小學教育政策,忽視了全港佔20-30%的私立學校,且這些學校得不到 任何形式的補助;該政策無法惠及那些因家庭貧困而必須工作或因父母工作而 必須在家看管小孩而無法上學的孩子;實行義務教育必須面對最低生活工資及 社會福利津貼等問題。此外,她也提到了現行教育政策的問題,如過分着重考 試及過於強調英文等。10

政府推行免費小學教育改革,提高社會教育質素,是香港教育發展的必要 舉措,但另一方面,這也為慕光等平民私立學校之營運帶來極大困難及負擔, 更犧牲了廣大私立小學學生的利益。當時入讀慕光的學生太多來自貧窮家庭, 部分家長難以負擔慕光學校每月二十元的學費,葉氏亦會設法為這些家庭提供 一定的經濟援助讓學童得到教育機會。葉錫恩很希望能以盡量低廉的學費為這 些孩子提供教育機會,這卻令慕光難以支付日常營運開支以及巨額的政府貸 款。11 而日因收入緊絀,學校也難以用較高的薪金吸引優秀教師加入。儘管葉 氏曾多次向教育署申請補助或津貼,但都以慕光的「收生情況良好」而拒絕。 嘉光的學生並非來自富裕家庭,他們若想轉校到資助學校就學亦是相當困難 的。以上種種困難對當時承擔着一千一百多位慕光學子的葉錫恩帶來沉重壓 力。葉氏認為政府所謂的免費教育政策不但無視私立學校的價值,也使那些私 立學校中普涌以至貧困的家庭陷入進退兩難的局面,該政策實際是犧牲了如慕 光這種早期立志為低下階層提供教育機會的平民私立學校以及其就讀的學生, 因此葉錫恩稱這個政策為「盲目的政策(blind policy)」。12

1973年,港英政府發表《教育政策白皮書》,提出普及小學義務教育和擴 大中學教育,確立涌過資助學校以達到發展教育的原則。普及教育政策確能惠 及廣大香港學童,但葉錫恩認為政府在政策推行上仍有很多地方需要檢討。她 與馬文輝先生遂在《華僑日報》上公開批評當年政府推出的白皮書,指出當時 社會仍有十多萬中國兒童無法上學,反映政府對教育投放的資源仍然不足,也 沒有重視中國學童的教育需要。13 葉錫恩所屬的革新會更指這是一份「以商業 角度處理教育問題」的白皮書。14為了向政府表達教育政策的訴求,葉錫恩身 為慕光校監也不惜呼籲教師們以罷工手段,為學童爭取權益。15

港督麥理浩、教育司陶建在1978年推行九年免費教育之前,貧窮家庭的 孩子一直很難得到教育機會,僅有如慕光等以平民辦學為目的之學校為這些孩 **子提供教育。葉氏早在五、六十年代,已十分關切貧窮學童的教育需要,她除** 了經營慕光學校,更以議員身份,代表廣大市民發聲。誠然,實踐免費普及教 育是教育制度向前發展的必然階段,葉錫恩對此制度有所質疑甚至批評,並非 因為免費小學教育損害到她的利益。她真正緊張的是在私立學校任教的老師福 补以及學生的前景,慕光等私立學校的師生們不應成為香港普及教育發展的犧 牲品。

## Education policy

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"Education policy", South China Morning Post, 1970-08-13.

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<sup>10 &</sup>quot;Point to be raised in a letter to Mr. K. Marks and Mr. B. T. Ford, at the Urban Council, 10<sup>th</sup> March, 1971"(慕光英文書院檔案編號 001)。

<sup>11</sup> 見 "Blind policy", South China Morning Post, 1970-08-25.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> 有關 1965 年《教育政策白皮書》原文,見 Anthony Sweeting, Education in Hong Kong, 1941 to 2001, pp.237-287. 該文件以資助學校以達到發展教育的原則,提出普及小學義務教育 和擴大中學教育,有關該政策的發展及相關數據,見范育斐編:《歡送戴麟趾爵士紀念冊 1964-1971》(香港:評論出版社,1971年),頁172。

<sup>14</sup> South China Momng Post, 1965-06-20 o

<sup>15 〈</sup>白皮書通過後輿情初步反應 一片反對之聲〉,《華僑日報》,1965年7月3日。

Points to be raised in a letter to Mr. K. Marks and Mr. B.T. Ford, at the Urban Council. 10th. March. 1971.

- 1. Provision of "free education for all" does not include 20 30% in private schools that receive no subsidy.
- 2. No provision is made for an unknown number of children not able to go to school at all because they must work, or look after babies while the parents work.
- 3. Compulsory education must face the question of either a living wage or social welfare assistance.
- 4. Inequalities in the teaching profession:
  - (a) Government teachers with fringe benefits, pensions, housing schemes, free medical treatment.
  - (b) Subsidized school teachers with the same pay as (a) but no fringe benefits.
- (c) Private non-subsidized school teachers who have to work two jobs to live.
- (d) Permitted teachers in subsidized schools, doing the same work as their colleagues for half the salary. These teachers cannot get into the In-Service Training course unless they have a school certificate pass in English - even if they want to teach Chinese!
- (e) The wonderful new plan to introduce another class, starting at \$150 less but rising higher, ironing out some inequalities but creating others. How can morale be high with five different sets of working conditions for the same job - not to mentions sex discrimination!
- 5. The heavy emphasis on examinations at Primary 6, then the "civil service
- 6. The unreasonable emphasis on English, even for those who want to teach science or other subjects, even Chinese. A child not good at English loses interest and may become a gang member, or may even commit suicide if pressures are too high.

The choice of the subject of education is due to the interest the M.P.s said they had in education.

E. Elliott

Tel K-801315

"Point to be raised in a letter to Mr. K. Marks and Mr. B. T. Ford, at the Urban Council、10th March、1971"(由慕光資料庫提供)

### Blind policy

Sir,—The letter from the Director of Education, Mr Canning (SCM Post, Aug. 17) in regard to free and aided primary education is very interesting, though misleading to most of the general public. It's interesting to me because I am the superviser of two large Chinese primary school - according to the Education Department, "very good schools". Each has over 1,100 children studying in two sessions each filled to capacity.

Though both long ago applied for a subsidy it has been refused us in both instances because, "there are sufficient seats in the area for every child who wants a subsidised school place". Though our students would like to have a good, free (or cheap) education they are denied it because, "there are sufficient subsidised primary school places". What nonsense!

The most serious of the situations is at the school adjoining an old resettlement estate. The total income of most families does not exceed HK\$450 per month, but the parents must pay over \$20 for each of their children who studies in our school. Needless to say our school gives financial aid to countless numbers of them who cannot afford such fees and would otherwise not be able to attend a school.

Our school gives this aid in spite of the fact that our income is already barely sufficient to meet operating expenses and the huge annual loan repayment (to Government)!

The true situation then is this (in this school and no doubt in other private schools):

- over 1,100 children whose parents wish they could attend a subsidised school with low fees but who are denied the opportunity, often because they cannot pass the ("illegal") entrance examinations.

- families whose income is already insufficient to support their regular expenses trying to scrimp and save to send them to our "expensive school".

- income of the school hardly sufficient to both pay good salaries to hire good teachers and repay the Government for their generous building loan.

- a hopeless future - loan repayment responsibility continuing, teachers' salaries rising and income continuing the same or less.

Wouldn't it be "strange" if schools such as these, built with Education Department encouragement and Government financial help were to close their doors because of policies of the same Education Department and Government?

Wouldn't the words of the men in high places ring a strange echo? - "free primary education for all who want it by 1970; there are enough aided seats for those who want them; it seems the assessment, of the public demand for Government and aided seats is about right"

The assessment of the public demand is not about right. Such statements tempt me to urge 1,100 parents to go register at the local subsidised schools and see what they would be told!) There are not enough aided seats! There is no free education for those who want it!

Mr Canning, why not get accurate figures con-cerning the number of children in the various areas? Why not ask if parents would prefer a \$2-3 school fee for their children in our school? Or else, why not tell the whole truth when you speak of "free primary education": say, free education for the 80 per cent (approx.) who are most intelligent ... expensive education for the 4-5 per cent who are wealthy and prefer expensive private education . . and expensive education ((or none) for the 15 per cent (approx.) who can't get their children into aided schools and yet can hardly afford high

It's to be hoped that the many fine things the Education Department has achieved in HK will not be overshadowed by this unfair, blind policy.

A CONCERNED EDUCATOR.

"Blind policy", South China Morning Post, 1970-08-25.

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政資政領由皮壓之目的,乃是政府積賽控制立法局之另 ·紫之彰見。 歌媽恩女士,在被謝節對致育政策自皮營予以 此思現予以討論。此思現予以討論。 • 在起初時則為聘請一個陌生者來繼 愿集合在一起,同种以多遍死之蓄赐工,现得:此有赖於醫出贈工,但遇 ,赞成何提;但指至忽略中國人士。迴稱:似乎政府已有其本身之方

John Canning and childhood desires

In a statement issued on August 5, the Director of Education John Canning is reported to have said:

"The new aim for the post-primary sector receiving assistance from Government is as follows:

Now I have no objection to universal free primary

### Readers

上:〈白皮書诵過後輿情初步反應 一片反對之聲〉,《華僑日報》,1965年7月3日。

下: "John Canning and childhood desires", The China Mail, 1970-08-19.

### 二、為文憑教師爭取權益

葉錫恩除了關心慕光校務外,對教育同仁福祉亦甚關注。1972年,政 府推動中學教育發展,大幅增加中一至中三的學位,以及新增四所中學。16 此 後,香港逐步實現普及教育。然而,教師的待遇卻沒有得到相應提升。當時的 教育司陶建代表港府,更醞釀改革教師薪級制政策。當中包括起薪點由原來的 1 044 元大幅降至 889 元,減少晉升機會,並嘗試取消禍往文憑教師薪酬與護 士掛勾的做法,使教育界十分不滿。<sup>17</sup>

教師對政府的積怨早在五、六十年代已經形成,港英政府因有「借來時 間、借來地方」的心態,對香港發展缺乏長遠打算。政府雖在戰後大量擴充學 額,卻為了極力節省民生開支,寧願低稅率及累積巨額儲備,也不打算增加教 **育經費。教師們對港英政府的「斂財」作風日益不滿,在小學普及教育目標基** 本完成時,政府卻在極需進一步發展教育的時間撰擇降低教師薪金,此舉終於 引發教師們的抗爭行動。18

葉錫恩遂在報章中批評港英政府的做法,她指出政府一方面希望增加學 額,卻又不願意提高財政預算,因而選擇削減教師的薪金,這對教師不公平也 不合理。19 而且,為了迎合 1975 年全面推行的九年免費教育政策,教育司署自 七十年代起才逐漸提出教學改革的建議,並有意提高教師的專業資格,因而開 始推行「職員培訓」(Staff Development)。20 社會對教師的專業要求提升,政 府卻有意削減教師工資,自然引起教育界不滿,葉氏更指出最合理的做法,應 該是將「政府高級官員高薪略為削減」。21

再者,葉氏早於1970年已去信市政局議員反映當時的教師薪酬問題,她

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<sup>16 〈</sup>為十二至十四歲兒童提供三年資助中學教育〉、《華僑日報》,1972年11月27日。

<sup>17</sup> 顏明仁:〈香港教育七十年的轉變:從學校擴展到教師超額〉,載郭康健、陳城禮主編:《香港教 育七十年》(香港:香港教師會,2004年),頁 36; 另見 D.G. Jeaffreson, "A reply from the government"( 浸會檔案 14-2)。

<sup>18</sup> 見陸鴻基:〈五、新的社會運動濫觴〉,《坐看雲起時》(香港:香港城市大學出版社,2016年), 頁 267-281。

<sup>19 〈</sup>教師減薪的後患〉,《工人周報》,1971年4月19日。

<sup>20</sup> 七十年代教育司署在小學提倡活動教學,教育司署為配合推行新教學理念及方式,舉辦不少講 座,以推廣新理念,亦與當時試行此方案的先導學校舉辦研討會及教材展覽會。見林碧霞:〈第 五章 · 「院校合作」作為學校專業發展的策略〉,《課程統整的實踐: 院校合作的發展計劃》(香港: 香港教育學院,2009年),頁97-118。

<sup>21 〈</sup>教師減薪的後患〉,《工人周報》,1971年4月19日。