UNIVERSITY AUTONOMY IN CHINA

by

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for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
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ABSTRACT

UNIVERSITY AUTONOMY IN CHINA


University autonomy has been introduced in Chinese higher education since the beginning of the 1980s. However, what it really means in the Chinese context is still a question. My study aims at defining the concept of university autonomy and exploring Chinese university members' insights into its meaning in the Chinese context.

I use the case study method and have investigated Sichuan Union University, Chongqing Teachers' College, and Chongqing Industry Management Institute in China. Data have been collected exclusively on campus, mainly through interviews with administrators, Party workers, teachers, and students (36 persons altogether) in these institutions. The analysis seeks to draw out common points of the understanding of university autonomy among the interviewees within each institution. Some comparisons among the three institutions have also emerged. I have adopted some other methods such as document review, informal interview, discussion meeting, and campus observation, in order to achieve the validity and reliability of the study.

The findings show that university autonomy in China is defined not only as a form of power or control, but also as an art of using this power for universities to continue their historical mission of serving society within the framework of government policies.

University autonomy in China is found different from this concept in the West. However,
it is based not only on the Chinese intellectual tradition, but also on aspects of the Chinese experience of learning from the West.

In conclusion, university autonomy in China can be best understood in relation to Chinese culture. Its meaning is determined by several factors, including the political influences on the goals of higher education throughout China's history, the intellectual tradition in the pre-modern period, the development patterns of Chinese higher education in the modern period, the economic and political change in the reform period, and above all, university members' current experience in creating conditions for greater freedom of action on their own part. From their experience is seen the historical continuity of a Chinese way of thinking -- knowing through doing concrete things, through collective engagement in action, and through analysis of the outcomes of action.
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CHAPTER ONE: IS THERE A CONCEPT OF UNIVERSITY AUTONOMY IN CHINA?

Introduction

In the middle of the 1980s, Chinese universities began the reform related to autonomy and consequently developed a novel set of autonomous activities. As Chinese universities were still under the control of the Communist Party, many people, especially academics in the West, would doubt whether they had true autonomy. My research started from this doubt, and is aimed at understanding the meaning of university autonomy in the Chinese context.

Through my investigation of three universities in China, I have found that Chinese universities are able to have certain kinds of autonomy although they remain very close to the Communist government and that there is a Chinese concept of autonomy, which has shaped university development in terms of institutional identity and institutional diversity.

I have also found that a logical explanation of the reality of university autonomy in China shows that its meaning is definitely different from this concept in the West. In the West, university autonomy is based on a deeply rooted tradition, in which the university started its history as an independent social entity in the Medieval Europe. University autonomy is defined as the right of academics to self-government in academic matters such as aims, programs, research content, student admission, and the appointment of faculty members, without interference from such external authorities as the government and the church. It is associated with such intellectual issues as the neutrality of knowledge, academic freedom, and the university's independent role in society. In many cases, autonomy is treated not only as a preliminary condition for universities to function well in
society, but also as an end of academic activities.

By contrast, university autonomy in China is a concept that has arisen in a new way in the 1980s. It is regarded not only as a form of administrative power, which is shared between the university and the government, but also as an art of mastering that power, in order to manage university affairs. Autonomy signifies the freedom of the university as a collective group to create its own discourse, community, and funding sources, within the framework of government policies. For Chinese universities, the purpose of autonomy is, through exercising and expanding their creative ability, to serve society, or even more ambitiously, to influence national politics and the people's life. Consequently, autonomy in China is treated as a way of allowing universities to act on their own within the framework of government policies. There is a strong focus on practical issues in political, economic, and academic contexts. Not necessarily limited to intellectual interests, autonomy in China is associated with a wide range of practical activities, for example, the separation between politics and administration, decentralization and deregulation, university expansion and diversity, the creation of alternative funding sources, university-industry linkages, the unity of teaching, research and production, and the modernization of material facilities.

In this thesis, I have examined the concept of autonomy within the context of university activities in the reform period. I have also explored the deep insights of university members into the concept of autonomy in China and illustrated how it is understood from a practical perspective. I think that the practical experience of Chinese universities in their historical, cultural, political, and economic contexts has shaped the Chinese concept of autonomy which, in turn, has an impact, on university activities. From this perspective, my discussion of autonomy in China is limited to the Chinese context, and
I have no intention of applying it to universities in other countries.

The thesis is divided into four parts with eleven chapters. The first part is the introduction, including three chapters "Is There a Concept of University Autonomy in China?" "Literature Review," and "Methodology." In this part, I have asked the following three research questions: What is the meaning of university autonomy in China? How is university autonomy understood in the Chinese context? How and why is it different from this concept in the West? The literature review highlights the Chinese studies of university autonomy in the reform period. Although these studies do not offer any answer, they show a way of seeking an answer through an analysis of university activities. Therefore, I have chosen the case study method, with a focus on describing the details of university activities in academic, personnel, and financial areas over the past ten years.

The second part is the background study, serving as a bridge between the introduction and the case studies. It includes Chapter Four "Western Universities and Autonomy," Chapter Five "Historical Roots of University Autonomy in China," and Chapter Six "The Reform and University Autonomy in China." In this part, I look for important historical clues that are linked to the meaning of university autonomy today. I briefly describe university autonomy in the West in order to illustrate some points of comparison for Chinese practice. I go over the history of Chinese higher education to explore its intellectual and institutional roots. I also discuss the impact of national reform after 1978 on university practice. An important theme related to university autonomy in China has been seen consistently throughout China's history: freedom of action within the context of a close relationship between government and universities. Higher education has always had a priority of serving society.
The third part presents the case studies of three universities in China, which are the centre of this thesis. It includes Chapter Seven "Three Universities in Sichuan Province", Chapter Eight "Academic Autonomy," Chapter Nine "Personnel Autonomy", and Chapter Ten "Financial Autonomy." In this part, I give an overview of three universities and outline their main characteristics in relation to autonomy. I examine the practice of autonomy in relation to specific academic, personnel, and financial issues in universities. Practical activities are presented in order to illustrate the meaning of autonomy.

The fourth part is the conclusion, Chapter Eleven "Toward the Establishment of a Chinese Concept of University Autonomy." It summarizes the thesis through constructing a model of university autonomy in China. Through this model, I present to Chinese leaders, university members, and Western scholars a framework for defining university autonomy in the Chinese context, showing that university autonomy in China is definitely different from that in the West.

The Design of the Thesis

Research Questions

The thesis is an empirical study of the meaning of autonomy in contemporary China through examining the practical activities of universities. The central research questions are: What is the meaning of university autonomy in China? How is university autonomy understood in the Chinese context? How and why is it different from this concept in the West? Within the context of literature on autonomy and Chinese higher education, I will use the following questions to guide my research in each chapter:

1) Where did the concept of university autonomy in China come from?
2) What is the basic meaning of university autonomy in China?

3) How was university autonomy practised in specific academic, financial, and personnel settings in the reform period?

4) What are the characteristics of university autonomy in China?

5) What are the main factors effecting university autonomy in China?

This research focuses on degree-granting universities and colleges within the Chinese regular higher education system. Three terms - universities, universities and colleges, and higher education institutions - are interchangeable in this thesis.

The Value of the Study and Future Expectations

University autonomy is an old topic in the Western literature of higher education, a topic that has stimulated a wealth of scholarly discourse. However, in the Chinese literature, it is a relatively new theme. I do not mean that there has been no such thing before, but rather that it is a matter of exploring what may be similar or close to the meaning of autonomy in the West, though clothed in different terms. I have been encouraged specially by those heuristic studies related to university autonomy in China such as that of Hayhoe (1996) who has explored the impact of Western values of university autonomy and academic freedom on the modernization of Chinese higher education, and that of Pepper (1996) who has illustrated a possibility of autonomy defined in the Chinese academic tradition.

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1 On December 15, 1986, the State Council issued a policy regarding the organization of higher education institutions and their governance. The term "regular higher education institution" refers to full-time universities, independent colleges, and higher specialized schools. In parallel to the system of regular higher education institutions is the network of higher education for adults which includes T.V. universities, correspondence universities, workers' universities, peasant universities, and evening universities. See Zhengce faguisi, guojia jiaowei, 1992, pp. 286-289.
Nevertheless, although there are many studies on Chinese higher education that relate to the issue of autonomy, there are few studies that focus on the topic of university autonomy in particular. Empirical studies of university members' perception of autonomy in relation to traditional values are rare, and the question of the impact of a Chinese concept of autonomy on universities and colleges has been left largely unstudied (especially in internal operation settings). My thesis is going to address these imbalances from a comparative perspective.

In the light of Chinese national modernization, the significance of a Chinese concept of autonomy hardly needs mentioning. For more than one hundred years, China has been testing many possibilities for modernization. Does China have to follow the model of Western development or can she create a new or shorter path which, based on a combination of her tradition and Western experience, will not be alien to her people? Hayhoe (1987) pointed out that in modernization, China should examine traditional values and find out what would be good for her now. The emergence of a Chinese model of university autonomy is evidence of that effort. It is worth pointing out that through the development of a Chinese model of autonomy, Chinese universities and colleges have shaped their own vision of modernization: it is based on their own intellectual tradition and their experience of opening up to society, the world, and the future. I deeply believe that this study will not only expand our knowledge about university autonomy in a culture different from that of the West, but also help us understand Chinese universities better.

In my plan, this thesis will serve as a general outline to foster an understanding of Chinese universities within Chinese culture. In the future, I hope to develop more detailed research on topics such as the role of university teachers and students in university
development within Chinese culture, the perception of university members of university aims, the changing role of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in university governance, higher education modernization with Chinese characteristics, and moral education in the Chinese higher education curriculum. I also hope to achieve a breadth in understanding relationships between higher education institutions and the government (including the CCP), between higher education and society, and between Western and Chinese knowledge imparted in the university.

Terms

*University autonomy*: this is called autonomy as self-mastery (zizhuquan) in China. It is defined as an administrative power shared between the university and the Chinese government and it is used to manage academic, personnel, financial, and other matters of the university for the purpose of serving society, or even more, of influencing the national life. Nevertheless, autonomy as self-mastery focuses not only on the possession of power but also on the ability and skills of using that power to create conditions for universities to fulfil their historical goal of meeting the needs of society. This can be regarded as a working definition for this thesis.

The main official sources of the meaning of university autonomy are the Decisions of Educational Reform (1985), the Temporary Regulations for University Governance (1986), the Program for Educational Reform and Development in China (1993), and the Education Law (1995). It can be examined from operational settings as follows: governance (deciding the goal of the university, choosing the direction of development, designing the internal governing structure); academic activities (selecting students, developing programs,
controlling the curriculum, and setting the limit of academic freedom); personnel
(appointing administrators, selecting teachers, engaging professional titles, and distributing
income); finance (allocating funds, generating revenues, and managing property).

The reform period: this refers to the period after December of 1978 when Chinese
leaders held the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Congress of the CCP in Beijing. At
the congress, the Chinese leaders announced the decision of national reform and opening
up to the West, two policies which were to change the course of socialist practice of the
previous three decades.

The government: In a broad sense, this refers to the ruling bodies of the state
including the government and the CCP, the only leading party in the government, with a
focus on the central government level. The administrative body of education at the central
government level is the State Education Commission (SEdC). There are education
commissions at the provincial and municipal levels. In a narrow sense, the government
refers to the educational authorities, which are at three levels: central, provincial (central
government controlled municipalities and autonomous minority regions), and municipal.
Higher education institutions are each placed under such immediate ruling bodies as the
SEdC, central ministries, provincial and municipal educational bureaus, local government,
or official mass associations. Through these educational authorities, the government
allocates funds to universities.

The Chinese Communist Party: the CCP was founded in 1921 and it established the
People's Republic of China in 1949. The Party has separate governance structures parallel
to the government at the national, provincial (central government controlled municipalities
and autonomous minority regions), prefectural, and county levels. The Central Committee
of the CCP has the highest power in the state. In the 1950s, the Party began not only to establish its branches in universities and colleges but also to set up separate governance structures parallel to the internal administrative system. Ever since, the Party has been fully involved in the administration of universities and colleges. There have always been criticism of and opposition to Party’s leadership in academic matters. However, except for a period during the Cultural Revolution, the Party’s position in universities and colleges has not been shaken since 1949.

Higher education institutions: they refer to the institutions within the regular higher education system. There are three kinds of institutions: universities, independent colleges, and higher specialized schools. The former two are degree-granting institutions, usually called "benke" (four year undergraduate education), and the latter are non-degree granting institutions, called "zhuanke" (two to three year undergraduate education). Now, of about 1,000 higher education institutions, more than 60% are degree granting universities and colleges. A university or college is defined by such conditions as the right to confer degrees, the range of subject areas, and the enrolment of full-time students. According to a regulation of higher education governance, which was issued by the State Council in 1986, a university must meet the following requirements: preparing professionals with the bachelors' degree and higher degrees; having as majors at least three fields among the following: the humanities (including literature, history, philosophy, and language), law and political science, finance and economy, education (including athletics), sciences, engineering, agriculture, medicine; having strong human resources in teaching and research and a high level of teaching and research quality; having an enrolment of more than 5000 full-time students. A college must meet the following requirements: preparing professionals
with the bachelors and higher degrees; having as major one of the eight subject areas mentioned above; having an enrolment of more than 3000 full time students.\(^2\)

**The National Context**

Social and Political Changes after 1978

After 1949, socialist China started a planned economy system, modeled after the Soviet pattern. Extreme centralization characterized the planned economy, including the public ownership of the means of production, equalitarianism in distribution, a planned commodity economy, a unified labour and wage system, and a centralized financial system with unified distribution of revenue and expenditure. Although there were some good points in it, such as the development of national projects, the accumulation of funds for industry, and an even development of the whole country, the planned economy system had a strong negative impact on the Chinese economy and also on the political process. Under the planned economy system, the central government had all power in its hands and the Party became involved in administration at all levels of the government, and public and collective organizations. As a result, political and economic centralization restricted economic development and limited the creativity of individuals. People cultivated a mentality of dependence upon the government in their work, life, and even thinking. State-owned enterprises became closed systems which, by having "big and complete" or "small

\(^2\) The provisions allow those institutions in the remote areas or those with special needs to keep their status as the university without completely meeting these requirements, subject to the approval of the SEdC. A case in point is the Jishou University (Jishou daxue, which is in the Jishou miao and tujia minority nationality prefecture in Hubei Province). The provisions also allow that those colleges specializing in fine arts or athletics to obtain the status of college without meeting all those requirements, subject to the approval of the SEdC. See Zhengce faguisi, guojia jiaowei, 1992, pp. 287-288.
and complete" features, were unable to be responsive to social needs (Sang, 1992:77-81).

Having realized these problems, at the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Congress of the CCP in December of 1978, the Chinese leaders announced a plan of reform which would increase production and improve people’s living conditions. From December of 1978 to September of 1984, the economic reform focused on the countryside, developing agricultural production and getting rid of poverty. From October of 1984 to December of 1991, the reform moved to urban areas to vitalize state-owned enterprises and stimulate industrial production. After January of 1991, the reform was expanded to all domains of the economy to establish a market economy. The market economy in China is a planned commodity economy with such qualities as multiple ownership of the means of production with the state and collective bodies controlling most of the national economy, diverse development of private enterprises, a distribution system based on contribution, and capitalist mechanisms such as the stock system, joint and foreign ventures, the tax system, the role of banks, and small business (Li, May 12, 1994).

Throughout all stages of the reform, there has been a great change in government policies from centralization to decentralization. A responsibility system was applied to all areas of the reform. However, the system linked individuals to the large social context still through a collective way. For instance, in the countryside, it took the form of the contracted household responsibility system (chengbao zerenzhi), focusing on the role of the family. Since 1958, all peasants had been organized in communes and the government had controlled agricultural production and sales through overall planning. In the reform period, the government dissolved the communes and redistributed the land to peasants. What should be grown in the fields and how to sell their grain was then left to the peasants’ own
decisions. The government also replaced the unified state purchasing and marketing of grain with contracted buying and adjusted agricultural production according to the demands of the market. It no longer stood in front of peasants to tell them what they should do and what they should not. Dramatically, the power of making decisions was transferred from the government to peasants and the government was to help their production through policies, planning, technology, and funds.

Drawing upon the reform experience in the countryside, the Chinese leaders introduced the director’s responsibility system in the urban reform. Unlike that in the countryside, where the family was the unit of responsibility, the urban reform focused on the role of corporations and emphasized the leadership of directors. In its "Decisions on the Reform of the Economic System" of 1984, the Central Committee of the CCP required the directors’ responsibility system to be carried out in all state-owned enterprises. To establish the director’s authority in administration, the decision ruled that the director was the legal representative of enterprises. The director should deal with production and sales independently without interference of the Party committee, so that she or he could make decisions that could benefit the development of enterprises. The director was given powers to decide production, to hire and fire employees, to adjust policies, and to represent the enterprise in dealing with clients. Complementary to the directors’ responsibility system, the post-responsibility system was introduced to the enterprises at the same time, aimed at freeing workers’ creative energies. Under a principle of getting one’s payment according to one’s contribution, new rules of income distribution were applied in order to reduce egalitarianism so that individuals who worked harder could become rich first.

One result of the economic reform was the shift of the Party’s role from overall
control, especially in administration, to political and ideological leadership, which is the important content of the political reform. Deng Xiaoping (1983) pointed out that the planned economy system was associated with a political structure characterized by bureaucracy, centralization, patriarchy, privileges and life long employment. Of all problems, the core problem was centralization of power. In the relationship between the Party and government, all power was centred in the Party. In the relationship between the central and local governments, the power was centred in the central government. Within the Party, the Party committee held the power, and within the Party committee, the power was kept in the hand of the secretary (Zhou, 1992).

In 1987, political reform was put in the agenda at the 13th Congress of the CCP. This meant establishing a new model of leadership for the Party and government. The Chinese leaders decided to get the Party out of administration so that it could concentrate on national goals and political leadership. They believed that only by doing so could the Party and government remain vigorous, and could they reduce corruption and bureaucracy, increase efficiency and effectiveness, and mobilize the people for modernization.

This political reform laid out a number of themes. First, the Party's role in modernization was to be separated from that of the government and redefined within the framework of the Party's constitution. The Party was to concentrate on political, ideological, and organizational leadership in the country. Second, powers were to be delegated from the central government to provincial and municipal governments so that they could make decisions according to local needs. With decentralization, the central government was to improve its leadership through providing information and consulting and to reduce administrative orders. Third, the cadre system (a ranking system of
government officials) was to be changed by abolishing lifelong employment for government officials and introducing a civil servant system. Under the civil servant system, a government official could take three terms of office at a maximum (five years a term).

Fourth, legal instruments were to be developed through strengthening the roles of the People’s Congress and the political consultative conference, developing all kinds of laws, increasing the transparency of politics, and establishing mechanisms of socialist democracy (Zhou, 1992:323-328).

The political reform was to support the economic reform and provide for a more open way of practising socialism than ever before. One result was that autonomy became a dominant theme, with a focus on freedom of action in economic activities. Peasants, directors, and ordinary people began to think and do what they had not dared to before. As the content of the CCP’s political agenda had changed and a more open approach to socialism was adopted, the goal of universities was changed to respond to this situation.

The Educational Reform Related to Universities

The reform in agriculture provided a practical model not only for industry but also for Chinese universities. Government policies in educational reform supported the development of that model, which moved in the same direction, toward the market.

When the former practices of socialism were rejected after 1978, universities and colleges had to adjust their roles according to ongoing social change. Like peasants in the countryside and directors in the state-owned enterprises, universities and colleges needed autonomy, or freedom of action, in their transition to the market economy. In 1985, the Central Committee of the CCP issued an important decision on educational reform and
required universities and colleges to improve the quality of the nation and prepare more and better talented personnel for economic development. The Chinese leaders wanted to develop a higher education system, which would serve economic development, with an appropriate structure, diverse programs, and multiple levels and types of institutions. Under this system, Chinese universities and colleges were expected to prepare high level professionals by themselves (not to depend on foreign universities), conduct scientific research independently, commercialize research results, and solve theoretical and practical problems which emerged during modernization. To realize this general goal, the government decided to reform the higher education governance system by delegating some powers to universities and colleges and helping them strengthen cooperation with industry and research units so that they could cultivate a consciousness and ability to adapt to economic and social needs. The decision also outlined the main areas in which the government would give power to universities and colleges as related to academic, personnel, and financial matters (Zhengce faguisi, 1992:182-189).

In 1986, the State Council issued a detailed policy, allowing universities and colleges the following new rights: to enrol a certain number of self-paid or sponsored students and develop cooperative relationships with government and business organizations; to allocate the funds provided by the government and the funds generated by themselves; to select construction companies to carry out the capital planning and design and construction; to appoint and dismiss the vice president, administrative officers, teachers, and staff, and to approve professional titles of associate professor for most universities and that of professor for a few universities; to develop programs, courses and materials, and to select teaching materials and methods; to do research; to participate in community services and to accept
donations from external units, and to amalgamate with other legal bodies; to participate in foreign exchanges, and to spend the self-generated funds according to their own priority, to send people to study abroad or to invite foreign scholars for academic purposes (Zhengce faguisi, 1992:227).

In December of 1990, the Seventh Session of the Thirteenth Congress of the CCP set up the goal of establishing a socialist system with Chinese characteristics and higher education aimed at establishing a framework of socialist higher education with Chinese characteristics by the end of this century. Universities and colleges were to prepare skilled personnel not only for the government and state-owned enterprises but also for some wider needs, especially for the countryside, small business, and private enterprise.

In 1993, the Central Committee of the CCP and the State Council issued "The Program of Educational Reform and Development in China." The program confirmed the importance of autonomy and urged universities and colleges to establish mechanisms of self-regulation and responsibility. The program planned to strengthen the legal status of universities and colleges. This culminated in the first comprehensive educational law in 1995. "Autonomy" (zizhuquan) is made explicit in the law. The law promulgates universities as legal persons subject to supervision by the government. The president is the legal representative of the university, taking charge of academic matters and administration. Universities and colleges have the following rights and responsibilities: to govern by themselves under their charter\(^3\) and organize teaching activities and student admission; to control school discipline and registration; to issue diplomas and certificates; to hire faculty members and other staff and reward or punish them; to manage and spend

\(^3\) At present, the charter has a different meaning in China from that in the West. Generally it refers to law and government policies. I will talk about this issue again in Chapter Eleven.
funds allocated to the institution; to reject any individual or organization’s illegal interference into teaching and learning activities in the institution; to enjoy other rights granted by law. They also have the following responsibilities: to abide by law; to carry out government policies and assure educational quality; to protect students, teachers, and staff rights; to provide students and their guardians with information on students’ performance in appropriate ways; to set up the standard of fees according to the state’s regulation and publish an itemization of the fee structure; to be subjected to supervision according to law (Renminribao, haiwaiban, March 23, 1995).

All these policies provided guidelines for universities and colleges in their practice. They left a considerable space for universities to take action which could fulfil their own needs, although it was the government’s policies to increase autonomy, to develop higher education quickly, and to produce more personnel for political and economic needs.

Summary

In this chapter, I introduced the plan of the research on university autonomy and described the social, economic, and political context of the present period. I observed that university autonomy had become a central issue in the educational reform after 1985. Autonomy was essential to universities' vitality, and even more, to their survival and prosperity. I realized that university autonomy came to the fore as a result of the change of the political agenda of the CCP toward a new focus on economic development. However, it brought greater freedom to universities to initiate action that would change their own conditions.

The concept of university autonomy seemed to be directly borrowed from the
economic reform of the countryside. In fact, it could be seen as the restructuring of a historical problem that Chinese universities actually had started long before the reform period. Why was this experience pulled out from history, and how was the historical experience restructured? This is also a point of interest in this thesis.

It is worth pointing out that the concept of university autonomy in China became explicit only after 1978 when Chinese universities and colleges were modified according to governmental patterns and social change, both international and domestic. Although the Cold War had ended, economic competition became even more intense. Domestically, China became engaged in a battle against economic underdevelopment. Thus, Chinese universities and colleges were not like Medieval European universities in which the concept of autonomy was bound to the structure and rights of guilds, or like universities in the 19th Germany in which autonomy was linked to pure knowledge, or like American universities after World War II in which autonomy fluctuated with social change and was subject to legal action. The Chinese concept of university autonomy is linked to the national reform in China and modernization of Chinese higher education. Nevertheless, it reflects an intention of Chinese universities to combine their traditional value and the experience of Western universities which were introduced to China in the modern period.
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this literature review is to explore arguments about university autonomy in China and see what themes have been investigated and how they are related to my study. The chapter has three parts: the history of university autonomy in China, the theme of autonomy, and concepts related to autonomy. It reflects Chinese universities' attempt to develop the concept of university autonomy through reconstructing their historical experience.

The History of University Autonomy in China

The history of university autonomy in China depends on how it is defined. The literature linked to the concept of autonomy as self-mastery (zizhuquan) started in the beginning of the reform. At a provincial government meeting on university governance in 1979, the Party Secretary of Sichuan Province, Zhao Ziyang⁴ announced that the provincial government would give universities some autonomy so that they could create alternative funding sources on their own, to increase the income of faculty and staff, and to enhance teaching and research facilities, under the condition that they would not ask for more money from the government (Sichuan gaodeng jiaoyu he zhongdeng jiaoyu nianjian, 1988:26). This was the beginning of autonomy as self-mastery, a practical initiative which

⁴ Zhao was one of the most important figures to support economic reform in the 1980s, responsible for making many policies directly related to practical changes. In 1980, Zhao became the premier and the director of the state reform committee of the economic system. In 1987, he was the acting general secretary of the Central Committee of the CCP; in 1988, he was the vice chairman of the Military Committee of the CCP. After the June 4th Incident, he was dismissed from all positions in the Party and government for his disloyalty to the Party and sympathy for the student movement. See Zhongguo renwu nianjian, 1989 (Who's who in China), 1989, pp. 276-277.
enabled universities to make money to subsidize government provisions for their needs. One of the earliest studies done by Chen Hongsheng (1980), a college vice president, pointed out that university autonomy in China drew reference from the reform of enterprises. Just when enterprises started to enjoy increasing autonomy, some universities and colleges raised the issue of autonomy on campus.

The literature linked to the Western value of university autonomy extends to the beginning of modern universities. Hayhoe’s recent book (1996) has a summary of Chinese modern universities and colleges over the past one hundred years, illustrating how this value was transferred to Chinese universities and colleges through various Western patterns including those of Germany, Britain, America, and France. According to her, China did not have the same concept of autonomy as that of Western universities in the traditional period, because there was no place for universities as intermediate structures standing between the government and church; nor had China the conditions of the guild and Christian urban culture on which the idea of autonomy could grow. The idea of university autonomy came into being only when China had established universities modelled after the West in the beginning of this century.

The literature linked to Chinese intellectual tradition would push the history of autonomy in China to the years long before the establishment of modern universities. This history would be at least two thousand years long. Autonomy began when Chinese traditional higher education institutions were established. Pepper (1996) saw this autonomy as the control of professional educators, based on a tradition in which intellectuals shared power with the rulers. She suggested that the history of Chinese higher education be rewritten as a history of how these professional educators gained autonomy through the
established educational system. Within this framework of professional educators' control in higher education, practical autonomy could be examined, in particular institutions over China's long history. Examples include studies of the Song dynasty, such as that of W. Theodore de Bary and Chaffee (1989), of the Ming Dynasty, such as that of John Meskill (1982), and of the Qing Dynasty, such as that of Benjamin Elman and Alexander Woodside (1994).

Autonomy as self-mastery, which I see as an expression of the Chinese concept of autonomy, has historical roots in both the modern period and the pre-modern period. Without these roots, the present concept of autonomy could not exist. Clearly, the Western value of university autonomy has some influence on Chinese higher education in the modern period, by developing the university's independent role in society and pursuing knowledge in a broad sense. Nevertheless, the long intellectual tradition of the pre-modern period, in which there was a close relationship between higher education and government, has always kept university members aware of their historical responsibilities for social and political development.

Themes of University Autonomy in China

The contemporary literature on university autonomy in China touches upon the purpose of higher education, the status of higher education institutions, and the content of university autonomy. What is the purpose of university autonomy? The literature shows an attempt at linking autonomy to the universities' response to social and political demands. Autonomy is aimed at enabling universities to respond to changes in society, in the international arena, and in the future. There is a clear agreement that autonomy is a
means, rather than an end; and that is a form of higher education governance which helps universities achieve self-regulation and development (Wang & Xue, 1994).

There have been various attempts to define what university autonomy means in relation to the government and the market economy. Universities and colleges are described as "independent social entities," which include three basic features: the status of legal persons, being relatively independent in finance, and the ability to accomplish independently tasks given by society (Meng, 1987,2:5). Another description is "an independent management entity," meaning independence from authoritative agencies and self-governance within the Party's policies (Yang Deguang, 1993,40:80-81). The term "an independent economic entity," suggests universities and colleges are independent economic units responsible to provide personnel to society (Ren, 1993:90-94). Finally, universities are described as "relatively independent educational entities." Higher education institutions are to have the same status as state-owned enterprises (Gu, 1985:71-73).

These claims for the independence of universities and colleges did not mean to be independent of the government completely. They required a change in the governance structure, particularly as related to the leadership of the Party (Yuan, 1993). What role should the Party play now? While some strongly promoted the right to academic freedom from Party control, others expressed a realistic attitude toward how to change and improve the Party's leadership in universities and colleges. Nevertheless, the change was under way to remove the Party from administration and to let it focus on its political and ideological leadership on campus. Zhang Chen (1987:35-39) suggested that the political and ideological leadership of the Party be achieved through implementing the Party's educational principles and respecting the democratic rights of university members;
supporting teaching, research, and administration concerning the goal of educating good citizens; supervising budget planning, expenses, the distribution of self-created resources, the adjustment of salaries, and the management of bursaries and scholarships. He also thought that the Party should make sure the institution would abide by the state’s financial regulations, protect both the state’s interest and the legal rights of the university, and help the university handle well the relationship among the state, community, and individuals. It should also educate the Party members to abide by law and the CCP and the state policies, and strengthen Party ethics and discipline.

In the literature, university autonomy is often interpreted as an administrative power within the practical experience of universities and colleges. Autonomy is expressed explicitly as "academic managerial power," "personnel power," "financial power" (Song & Tian, 1986, 2:97). Academic managerial power refers to that of managing the teaching, research, and admission processes. The dimension in which the power is exercised is in the design of programmes, the determination of key programmes and departments, the selection of research projects, the purchase of equipment, decisions over the future direction of the university. Personnel power means that in the planning of the structure of personnel in the university, appropriate personnel systems can be selected, systems such as a faculty appointment system and staff contract system. It also involves appointing vice-presidents, deans and senior administrators, granting professorial titles, hiring and firing staff, and adjusting the structure of staff according to its needs. Financial power refers to patterns of allocating state funds, creating business to make money for the institution, spending money, planning capital construction, determining the space, investment, and design of construction. It is widely believed that the university president should have
authority in these areas. Only by centralizing powers and responsibilities in the president, could she or he play an effective leading role (Gu, 1985).

**Concepts Related to Autonomy**

Two Terms: "zizhuquan" or "zizhiquan"

In the language used to describe autonomy, there are two terms: "zizhiquan" (autonomy as independence) and "zizhuquan" (autonomy as self-mastery). They are confusing to Westerners. Autonomy as independence is regarded as a Western idea. It focuses on universities avoiding external interference and tends to take autonomy as an end in itself. Moreover, it has the connotation of political sovereignty in the Chinese language. This term is usually dealt with very carefully in the Chinese context. Autonomy is more commonly seen as self-mastery, allowing universities and colleges to act upon their own and respond to social needs within the framework of government policies. It is Chinese universities' freedom of action in society. In the literature, autonomy as independence is used in describing Western universities (Wang & Xue, 1994), while Chinese universities and colleges find it more appropriate to use autonomy as self-mastery to describe what they have done in the reform period.

There are two reasons why the term autonomy as self-mastery is more applicable in China. First, autonomy as self-mastery is congruent with government policies related to university reform. As I mentioned, autonomy as self-mastery has been included in the

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5 In the literature of Chinese higher education in the 1980s, no unified term in Chinese conveys the meaning of university autonomy in English. Through examining three kinds educational journals: Gaodeng Jiaoyu (Higher education), Shanghai Gaodeng Jiaoyu (Higher education in Shanghai), Jiaoyu Yanjiu (Education research), I found several expressions in Chinese related to university autonomy, but the most common were, "zizhiquan" and "zizhuquan". See Chen 1991, Lin & Wu 1994, Wang & Xue 1994, Pan 1993, Lu 1995.
Education Law which rules that higher education institutions be self-governed within the framework of government policies. The nature of university autonomy in China means the delegation of powers from government to universities and colleges, to stimulate them in taking initiatives for development. Second, autonomy as self-mastery is used to avoid political controversy, especially with reference to the leadership of the CCP on campus. After 1985, some intellectuals raised the issue of university autonomy as independence of the government and of the CCP, and the government responded quickly, expressing a stern stance against this attempt.⁶

With regard to autonomy as self-mastery, universities are to make decisions as their own masters, and that also means to be responsible for their decisions. The idea of autonomy in China expresses the liberation of the minds of university members on a deep level and from a practical perspective: daring to think and daring to do things. It suggests breaking the traditional mentality of depending on the government materially and perceiving the university from a new vantage—universities have to be mentally prepared for full responsibility for their staff’s welfare, university expansion, educational quality, student enrolment, and research development. The idea of autonomy as self-mastery is not limited to university governance patterns, but it suggests a revolution in the mentalities of university members.

As a revolution, autonomy in China is aimed at initiating action for change in practical

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⁶ Fang Lizhi, a professor in China’s Science and Technology University (Zhongguo keji daxue), advocated complete independence of the university through using the expression "daxue zizhi" (university autonomy as independence). According to him, the university should be independent of the Party and government as an independent ideological centre where students could cultivate independent personalities. He also thought that intellectuals should be independent of the working class and establish their own identity. See Renminribao, Jan.17, 1987, and Li, 1987, Vol.5, pp. 15-20.
areas. In the reform period, great changes in Chinese government policies of higher education have generated a novel set of activities in universities under the rubric of autonomy. These activities include those autonomous procedures for making internal regulations and implementing a kind of responsibility system to achieve their overall goals and such ingredients of autonomy as freedom to select students and staff, to design curricula within certain limitations, and to allocate income from the state and private sources. Universities are also actively involved in non-academic but necessary activities such as the generation of resources, income distribution, institutional expansion, and university links with industry and society.

Responsibility

Responsibility is closely related to the content of autonomy in the present reform period in that all policies regarding the delegation of powers to universities come along with an increased responsibility. It reflects a traditional value of social responsibility of Chinese universities. The notion of responsibility focuses on the financial aspect. Universities are expected to meet their own financial needs and seek development on their own instead of relying on the government. At the same time, they are expected to take responsibility for preparing skilled personnel for the country’s economic development.

Responsibility and power are often used together in government policies and in scholarly writings in which autonomy is introduced. The more responsibilities universities have, the more power and the higher degree of autonomy they will enjoy. The literature also shows how specific responsibilities are related to university autonomy in the form of the presidential responsibility system.
After 1985, the presidential responsibility system was introduced as a matter of government policy. The presidential responsibility system refers to a set of rules and personnel arrangements in university governance that emphasize the role of the president, instead of that of the Party, in administration. Under this system, the president is supposed to have a dominant say over academic matters of teaching, research, finance, student services and administration, so that universities are able to make academic and administrative decisions and to develop their response to social needs, apart from the detailed regulations of the Party (Pan, 1987).

If we go back to the short history of Chinese higher education after 1949, we may find that the presidential responsibility system is not a creation of the 1980s. It is very close to a presidential system started in the early 1950s (Wang, 1983). In the 1950s, Chinese universities implemented the presidential system which was characterized by centralization of powers in the government and by a president's total authority in university governance. At that time, the Party had not completed the development of its cells on campus and it was to help the work of the president to carry out the government's educational principles and policies. The president represented the government in managing the teaching, research, and administration of the university. She or he also took charge of political studies, hired and dismissed faculty and staff, and chaired the university council.\(^7\)

The presidential responsibility system of the 1980s had some new elements. It drew

\(^7\) After the People's Republic of China was established, the CCP began to be involved in administrative affairs within the university. In particular, it focused on personnel and student affairs.

\(^8\) The council was a decision-making body with the following functions: administering teaching and research plans, approving the budget expenses and university rules and regulations, making decisions on the reward or punishment of students. It was fully documented in the 1950 temporary regulations of higher education (Gaodeng yuanxiao zhanxing guizhe). See Qu, 1991, pp. 57-62.
upon the experience of the contract household responsibility system in the countryside and the director responsibility system in enterprises. Such concepts as "contract," "independent entity," "role of the director," "production" and "marketing" added economic features to the presidential responsibility system. As the goals and tasks of universities and colleges have changed, the president has become responsible not only to the government for implementing government policies, but also to university members for the development of all aspects of the university, especially in the area of finance. At the same time, the president has to consider the relationship with the Party. After the June 4th incident in 1989, the presidential responsibility system was replaced by the system of presidential responsibility under the leadership of the Party committee. Nevertheless, the new role of the university president has been kept.

Legal Persons

The term of "legal persons" (fa ren) is another important term, linked to the practice of university autonomy in China to the legal angle (Hayhoe & Zhong, 1996). It suggests a new direction for universities' institutional development, drawn upon the experience of Western universities. The importance of being "legal persons" lies in the transition of higher education governance in China from government control toward public control. This means there are more and more written laws for universities to follow now. Theoretically, universities as legal persons can operate by themselves under these written laws, although some unwritten laws still dominate the decision-making process in reality. The status of universities as legal persons will protect their interests and enhance their

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9 Public control refers to diverse kinds of control, including law, local government policies, and regulations initiated by universities, in contrast to the control by central government.
freedom in society.

In 1986, the Civil Law was passed by the 6th National People's Congress. It prescribes that all schools including universities are legal persons when they have registered with the government. There are four kinds of legal persons according to the law: enterprises, government, public institutions, and social groups. The university belongs to the third category. A legal person is an organization with the capacity to conduct civil activities, enjoying civil rights and taking civil responsibility. To be a legal person, an organization must follow the following criteria: 1) be established under the law; 2) have the necessary property and financial resources; 3) have its own name, organization, and location; 4) able to undertake civil responsibilities independently (Xiao, 1992:351,355).

The status of universities and colleges as legal persons was confirmed in the Education Law of 1995. As I mentioned in Chapter one, the law gives details about the rights and responsibilities of universities and defines the president’s role in the university as its legal representative.

The literature shows that the idea of legal persons has been widely discussed in universities and colleges. Several terms are employed to understand how a university operates as a legal person. Universities are described as "independent entities," "independent social entities," "independent economic entities," and "independent educational entities" (Chen & Zhang 1984). Obviously, the central issue of autonomy here is a separation of universities from the authorities they are under. The relationship between the university and government has changed and universities are to be self-governed within the framework of Party's general principles (Meng 1987, Yang Deguang 1993).

Universities are defined as entities which are independent of the central and local
government. Others point out that, as economic entities which educate personnel for society, universities should have the same status as state-owned enterprises, which are economic entities and have powers to accomplish tasks of production according to societal needs. Both universities and state-owned enterprises have a common ground, although there are differences in the form of production and the products (Gu 1985, Ren 1993). Others regard a fundamental condition for universities as independent entities having real autonomy to be that the president takes full responsibility for university governance, while the Party exercises supervision.

All of this literature reveals the deep thinking that is going on about how the concept of legal persons relates to autonomy, but there are few descriptive studies about how these concepts can be applied to actual university operations.

Summary

Issues related to university autonomy are being widely discussed in the reform period. The meaning of university autonomy is closely connected to such concepts as "responsibility" and "legal persons." There is an attempt by universities to try to create its own pattern of university autonomy in the Chinese context, through combining the Chinese value of social responsibility and the Western value of law.

The literature shows that university autonomy is a concept that has emerged in a new way at present, but the idea is not foreign to Chinese university members. Its content focuses on practical issues relating to the university's role in society. University autonomy is not used to confront political power, rather it is seen as a means for universities and colleges to gain more administrative power in their internal operations in order to develop
their institutional identity and diversity, as well as to increase their efficiency and effectiveness. The literature also shows that Chinese universities try to understand autonomy through their historical experience.

What kind of historical experience do Chinese universities have? Why do Chinese universities have these tendencies? How are they related to the history of Chinese higher education and to its development in the modern period? Why do Chinese universities want practical autonomy? Why are they particularly interested in administrative power? One of the weak points in the literature on Chinese higher education is a lack of reflection on university activities in the present period and how autonomy is related to Chinese universities' historical, social, and cultural contexts. I will explore these issues in the next few chapters.
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

Methodological Considerations

This study is a cultural one, focusing on the impact of the Chinese intellectual tradition on the meaning, expression, and practice of university autonomy. I have dealt with Chinese culture as an intact culture parallel to Western culture, which has been derived from the traditions of ancient Greece and Rome. Different from Western culture, Chinese culture is also identified with the country. Within Chinese culture, higher education is highly valued as it relates to politics, economics, and individual life.

In my encounter with university autonomy as a feature of Chinese culture, I locate it within the Chinese way of thinking. I have particularly benefited from reading Roger T. Ames (1993) and Li Zehuo (1994). Ames notices characteristics of knowing in Chinese culture, which has helped me understand the epistemological basis of the Chinese way of thinking. In Chinese culture, knowing has always been focused on action. According to Ames, knowing is participatory and creative—“tracing” in both the sense of etching a pattern and of following it. To know is to realize and to make real. The path to the truth is not given, but made in the treading of it. One has to create the path through action. Thus, one’s actions are always a significant factor in the shaping of one’s world. However, one does not mean one person. It refers to the large group, in which one is related to others. The purpose of one’s experience is to coordinate the various ingredients that constitute the world here and now in which one is a part, and to get the most out of what one has got here and now (1993:49-67). This point is particularly relevant to understanding Chinese universities’ experience in the reform period. Universities try to achieve as much autonomy
as they can under the present conditions of the leadership of the CCP on campus, close control by the government authorities they are administered by, and the shortage of funds.

Li Zehou, one of the most well-known scholars in the history of Chinese thought in present China, has explored the intellectual root of knowing in Chinese culture, which is Confucianism. According to him, Knowing in Chinese culture is characterized by pragmatic rationality. One obtains knowledge not by abstract thinking but by doing concrete things and making changes in reality. What is most important is not the word nor abstract thinking. It is action, as Confucius said: "A gentleman is slow in speech, but quick in action," and "Listening to one's speech but trusting one's action." (1994:35) Li points out that this focus on knowing through action is still seen in the socialist and reform periods. Pragmatic rationality is reflected especially in the pragmatic way the Chinese people treat Western science and technology. He also suggests that it is a factor in the success of Marxism in China, which focuses on social practice and the transformation of human society through action.

Both Ames and Li's insights have enabled me to see that continuity of Chinese way of thinking in higher education through present activities generated from university autonomy in China. In this thesis, the concept of university autonomy in China is related to university members' experience in the reform period, what they have done and what they have failed to do. The focus is still on such two aspects as action and collective engagement of action. For Chinese universities, their knowledge of autonomy is derived from their experience of learning from farmers in the household contract system, from directors of the state-owned enterprises in the responsibility system, and from academicians in Western universities.
I do not intend to impose an explanation merely based on the existing literature because that might lead to a situation which Chinese universities and colleges are described in language removed from their experience. Nevertheless, the literature has provided a framework for this research, and insights into Chinese higher education. I hope to understand autonomy from the practical activities of Chinese universities and colleges. Knowing them from their collective actions is the key to understanding the meaning of university autonomy. I believe that the most reliable information about contemporary Chinese universities and colleges comes from inside views given by university members. That is why I have chosen interviews as a major method to collect data for this study. Thanks to the Chinese and Canadian governments, I was given a wonderful opportunity to study in China through the China Canada Scholars Exchange Program. I visited six universities in Sichuan Province, China and lived on campus for six months, so that I had many opportunities to talk with university members.

The study focused on the reform period from 1985 to 1995. To help me understand the background of the present concept of autonomy, I did a historical review of higher education development in the pre-modern period (before 1911), the republican period (1911-1949), the socialist period (1949-1978), and the reform period (after 1978). This periodization was based on changing political regimes.

I integrated part of my literature review into the study as background material, but also used it for a preliminary consideration of the central research questions. This can be seen in Chapter Four and Five which explain the differences between Western and Chinese universities in their historical development.

The study is both descriptive and exploratory. I concentrated on university activities in
three settings: academic, personnel, and financial. I noticed that in the Chinese literature, the reverse order -- finance, personnel, and academic settings -- is common. This arrangement shows an intense concern with financial autonomy in universities and colleges. However, in my discussion, I will keep an order which gives priority to academic matters.

Methods

This study conforms to the case study method, which has been defined as "an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context" (Yin, 1989). I chose this method for its focus on empirical and qualitative characteristics, such as descriptiveness, natural settings and direct sources, a concern with both process and end, and a consideration of individual meanings and experiences. These qualities helped to achieve my purpose in this thesis, that is, to describe university activities in the reform period and explore how they are related to the development a Chinese notion of autonomy.

The cases are three degree-granting universities and colleges in Sichuan Province: Sichuan Union University (SUU), Chongqing Teachers' College (CTC), and Chongqing Institute of Management and Industry (CIMI). SUU is in Chengdu, the capital of Sichuan Province, and both CTC and CIMI are located in Chongqing, the biggest city in the province. The cases were used to seek a common understanding of what university autonomy means in practical terms in Chinese universities and colleges today.

10 Chongqing is in the heart of the southwest of China. It is now the biggest city in China with a population of over thirty million. Recently, at the Fifth Session of the Eighth People's Congress, the bill to approve Chongqing City as the fourth centrally controlled metropolitan area in China was passed. The other three are Beijing, Shanghai, and Tianjin. The purpose of this bill is to speed up the economic and social development of the southwest of China. See Xinhua News Agency, Renminribao, haiwaiban, March 7, 1997.
Before my trip to China to collect data, I contacted six universities and colleges in Sichuan Province and got official permission for doing interviews in five of them.\textsuperscript{11} Finally, I chose Sichuan Union University, Chongqing Industry Management Institute, and Chongqing Teachers' College for their availability and the completeness of the samples.\textsuperscript{12} Nevertheless, I still made use of information from the other two institutions to cross check the authenticity of the information I collected in the three selected institutions.\textsuperscript{13}

Three different jurisdictions control these three institutions: Sichuan Union University is controlled by the State Education Commission, Chongqing Industry management Institute by the Ministry of Armament Industry (or China Northern Industry Corporation Group), and Chongqing Teachers' College by the Sichuan provincial education commission. However, it was not my intention to make a point of their differences in this thesis, rather, to take them as representative of higher education institutions more generally. Regarding

\textsuperscript{11} These institutions were: Sichuan Union University, Chongqing University, Chongqing Architecture Engineering University, Chongqing Teachers' College, Chongqing Medical University, and Sichuan Fine Art Institute. Except for Sichuan Union University, all other institutions are located in Chongqing. I chose them initially for the following reasons: first, I had personal connections in all these institutions, which could help me collect data; second, I knew these institutions very well through my work and study experience in Sichuan Province before; third, since all these institutions were located within five hundred kilometres, it would cost me less to do the research.

\textsuperscript{12} I added Chongqing Industry Management Institute to my interview list when I was offered an opportunity to visit there. I had heard before that this institute was famous for making things happen quickly. In my case, when they permitted my interview, they immediately arranged all twelve interviewees according to my requirements and made sure that I completed the interviews within three days.

\textsuperscript{13} I have used all information provided by these six institutions of higher education: Sichuan Union University, Chongqing Teachers' College, Chongqing Industry Management Institute, Chongqing University, Chongqing Medical University, and Chongqing Architecture Engineering University. I put the first three institutions into the interview group, from which the data were drawn. I put the other three institutions into the information group together with other sources. I used the information provided by this group to cross-check the information provided by the interview group.
the types of institution, SUU is a comprehensive university, and CTC and CIMI are professional colleges. Again, I did not intend to explore the significance of these differences. Rather, I observed common characteristics in the practice of autonomy.

A multiple case study method was employed to study these universities and colleges based on Yin's theory. In each case, I asked the same central questions: how was autonomy defined in this university and why was it defined this way? I examined activities in each university through three operational settings: academic, personnel, and financial settings, which gave a practical context to autonomy (Hetherington, 1965).

I sought administrative consent for the interviews from selected institutions. Then, I sent a protocol to the planned interviewees, together with a letter of research information, which told them what my thesis was about and that I wished to approach them about their opinions on autonomy. I wanted the chosen interviewees to know my research and me better, so that they could prepare for the questions before the interview. I realized that this arrangement for my interviewees might introduce some doubts about the authenticity of information. However, my knowledge of China's politics and the experience of Chinese universities led me to believe this was the best way to carry out research on such a topic. To reduce the possible bias, I adopted alternative methods of data gathering.

I had requested the foreign affairs offices of Sichuan Union University, Chongqing Industry Management Institute, and Chongqing Teachers' College to help me choose potential interviewees. In fact, I would have had no problems in finding interviewees by myself because I used to work and study in these institutions and I had connections there. However, I did not do this for several reasons. I wanted to get open opinions from university members regarding autonomy in relation to government and university policies
and practical activities generated from their policies. By this I mean opinions that could be openly discussed and debated in public with official permission, so that they could be taken into consideration when university leaders were making their policies. In this way, I avoided a situation in which individual opinions might be sharply different from official policies and remote from the practical activities going on in the universities now. This also allowed me to avoid some potential inconvenience for my interviewees under what is still a politically sensitive situation in China. As mentioned before, I realized the possibility of bias being embedded in these formal interviews. Therefore, I used alternative methods of data gathering such as campus observation, informal talks with other university members and friends, and discussion meetings.

I gave the foreign affairs offices my instructions about what types of interviewees I wanted and what kind of questions I would ask. The selection was done, based on our mutual agreement. On my side, I was satisfied with the sample they chose for me, which generally met my requirements. On their side, they could use their own standard to choose interviewees. A foreign affairs officer told me that they would try their best to select the interviewees who not only met my requirements but also were representative of the college. From the background information provided by interviewees, I found out some of their standards for choosing interviewees. For instance, some interviewees had been

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14 I had particular requirements for my interviewees. For instance, for administrators, I wanted one from the president and vice president group, one from the functional departments (academic affairs, personnel, and financial sectors in the university level), and one from among the academic departments. For Party workers, I wanted a secretary or vice secretary in the university or in the department level, one working in the Party’s functional departments, and one working in the related mass associations such as youth league, union, and women’s association. For teachers, I wanted those who had middle and high academic ranks such as professors and associate professors. For students, I asked for those who had been involved in or were currently working in the student union or the Youth League.
praised as model persons for their contributions to teaching and research at the university.\textsuperscript{15} There is no doubt that the groups selected by the foreign affairs offices would have some bias toward the Party line. However, since the Party's general policies encouraged a more open practice of autonomy, the possible bias of these interviewees did not have much influence on the result of my research.

Data Collection

Data were accumulated from several sources, with interviews being the main one. Other sources included campus observation, documentation, archival materials, discussion meetings, and informal talks with university members. I used semi-structured interviews, with an interview protocol to guide my interviews and to "reduce the possibility of introducing bias to a minimum" (Galfo, 1970:37). The interview protocol was composed of ten questions mainly concerning three aspects: interviewees' personal information, concepts related to university autonomy, facts about university practice (see Appendix B). I gave a copy of the protocol to the selected institutions and interviewees. Although the protocol had passed an ethical review at OISE, I still had difficulty on the Chinese side. When officials in one university read the protocol, they did not feel

\textsuperscript{15} Universities conducted activities to praise model persons every year. The purpose was to let all other people learn from the model persons so that they could be transformed into better persons. Although the process is now more and more like a token, many university members still have a high regard for the honour of being a model worker. In one institution, I happened to know that when the foreign affairs office took charge of this selection of interviewees, the participation in this interview was regarded as an honour for some people. A friend told me that the foreign affairs office notified her department and asked for one teacher to participate. Most teachers in the section guessed the model teacher in their department would be selected, although he was not. For students, that was even more clear. All students selected in these interviews were good students. The interesting point is they might be biased, but they would also represent the direction of university policies and activities.
comfortable about the way I put some questions. They suggested that I reword them, and I did this, as well as adding an introductory statement. Still, the protocol had three parts: general questions about interviewees' background; conceptual questions about interviewees' ideas of autonomy; concrete questions about university practice and autonomy from interviewees' perspectives. Before the interview, I spent two to three minutes introducing myself and explaining how the interview would go. I taped all interviews, if interviewees allowed. Otherwise, I took notes.

These might be described as "focused interviews, in which a respondent is interviewed for a short period" (Yin, 1989:89). They were of an open-ended nature, with the focus on understanding the problem. Respondents were asked about facts, their opinions about events, and their insights. An interview protocol was used to seek university members' opinions about autonomy with regard to university academic, personnel, administrative and financial issues. The interview took about one hour and went on in a conversational manner.

There were four groups of interviewees including Party workers, administrators, faculty members, and students, and they were chosen according to their position and their availability. The Party workers included Party secretaries at the university and the department levels. Administrators were defined as senior officials in administration, such as the president, the vice president, the dean of studies, and the department chair. They were directly involved in policy-making and in policy implementation. Those chosen for the faculty group were teachers or researchers with professorial titles, excluding those who

16 The original question was: "Do you think increasing the president's power and reducing the party committee secretary's power would increase university autonomy?" The revised one was: Do you think increasing the president's power would increase university autonomy?"
do work other than teaching and research.\textsuperscript{17} Those chosen in the student group were from those who were admitted through the state development plan\textsuperscript{18} and were represented by the official student association. In each group, there were two to three persons at each university and all together there were thirty-six persons. Four of the interviewees were women.

I also used a document review method to collect data. Materials for this part included university statistics, legislative acts, governmental policies, university policies, organizational records, lists of names of institutions and individuals, newspapers and periodicals, personnel records, and published literature. I specially examined three educational journals systematically --\textit{Jiaoyu yanjiu} (Education research), \textit{Shanghai gaodeng jiaoyu} (Shanghai higher education), \textit{Gaodeng jiaoyu} (Higher education). The most important use of these documents was to corroborate and augment evidence from interviews and to provide information.

\textbf{Data Analysis}

The analysis seeks to draw out common points of the understanding of university autonomy among the four groups within each institution. Some comparisons among the

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{17} The notion of faculty members is broad in Chinese universities. It refers to one's work as well as to one's status in the personnel system. Besides those who teach and do research in universities, some other people are also regarded as faculty members in the personnel system, such as political instructors and some administrators.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{18} Since 1952, the government adopted a unified admission policy based on national planning. All students were admitted through the state development plan and they would be assigned to work units after graduation. This was to be changed in the reform period. In the middle of the 1980s, the government adopted a two track admission policy which promulgated two admission plans: the state development plan and the state adjustment plan. Students enrolled through the latter were not included in the unified job placement arrangement. I will discuss this in detail in Chapter Eight.}
three institutions have also emerged. My procedures in data analysis were as follows: first, I coded all interviewees, both formal and informal, with numbers; then, I went over all interview notes and sound records, and transcribed them into readable documents; next, I arranged these documents according to the interview questions; and finally, I summarized the answers from interviewees and developed an explanation to my research questions.

Although I planned to record all interviews by tape, all interviewees except six preferred that I take notes. I transcribed all interviews, including those taped and recorded by notes, in Chinese. All quotations in use were directly translated from Chinese into English by myself. Transcripts were done in an order that followed the questions in the questionnaires.

I analyzed data by hand. I did not employ software because no Chinese software was available, and if I used English, I was afraid that some meaning would be lost during translation from Chinese into English. I viewed all minutes and transcripts of interviews, and summarized those points related to my research questions. I divided all materials into three categories: formal interviews which included thirty-six interviewees materials in three universities; informal interviews which included individual interviews and discussion meetings in a broader context, involved twenty-eight participants (see Appendix E); original documents that included regulations and rules made mainly by the three universities and historical archival materials. Through reviewing transcripts, I became very familiar with all materials and interviews of each person in each institution. All interviewees' records and minutes were coded according to their institutions with four digit numbers. The first two numbers represent the university's name, and third number the category of the group to which interviewees belong, for instance, administrators are
represented by number one, Party workers by two, teachers by three, and students by four. The fourth number tells how many interviewees are there in the group. Following the research questions, I put all answers in a category referred to by individual institutional numbers. I analyzed each institution separately and put the analytic result of all three institutions together to draw out common points.

Interview questions were divided into three categories, aimed at looking for the common points that would constitute a different pattern of university autonomy in China from that in the West. The first category of questions concerned the social, economic, and political background of interviewees. I obtained seven kinds of information about their rank, education, political preference, job, working history, qualification, and the authority to approve their appointment to the present position. All except for one answered these questions.

The second category of questions attempted to define university autonomy and some other concepts related to it. The answers led to four kinds of information, namely the selection of terms to describe university autonomy in China, the meaning of university autonomy, the purpose of university autonomy, and interviewees' attitudes toward university autonomy. Thirty-four out of thirty-six persons gave answers. The answers reflected much agreement about the terms used to describe autonomy in China and its meaning and purpose.

The third category of questions addressed facts about the practice of university autonomy in specific academic, personnel, and financial contexts. All thirty-six interviewees answered these questions, but they had different focuses on each question, based on their knowledge and experience. There was agreement among these interviewees
that the meaning of autonomy must be, and had been in fact, substantiated by university activities in these specific contexts.

The pattern of analysis was based on Yin's explanation-building pattern (pp. 113-115). The data covered the university activities in the reform in SUU, CIMI, CTC, and the general explanation of university members' understanding of autonomy in both words and practical experience.

Standards

Based on the qualitative analysis, my purpose was not to generate some particular rules from Chinese university practice but to explore the insights of Chinese university members into the concept of autonomy. The focus was on the analysis of meaning and the interpretation of meaning. However, the case study method I employed did not go against such standards of quantitative research as generalization and validity. Generalization did not mean to generate a rule from the Chinese situation which could be applied to another country or to a broader area of populations, but to generate theory from practice (Yin, 1989:38).

I addressed the issue of validity in my way of collecting data. I particularly considered construct validity in the thesis. Construct validity concerns "establishing correct operational measures" (Yin, 1989:40). I used university members' knowledge and attitudes as operational measures to test whether the concept of university autonomy in China exists within the universities. The more university members knew about autonomy in China and supported it, the more possibility there was that the concept existed. I measured their attitudes and knowledge in three specific contexts: academic, personnel, and financial,
which were the main operational settings of autonomy. Focusing on the period from 1985-1995, I used structured interviews of individuals in the three selected universities and colleges within the Chinese formal higher educational system. Since my planned interviewees were chosen mainly through official arrangement by the planned universities, there might be some bias in their answers. Therefore, I used a complementary method of informal interviews, discussion meetings, and campus observation, to do some cross-checking. I also collected information from other institutions such as Chongqing University, Chongqing Architecture University, Chongqing Medical University, Sichuan Fine Arts Institute, Chongqing Architecture Professional Institute, and Chongqing Committee of the Communist Party. The approach included discussion meetings, informal talks, and interviews. These activities involved government officials, administrators, Party workers, teachers, and students (see Appendix E). All information was recorded by taking notes. No significant difference was found in the results drawn from the informal interview group.

Replication logic among three cases was another standard of this multiple case study. In all three cases, I asked the same questions, used the same techniques, followed the same procedures, and tried to find the common ground for their answers. I noticed in the analysis that there were some differences. However, they were not my main interest for the purpose of this thesis.

As well, I kept in mind the standard of authenticity of the interviewees' answers and tried to be conscious of the limitation of individual answers. Three questions were often asked in the analysis of the data: "Is there anything false in their words?" "Is there any bias in their opinions?" "Is there anything individual in their words?"
Summary

In this chapter, I discussed how I did this research and why I chose certain research methods to collect information. I adopted a case study methodology for its focus on contemporary events and qualitative features. I believe that this method was appropriate for this research.

The main limitations of this research method come from the problem of the case study itself and the problem of data collecting. Regarding the problem of the case study method, I have realized its limitation in the time consumed. As for the problem of data collection, one weak point is that 2/3 interviewees were chosen by the foreign affairs offices. Another weak point is that only a few interviewees agreed to be taped and the records of the majority of interviewees were based on the notes I took during the interviews. Although tape recording all interviews would not change the results of this study, it would provide a strong support to clear any doubts, if the authenticity of the data was questioned.

I could not avoid these problems, yet, my awareness of them and the adjustments made reduced the possibility of bias to the least possible level. I also kept all notes and transcripts well organized so that any questions arising from the research could be traced easily.
CHAPTER FOUR: THE WESTERN EXPERIENCE OF UNIVERSITY AUTONOMY

An abundance of literature on Western higher education, mainly from U.K., America, and Canada, explores the Western concept of autonomy, which has been derived from Medieval European universities and highlighted by the experience of German universities in the 19th century. Ranging from history, to governance, to comparative studies of higher education, these studies of autonomy are descriptive, analytic, and philosophical. Although there are minor differences in ideas about what constitutes autonomy, the value of autonomy is widely agreed upon (Ashby, 1966).

The purpose of this literature review is to explore themes and arguments around university autonomy in the West. I will give a summary of how autonomy is understood in the West, focusing on the following themes: the nature of university autonomy, the practice of university autonomy in selected countries (U.K., Canada, and the United States), and the value of university autonomy.

The Nature of University Autonomy

The word "autonomy" comes from the ancient Greek, "autonomia," meaning the quality and state of being independent, self-directing or self-governing, individual or group freedom, an autonomous body or community (Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary of English Language, 1968:128).

University autonomy found its original form in the "guilds" of masters or students in Medieval Europe, which became the first universities in the Western history of higher education. The most famous guilds in Medieval Europe were the "Universitas of Students
of Bologna" and "Universitas of Masters of Paris."

The profound studies of medieval European universities done by such authors as Rashdall (1936), Schachner (1962), and Cobban (1971) have displayed how they understood university autonomy in relation to universities' origins, structure, governance, and economic conditions. University autonomy, as reflected in the two earliest university models, Bologna and Paris, was regarded as the control by academics, teachers and students over the institutions. These studies showed that in any circumstance, an essential condition for the existence of university autonomy was the academic community, in which academicians came together for their common interest of pursuing knowledge for its own sake. Other powers in the larger society recognized the value of these interests of theirs.

Ideally, an autonomous university must be free to select its students and staff, to set its standards, and to decide on whom to award its degrees to. The design of its own curriculum must be free, although it may in practice have to operate within certain constraints, such as the requirements of professional bodies which recognize the degree as a right to practice, and the financial sanctions which may be imposed from outside. Deciding how to allocate its income from state or private sources among the different categories of expenditure must also be free (Ashby, 1966:296).

These features of autonomy indicate that the dominant holders of autonomy are, and should be, teachers, as a professional and political group. Hetherington (1965) said:

It involves also that the organization of the University should be such as to assure to its working membership, especially to its academic staff, a recognized and influential part in the making of those decisions, particularly in the shaping of academic policies. In the end, that is the heart of the matter (p. 4).

The freedom of the university is not absolute. Hayhoe (1984) pointed out that university autonomy was always a matter of degree. For her, university autonomy refers to
"the degree of independence which university members as a corporate body are able to exercise over all internal decision-making, and in relation to authorities such as those of Church and State in the society in which they are found" (p. 25). The independent determination by the university itself of the arrangements for the conduct of its internal affairs is the heart of university autonomy (Shils, 1991).

In the literature on university autonomy, three kinds of expression of autonomy are used. First, there are expressions such as "autonomy of the university," "university autonomy," "autonomous universities (or college)" and "institutional autonomy." In these expressions, autonomy focuses on the institutional level, and the university is viewed as an academic community in relation to external authorities such as the government and the church. The university is a corporation with a charter which provides the legal basis for its rights and responsibilities.

Second, there are expressions like "faculty autonomy," "student autonomy" and "administrator autonomy." In these expressions, autonomy focuses on the social level, at which there is a kind of control of the university by a particular group of constituents in the university (Winchester, 1985). There were the professors' control in the University of Paris and students' control in the University of Bologna, and the collegiate control in Oxford and Cambridge in Medieval Europe. We can examine the university from the viewpoints of such social groups in the university as teachers, students, administrators, and support staff. The autonomy of a particular group in the university is not identical with institutional autonomy per se.

Third, there are expressions such as "academic autonomy," "administrative autonomy," "appointment autonomy" and "finance autonomy." In these expressions, autonomy focuses
on operational settings of the university. From operational settings, people analyze how and to what degree university autonomy is exercised. The most important of all are academic issues relating to student admission, appointments of faculty members, the allocation of resources, curriculum and instruction.

These three kinds of expression of autonomy show three aspects of university life: the institution, university members, and the operational settings, in which the value of autonomy is configured. In practice, universities have specific focuses on certain issues. For the institution, the focus is on the legal status of universities through charters and institutional patterns; for particular groups in the university, the focus is on faculty members' rights to academic freedom; for operational settings, the focus is on academic issues such as programs and courses, student admission, and the appointment of teachers.

In the literature, the core value of autonomy is usually linked to academic issues. Hayhoe (1984) pointed out: "University autonomy is highly attractive to scholars because it gives them absolute power to decide the parameters of high status knowledge" (p. 26). According to James (1965), university autonomy is one of the basic conditions that enables universities to perform effectively their triple function of educating young men and women to serve the needs of the community, conserving the heritage of culture, and expanding the frontiers of knowledge by research (pp. viii-ix). Many scholars also point out that autonomy was beneficial for universities to carry out their social roles. Hetherington (1965) said that the purpose of university autonomy was not to avoid the university's social responsibilities but to welcome evaluation from society, and that universities needed these comments from society, as long as they have enough room and freedom to make their choices (p. 28).
On the whole, the essence of university autonomy in the West is embodied in the promotion of academic freedom, which is a freedom of academics to undertake inquiry into knowledge without interference of the state or other political forces. In North America, it takes the form of freedom of teaching, research, and publication, and tenure. The connection of university autonomy and academic freedom is reflected in the following statement:

Academic freedom is that aspect of intellectual liberty concerned with the peculiar institutional needs of the academic community. The claim that scholars are entitled to particular immunity from ideological coercion because the university is regarded as a community of scholars engaged in the pursuit of knowledge, collectively and individually, both within the classroom and without, and on the pragmatic conviction that they can perform the invaluable service rendered by the university to society only in an atmosphere entirely free from administrative, political, or ecclesiastical constraints on thought and expression. (The Harvard Law Review Association, 1968, 81:1048)

An important theme in the literature of autonomy is the shift in the meanings of autonomy over time and place. In the Medieval Age, universities were self-funded and self-governed. Autonomy meant privileges given by the state or the church. Two most important privileges were the clerics' right to study in the university with compensation for the fruits of their benefice, and the certificate of teaching without further examination (Rashdall, 1936). Autonomy was reflected in a high degree of institutional independence, which meant independence of external authorities, financial independence which meant self-support and the university's contribution to the wealth of the town, and intellectual independence which meant the freedom of scholarship and tolerance for new ideas (Winchester, 1985).

Paulsen (1895) described how German universities in the 19th century revitalized the idea of autonomy on the ground that universities were to make their own case for
understanding knowledge and searching for truth, and that they should maintain a critical relation to society, apart from other influences. Professorial governance and academic freedom characterized universities, and their working relationship with the government. Universities upheld the unity of teaching and research, and senior professors became the centre of the academic structure, although universities completely depended on the government for finance and professors were civil servants.

After World War II, most Western governments assumed an increasingly important role in supporting higher education. This role was related to the expansion in higher education system and the increase in government funding (Neave and Van Vught, 1991). University autonomy began to be configured in a different social context and opened to a variety of practices and interpretations. One interpretation was to consider the freedom of universities as corporations within the framework of government policies (Mahony, 1994). On the whole, the very concept of intellectual freedom and institutional independence of the university became vague because of ever more involvement of the state in funding universities and increased intimacy between the university and society. However, this does not mean that university autonomy as a tradition of Medieval universities and a value of modern universities is gone.

There are particular concerns around university autonomy in the contemporary period. According to Perkins (1977), three current realities affect autonomy in fundamental ways. The first is the increasing overlaps of functions between higher education and society; the second is the increasing professionalism of society, that has loosened the ties between professional groups and the university. Third is the increasing specialization within the field of higher education, which has caused the university to seek cooperation with other
institutions for survival.

Institutional patterns of governance affect university autonomy. Birnbaum (1988) showed four ideal type governance models and how they were related to autonomy. They are the collegiate, the bureaucratic, the political, and the anarchistic models. The collegiate model has the highest degree of autonomy in terms of the sharing of powers and values in a community of equals. However, modern universities, especially the multiversity in America, do not conform to the small size of the intellectual community in the collegiate model. By contrast, the bureaucratic model has the least degree of autonomy. Observing American universities in the economic recession of the 1980s, Perkin (1984) pointed out that bureaucratization, resulting in a hierarchy of officials "whose goals and values do not relate to the advancement of knowledge, whose very existence is predicated on the preference for predictable routine procedures rather than on the pursuit of innovation and the unexpected, encroaches with every increase of state funding and state control" (p. 44).

Finance is a key topic in relation to university autonomy. In the beginning of this century, funding became a means for the government to regulate universities according to its needs (Arthurs, 1987). The notions of accountability, accessibility, and credibility as related to the issue of funding were introduced into the standards of higher education and became a framework for the evaluation of university work. Winchester (1985) pointed out: "The government is now the main source (either directly or indirectly) of funding, and, therefore, as the chief shareholder should have some substantial say in the running of the company since public accountability is a principle of such funding" (p. 35).

Hines and Hartmark (1980:3) pointed out that politics affected autonomy greatly, dividing university members into several interest groups: professors, students, and
administrators. The university lost its common goal because these groups sought cooperation with the government to strengthen their position in collective bargaining within the university. Hetherington (1965) pointed out that the threat to university autonomy came from the fact that decision-makers in the university aimed at pursuing the interest of their own group instead of that of the university as a whole.

The literature in the West has shown links between the concept of university autonomy and the tradition of Medieval European universities, the valuing of pure knowledge in German universities in the 19th century, and values of professional governance in academic matters.

The Practice of University Autonomy in Selected Countries

Universities in the U.K.

In Britain, the earliest model of the universities was Oxford and Cambridge, which were founded in the Medieval Age. It was characterized by a high degree of autonomy. The charters on which Oxford and Cambridge were founded protected them from the government’s intervention. The universities consisted of small colleges in which professors and students shared domestic life. The universities assumed responsibility for the care, discipline, and full development of each student. Financially, the universities depended on themselves and also sought donations from private resources. In the 15th and 16th centuries, Oxford University exercised a high degree of legal autonomy and thus the control of the teaching staff went beyond academic affairs. The university became a mini-society, able to make its own civil and criminal laws and set up its court (Winchester, 1985). In the 19th century, the civic universities were established as an alternative model.
A two tiered governance system was established in these universities: the senate and board of trustees. In both models, academics were always having a dominant role in internal academic governance.

The government established the University Grant Committee in 1919, to mediate the relationship between the government and universities. The committee advised the government on finance, functioning as a "buffer" between government and the universities. According to Ashby (1966), in the 1960s, the committee expanded its role and went into those areas that used to be decided only by academics, such as salaries. Nevertheless, the UGC helped universities keep a balanced relation with the government and thus protected their autonomy. Berdahl (1990) examined university autonomy in the current period in the U.K. from two aspects, substantial autonomy and procedural autonomy. The former concerned the direction and goal of universities, and the latter was related to practical things such as auditing expenses. He thought that the government's intervention into procedural autonomy would not hurt universities very much, but if the government entered the sphere of substantial autonomy, universities would lose their direction. Berdahl saw a decrease in substantial autonomy when the U.K. government shut down the UGC in the end of the 1980s and pushed universities into the market, as this hurt university development and caused a fragmentation of academic work. He thought that the change of government policies are one of the main factor affecting autonomy.

Canadian Universities

Harris (1976) started the history of Canadian higher education in 1663, when Bishop Laval established a seminary for training priests in Quebec City. In 1852, this seminary
became Laval University. In English Canada, the first universities were King's College (Windsor, N.S. 1789), Dalhousie University (Halifax, N.S. 1818), and McGill (Montreal, Que., 1821). The University of Toronto began as King's College in 1827 and was restarted as the University of Toronto in 1850. At the time of confederation in 1867, there were 17 degree-granting institutions, of which 13 were connected with the church. Now, there are 68 degree-granting universities.

Under the British North American Act in 1867, the provincial government is responsible for education including higher education. Charters or legal acts of the provincial governments founded all universities, except Queen's university. The universities have their institutional independence based on charters. According to Jones and Skolnik (1995), the governance structure of most Canadian universities is bicameral in that the corporate charter delegates authority over institutional decision making to two legislative bodies, a governing board responsible for corporate administrative and financial matters, and an academic senate with responsibility for academic matters. The division of responsibilities between the board and the senate is usually spelled out in the universities acts. University autonomy is thus characterized by institutional independence and academic self-government. It is reflected in the power of the senate and the involvement of academics in the governing board. Most important of all, university professors have the right to academic freedom, which is the right to research, teach, and publish, provided their work meets standards of truth and fairness, and the right to tenure which means they cannot be dismissed or removed except for incompetence.

The literature about autonomy in Canada focuses mainly on policy studies. Buchbinder and Rajagopal (1995) saw a decrease of autonomy in Canadian universities after World
War II when the government became responsible for university funding. In the 1980s and the 1990s, universities experienced funding cuts, public demands for accountability, and some penetration by corporations. Universities were facing new demands from political and economic forces. Taking Ontario as example, universities were subjected to review by the government and government agencies many times (1981, 1984, 1988, 1993, and 1996). The government’s intervention included imposing policies regarding equity, employment, and other public regulations. However, university autonomy was still a strong feature of Canadian universities in internal governance and in their independent legal status in society.

American Universities

The history of American universities went along with the development of American society (Rudolph, 1965). In 1630, Harvard College was established, marking the beginning of American higher education. By the War of Independence, there were nine colleges, eight of which were denominational institutions, taking after the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. After 1862, government policies led to the development of land grant institutions specializing in applied sciences and technical studies. In 1876, John Hopkins University was founded on the model of the University of Berlin in Germany, initiating graduate studies in American higher education. At the turn of the century, community colleges became a new phenomenon, signalling the beginning of mass higher education. After World War II, higher education faced an increasing range of demands from society, and thus the multiversity came into being, based on state universities such as the
University of Wisconsin, one of the original Land Grant institutions. Like the medieval European universities and the 19th century Germany universities in the history of higher education, American multiversities turned out to be a new model of university organization.

An amendment of the first constitution in 1791 determined that education was a responsibility of the states. The state government has direct administrative powers in management and finance. With regard to control, there are mainly three kinds of institutions of higher education: state universities, independent private universities, and church related universities. The degree of independence and self-government depends on their status in relation to the government and church. Internal governance is characterized by cooperation between the board of trustees and academics. The board is composed mainly of external members and its control over universities varies based on the types of control. The board usually controls finance and policies regarding the development and welfare of the institution, and the senate takes care of academic affairs such as student admission, curriculum, and hiring teachers. By representing the public interest in higher education, the board helps to protect the university against intemperate demands by political bodies or large donors, and it helps interpret to society the financial and spiritual needs of the university (Jones and Skolnik, 1995).

In American universities, university autonomy is characterized by collaboration

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19 A multiversity is a series of communities and activities held together by a common name, a common governing board, and related purposes, characterized by a mechanism held together by administrative rules and powered by money. It has the aims of teaching, research and service, a complex body of higher educational institutions with many forms and at many levels. Its forms include formal and non-formal education, part-time and full-time, adult education, vocational education, distance education; and its levels cover non-degree programs, the degree studies of the bachelors, masters, doctors, and post-doctoral education (Kerr, 1983).
between the board and the university community, represented by the president. The president is responsible to the board of trustees for internal governance. Several legislative bodies recommend and determine policies for operation, such as the senate, the staff council and the student council. They set policies in particular sectors, such as the library, admissions, scholarships, international activities, and curriculum. The state gives the faculty members full authority over the curriculum, the fixing of standards for student performance, graduation and other academic matters.

According to Berdahl and Millett (1991), the involvement of the federal government affected the autonomy of American universities in the 1980s and 1990s in the following areas: 1) the development of federal government programs, 2) an increasing requirement for student access, and 3) a commitment to equity, through constitutional provisions, executive orders, government rules and regulations, and court cases. Changes in the relationship between state governments and public universities have also affected university governance. Originally, there was a bilateral relationship between the state government and institutional boards of trustees, which allowed considerable freedom of action for universities. By the 1980s, most states had moved to replace this bilateral relationship with some type of formal state wide board of higher education. Through these state wide boards, universities are now dealt with on a multilateral basis, narrowing their former freedom of action. Thus, at the state level, public universities are subject to a variety of state controls over the founding, the role, the mission of universities, and such small matter as approval of claims for travel out of state. With the use of management information systems to deliver extensive data on institutional performance, the pressures of accountability have mounted ever higher. However, it should be recognized that the states
grant more autonomy to universities than they do to other public sector institutions.

The Value of University Autonomy

Despite differences over space and time, Britain, Canadian, and American universities have had certain common features: a common tradition derived from the Medieval European universities; academic freedom that is valued and recognized by members of universities and by people outside the university; and the establishment of professorial governance in teaching and research. In the light of these common features within Western culture, university autonomy is viewed as a cultural concept with certain common characteristics.

University autonomy in the West is built upon such legal concepts as the papal bull or charter, law, and constitutions. These instruments founded the university, determined its status and nature, gave it rights and privileges, and defined its constituencies. The university is defined as an independent corporation, able to own property, to sue and be sued, and to regulate its own affairs within the wide powers granted to it by the instruments of incorporation. It is assumed that university autonomy should be exercised within the legal framework of the state. People go to the charter or statutes for particulars about the allocation of powers and the responsibilities of the university. Autonomy is also subject to formal restraints imposed by legislation and informal restraints from various sources.

University autonomy is a natural consequence of institutional development, substantiated by such basic features as the guild, studium general, college, faculty, certificate, degree, and seal. These features differentiate the university from other
organizations, such as governments, hospitals and business companies in terms of specialization, social service, and goals (Birnbaum, 1988). Autonomy is rooted in the very structure of the university, which is an organization defending itself against external control and focusing on professional autonomy. "The higher the social insulation of professional organizations, the higher the professional autonomy within them" (Levy, 1980:5). In relation to governance, autonomy takes the form of academic governance, with a particular emphasis on the university's concern with the decision making process, including academic and faculty affairs, students' affairs, business affairs, and external affairs (Millett, 1984:xiv).

If we view universities in relation to Western culture, we may find that autonomy is associated with urban Christian culture (Winchester, 1985). According to Winchester, universities have had two kinds of characteristics in relation to the Christian heritage: superficial institutional features such as the charter, the faculty, the college, and the curriculum; and essential features such as independence, interest in passing on knowledge, the role of a cultural centre, collection of books, and a concern for advancing knowledge. These features remain in Western universities today.

In my understanding, the value of university autonomy is seen in the group spirit, the organizational spirit, and the individual spirit. Early universities in the West were first a group of academicians with a common purpose and interests. The group spirit made it possible for all members to unite as one person for the collective interest. The organizational spirit is reflected in discipline and order in organizational activities and individuals' behaviour. This is especially revealed in the protection of the law. University autonomy is exercised within an organization which has a charter, defined members, goals,
and activities. The charter describes rights and responsibilities of the university. It is an agreement between the university and external authorities. Members of the university obey the rules, participate in the decision-making process, and negotiate their wishes one by one. They keep the organization intact in order to maintain the practice of the university. This organizational spirit resulted in a continuity of Western universities from the Middle Ages to the present. The individual spirit is reflected in the fact that each in the group has a say in the decisions over internal matters. This is the core value of autonomy in the West. Autonomy is the exercise of powers and rights by a professional group, but its purpose and interest are located in the individual. Autonomy is thus a sum of individual freedoms, recognizing values of the individual's independent thinking and freedom of discourse. In the university, autonomy is associated, especially, with academic freedom.

Summary

In this chapter, I described the nature of university autonomy, the practice of autonomy in selected countries, and common values of university autonomy in the West. University autonomy has been a belief, a fact, and a necessary condition for universities to keep their ideals alive and to function in society since the Medieval period.

At the heart of university autonomy in the West is the control of university scholars, especially teachers over academic affairs. It is the political power of university academics protecting their own interest and rights in face of the government. University autonomy is encouraged not only for the sake of protecting academic freedom but also for its status values—universities as corporations and university professors as an authoritative interest group. Thus, it has become explicit. It is linked to the historical experience of Medieval
Europe and been consolidated by modern thought. Although universities in the U.K., Canada, and the United States have developed their own characteristics, the ideal of university autonomy links them to the Western intellectual tradition.
CHAPTER FIVE: HISTORICAL ROOTS OF UNIVERSITY AUTONOMY IN CHINA

In the discussion of autonomy in Chapter Four, we can see that there is a Western model of university autonomy: scholars’ control of academic matters through professional organizations and democratic procedures. Its intellectual roots are linked to Western thought, professional practice, and university experience over history in the Western context. Does China have an intellectual tradition related to autonomy? How much does China share, in its historical experience, a concept of university autonomy with the West? Was the Western model of autonomy applied to China? In this chapter, I will go over the history of Chinese higher education to examine how these questions can be understood and to look for the intellectual foundation of autonomy as practised now.

Higher education in China existed for more than two thousand years. I will examine higher education institutions roughly through the following three periods: the dynastic period from the Qin dynasty (230 BC) to the end of Qing Dynasty (1911), the republican period (1911-1949), the socialist period (1949-1978). In each period, patterns of higher education and the governance of higher education are the two main topics of concern.

Chinese Higher Education Institutions in the Dynastic Period (Before 1911)

Patterns of Higher Education

In the dynastic period, China had two levels of education: primary and higher education. While primary education focused on literacy and common knowledge, higher education led students to specialized knowledge of the classics and skills for governing the state. There was a national system of higher education, which shaped the entire national
life and the course of Chinese history (Galt, 1951).

The theoretical foundation of higher education was Confucianism. According to Confucius, the value of education was not fully realized until it had an impact on human government leading to the establishment of a harmonious social order. The connection between education and the state was reflected in the Record of Studies (Xueji) as follows:

The emperor must start with education if he wants to change the people's habit with the established norms... A piece of jade cannot become jewellery if it is not carved and polished by the craftsman. It is the same for the people. They cannot know truth if they do not study. When emperors in the ancient times established their states, they would educate nobles and people first... The tao of the great learning is to transform one so that his close friends will follow him and those who are not his friends will respect him. (Gu, 1993, 3:47).

In the light of Confucianism, higher education was linked to traditional academic values in relation to state administration. One product of this link was the imperial examination system, which began in the Sui Dynasty (581-618) with the establishment of the "department of advanced scholars" (jinshike), developed into its mature form in the Tang Dynasty (618-907), and lasted until 1905. In the Ming and Qing dynasties (1368-1911), the imperial examination system took the form of formal examinations at provincial (xiangshi), metropolitan (huishi), and palace (dianshi) levels. After passing the provincial examination, one was granted the title of "promoted person" (juren), and qualified for the metropolitan examination. If one succeeded in the metropolitan examination, he would be granted the title of "recommended scholar" (gongshi), able to attend the palace examination, over which the emperor presided. At the palace level, successful candidates were granted the title of "advanced scholar" (jinshi). The titles of "promoted person" at the provincial level, "recommended scholar" at the national level, and "advanced scholar" at the palace level can be regarded as parallel to the degrees of the bachelor, the master, and
the doctor in Western universities. However, the impact of these titles on students and their families was very different in China from that in the West. The titles not only qualified Chinese scholars for official positions but also gave privileges to their families (Ho 1962, Liu 1981).

The other product of this link was the national system of higher education which was composed of official and non-official institutions. Official institutions covered the whole country geographically and were integrated with the examination system (Hu, 1984). Galt (1951) described traditional higher education institutions with their beginning in the Western Han Dynasty (206 BC-25 AD). In 124 BC, the emperor established the Central College (taixue), the highest level of learning, by appointing five teachers and fifty students. During the Sui Dynasty (581-618), the Central University (guozijian) was established not only as the highest level of learning but also as the highest body of education administration. As a teaching institution, the Central University had several colleges including the college for sons of the state (guozixue), the central college (taixue), four studies of Confucianism, history, metaphysics, and literature (simenxue), language (shuxue), and mathematics (suanxue). As an administrative body, it was responsible for inspection and academic standards in official schools at the provincial, prefectural, and county levels. In the Ming Dynasty (1378-1644), the national higher education system was composed of the Central University in the capital and more than one thousand institutes in

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30 Dong Zhongshu, a Confucianist, proposed to Emperor Wu to establish Confucianism as the national ideology and build official schools to educate the sons of nobles and officials. He said: To establish a good government, it is very important to get scholars (shi), however, it is even more important to establish a central college (taixue) to prepare scholars needed. The central college is the guardian and source of virtuous scholars... I, the subject, suggest that your majesty establish the central college and invite most famous teachers to teach scholars in the kingdom. Through testing all kinds of ability of these scholars with numerous questions, you will get the best scholars without any difficulty (Xiong, 1983:89).
provincial, prefectural, and county areas, with more than four thousand teacher-officials (Xiong, 1983:251). Local institutes had fewer differences in their academic studies than their official status in the bureaucratic system. In fact, they were not real schools as we have today. Before entering these schools, students had to pass the preliminary test for the civil service examinations. In the Central University, many students had already got the traditional academic title of "promoted person," the second level of higher education.21 Thus, the training objectives of these schools were not necessarily to teach students more but to cultivate their minds and to provide them a place to pursue further studies toward officialdom. Financially, the government supported students (Dardess, 1983).

Parallel to the official institutions were private institutions of higher learning such as the shuyuan (academies). From Sheng Langxi (1934) and Meskill (1982), we came to know that these academies were not a part of the bureaucratic system and their teachers were not officials of the government. The academy started from the official library in the late Tang Dynasty (618-907) and developed into a teaching and research institution in the Song (960-1279). In the Song Dynasty, there were 173 academies, of which four were most famous: the Bailudong (the cave of the white deer), Yingtianfu (response to the sky), Yuelu (the foot of the high mountain), and Shigu (the stone drum).22 Private individuals and groups founded these academies, but they also got support from the local government mainly through grants of land.

21 In the Song Dynasty, most students came from the entrance examinations. The candidates came from families of governmental officials and from families other than officials but with excellent academic achievements, students who were promoted from the provincial institute, and students who had failed in the metropolitan examination. See Wang, 1965.

22 There were historical debates about what the four famous shuyuan were. In all, there were six best known shuyuan at the time. See more in Sheng, 1934, p. 18.
In the Qing Dynasty, the imperial government required that every province establish an official academy. However, a large number of academies still remained private by nature. The aim of the academies varied, but the main focus was on the advancement of knowledge. The academies contributed greatly to knowledge in terms of scholarship on Neo-Confucianism, the conference system (jianghui), self-study methods, and research. Most significant of all, academies developed intellectuals' ability to represent public opinion and criticise government policies. Despite the fact that the academies had more freedom than the official institutions in managing their own affairs, they still had a strong connection with the government in various ways such as preparatory for civil service examinations, ceremonies, and social life (Sheng, 1934).

These two kinds of higher learning institutions constituted the basic structure of the national school system in pre-modern China. These institutions and the civil service examination system had a profound influence on national politics. The most important aspect was the creation of a contingent of intellectuals at various levels: scholar-officials in the government, teachers and students in both official and non-official institutions, and gentry in broad areas of society. These intellectuals did not identify themselves with a particular institution, but rather with the whole system of education and the state. Their connection to the national system is the key to understanding the continuity of Chinese higher education through the dynastic period. If we apply the word autonomy to this period, it was an administrative power of intellectuals as a collective group within the national educational system to build a national system of education in order to guard the state. Intellectuals became a privileged and powerful class which were dominant in imperial politics and in the whole society.
Governance of Higher Education

The governance of higher education was characterized by three levels of leadership: the emperor, the Board of the Rites (libu), and the Central University (guozijian). We can trace the royal involvement in higher education back to the Western Zhou and it remained up to the Qing dynasty (Huang, 1902:303, 8147). The involvement of the emperor in higher education governance was direct and influential, including the founding of new schools, enacting decrees regarding higher education, inspecting the Central University, presiding over the highest level of the imperial examinations, giving lectures in the Central University, and approving recommendations about development and changes in higher education.

The Board of the Rites was one of the functional departments of the imperial government and it administered schools, imperial examinations, rites, and other educational and cultural matters. The Board had a minister (shangshu), a deputy minister (shilang), and two senior officials (yizhizhong and yuanwailang). In the Qing dynasty, the official rank of the minister was level one minus, the deputy minister was level two, and the director of the department of the policy was level five.23

The Central University had an administrative function. As mentioned before, it administered several schools of its own and the official schools at the provincial, prefectural, and county levels. The Central University had a president, a vice-president, and a dean of studies. In the Qing, the rank of the president was level four minus, the

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23 his was the personnel system in the Qing. The ranks varied in different dynasties. See Xue, 1939, pp. 14-15.
vice-president level six, the dean of studies level seven, and the registrar level eight minus. They made school regulations, conducted teaching, kept students’ files, and sent inspectors to provincial, prefectural, and county schools.

On internal governance, official and non-official institutions varied. In the official institutions, the government determined whether and where to build them according to its needs and administrative divisions. By contrast, the decision to build a non-official institution was individual. For instance, the Yingtian shuyuan, one of the four famous shuyuan in the Song, used to be a scholar’s study. It attracted many students later and was expanded into an academy (Sheng, 1934). Many academies were located away from cities, in mountains or along river sides, where there was cultural wealth and natural beauty.

As for the appointment of administrators and teachers, the central government controlled the official institutions. The Board of the Rites tested the qualifications of candidates, and the Board of Personnel kept the files of those who were qualified and processed recruitment. There were several ways of recruitment, including recommendations by senior officials, selection by the emperor, appointment by the government through imperial examinations, and promotion from students in the provincial, prefectural, and county schools. Most teacher-officials in the Ming and after were appointed through this process. The non-official academies had more freedom to choose their teachers than official institutions, although the government still had some influence (Sheng, 1934).

Regarding admission, the official institutions took students according to the quota

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24 The state ranking system arranged leadership in the Chinese traditional system. It was a pyramid system, created in the Han Dynasty and modified in succeeding dynasties. There were nine levels in the system. At every level, there was also an associate level. Level 1 was the highest, while level nine minus the lowest. See Jiang, 1987, pp. 802, 866-868.
issued by the central government every year. There were strict rules for admission relating to students’ family status, academic performance, and moral qualities. Non-official institutions did not have this limitation and their student numbers were determined by individual teachers. Some teachers might select students according to certain qualities, but most teachers did not. Some teachers depended on teaching for a living while others saw their teaching as a kind of religious belief and they loved to have as many students as possible (Zhang, 1981).

Zhang described that Li Yong (Li Erqu) was a famous scholar in the early Qing Dynasty and that he selected his students according to their moral qualities. Zhang observed:

Many scholars came to Li Yong when he moved to Fuping in his later life. Some scholars were so talented that their homes were full of books. However, Master Li would not take them as his students...He would observe these scholars carefully and only take those with moral qualities as his students. (1981:19-20).

As well, students had a chance to choose their teachers. Zhang noted:

...in the academy, the situation is different. Students can choose their teacher while the teacher can also select their students. Some famous masters opened their door to accept disciples or taught in the academy which was established by their followers. Students came to the masters at will. Some came from the local area, others from remote places. There was no limitation. Besides, students could change their mind and switch to another master (1981:18).

A characteristic of traditional higher education institutions was that by using administrative involvement, the state promoted a particular school of learning over others.

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There was a limitation on the number at the Central College. Provincial schools and below could send students to the Central College according to a quota. In 1646, the Qing government announced that the provincial school could send one scholar in a year, the prefectural school two scholars every three years, and the county school one scholar every two years. See Gu, 1993, p.1413.
This particular learning was Confucianism, which had dominated the higher education curriculum for over two thousand years. The curriculum of the official institutions was made up of the classic texts and classics of Confucianism. Gradually, some other subjects such as maths, law, language, and medicine were added in, but the Confucian canons were regarded as the only entrance to officialdom. In the Ming and the Qing dynasties, the imperial examinations became totally dominant in school education, and the school had to take what was tested in the examinations as the core curriculum. Only the non-official institutions had some more choice in what they taught and how they taught (Elman, 1994).

The Republican Period (1911-1949)

Patterns of Higher Education

The first Sino-British War broke out in 1840, marking the beginning of the modern age in China. The following years saw dramatic social changes accompanied by the loss of China’s sovereignty and the rise of Western influence in China. A group of scholar-officials put forward the idea of learning from the West and developing Western style education to educate the people and strengthen the country. Zhang Zhidong, a leading scholar official, put forward the idea of "Chinese learning as essence and Western learning for its usefulness," which shaped Chinese higher education throughout the 19th century (1962). He defined Chinese learning as the four books, five canons of the classics, Chinese history, politics, and maps, and Western learning as Western politics, science and technology, and history.\footnote{Zhang Henjia, the general superintendent of the National}
University of Beijing, explained why China had to take up this principle in the following words:

Now foreign influences are very strong. To resist them, we must educate our people to work out a better government and country. We must cultivate self-esteem and independence. We must evaluate our history and promote love and respect for the emperor and parents. We learn from Europe and America for their wisdom, but we can gain virtue only from Confucianism. Our teaching principle is to learn positive things from others, discard our shortcomings, correct our mistakes, and keep what is good in our tradition." (Zhu, 1985,2(1)-a:840-841).

The idea of Chinese learning as essence and Western learning for its usefulness became a central theme in Chinese higher education development in this century. The main purpose was to keep the traditional approach to knowledge through a kind of collective knowing that had been used for thousands of years. One application of this idea was the increase in the government's role in higher education. With the leadership of some senior scholar-officials, men such as Li Hongzhang, Zuo Zongtang and Zhang Zhidong, the government established three kinds of modern schools: institutions of language study, military training, and engineering, to prepare personnel in translation and interpretation, military leadership, and applied science and technology (Biggerstaff, 1961). At the turn of the century, Western style of universities and colleges emerged. By the first decade of this century, there were 128 higher education institutions including three universities: Tianjin Sino-West College (Tianjin zhong xi xuetang, 1895), the Shanghai Public College (Shanghai nanyang gongxue, 1896), and the National University of Beijing (Jingshi daxuetang, 1898). This had laid down a good foundation for higher education in the modern period.

was Zhang Zhidong who developed a complete theory of "Chinese learning as essence and Western learning for its usefulness" and implemented this thought in practice through the political power which he wielded. See Yu, in Gu, 1993 (4), pp. 1778-1782.
From 1911 to 1927,\footnote{The Revolution took place in 1911, ending the last dynasty and making possible the establishment of the first republican government. But, China encountered political instability due to internal wars among warlords and struggles between revolutionary and restorationist forces. On April 18, 1927, the Nationalist Party (\textit{guomintang}) established the government in Nanjing, Jiangsu Province. In February of 1928, four parties of warlords—Jiang, Yan, Feng, Gui—allied to fight together against Zhang Zoulin, warlord in the Northeast provinces. In June 1928, Zhang's troops withdrew to the Northeast. On the way, Zhang was killed by Japanese bombs. In December of 1929, Zhang Xueliang, Zhang's son, announced that he would come over and give allegiance to leadership of the nationalist government, and China was thereafter united again under the nationalist government.} the government made great effort to develop the educational system. Within this short period, the educational system changed twice, once in 1912, and the other time in 1922. Drawing upon Japanese educational experience, the 1912 educational system (renzhi guichou xuezhi) determined that higher education would last for seven to eight years, including three years of preparatory education. The University Act (daxue ling) (1912) promulgated the aim of the university as "teaching high levels of learning and cultivating talent with general knowledge for the needs of the state." In 1922, the government changed the educational system to follow the American pattern. The length of study in higher education was reduced to three to six years (three years for higher specialized school, four to six years for the university) and two to four years for graduate education. Some important changes included the promotion of applied knowledge in higher education, the development of a single-subject university,\footnote{It was required in the 1904 higher education regulation that a national university had to have seven subjects and a provincial university three subjects.} the establishment of a three level internal administrative structure (university, college, and department), and the adoption of the elective course system (Xiong, 1983).

In the period from 1927 to 1949, the nationalist government established a national system which was composed of universities, independent colleges, and higher specialized
schools in public and private sectors. By the time of the second educational statistic yearbook (1947) put out by the nationalist government, there were 207 higher education institutions including 74 national, 54 provincial, and 79 private ones. There was a total of 20,133 faculty members and 155,036 students (Di er ci zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian 1948).

There were two kinds of institutions in the public sector: national institutions which were administered and funded by the central government, and local institutions which were administered and funded by the provincial and municipal governments. National institutions included universities, independent colleges, and high level professional training institutes. The universities represented the highest level of scholarship, with highest prestige and social status. There were not only national prestigious universities such as Beijing University (1898) and Qinghua University (1926), but also regional universities such as Sichuan University (1902). Local economic development and civil conditions very much influenced local public institutions. Before 1935, chaos and war were one of the main factors affecting the development of higher education in many provinces. When compared with national institutions, provincial and municipal institutions were less developed.

Private institutions were composed of religious institutions and independent institutions. The religious institutions were founded and continued to be funded by churches in America, Canada, and Europe. They were among the earliest higher education institutions and became integrated into the national education system after 1927, although they continued to be funded by churches (Fenn, 1976:242). The independent institutions were funded by individuals, associations, or social groups. These institutions flourished in this period, and a few of them had won national reputations, such as Nankai University for its focus on economic and social sciences and the Chinese Public University for its
revolutionary spirit.

Both public and private institutions of higher education were based on the Western model, with the following features: three levels of degree within higher education, graduate, undergraduate, and higher professional school, with degrees of bachelor, master, and doctorate; multiple subjects in the university; the council system with the domination of professors and their representatives, and the president, as head; the credit system and elective course programs; specialization with an emphasis on science and technology; classroom instruction; expanding facilities as a base for the university, such as labs, a library, and school buildings. The goal of education was changed from preparing personnel for officialdom to preparing personnel with practical skills for the wider needs of society.

Consequently, these institutions transformed the Chinese intellectual community. University teachers became a professional group that took leadership in the development of knowledge. Chinese intellectuals were no longer defined only by their performance in civil service examinations, but by their academic studies in these various kinds of Western style universities and colleges. According to Chesneaux (1979), there were three kinds of intellectuals: those among whom the traditional culture was very much alive, those most influenced by the West, and those who were revolutionary. By comparison to higher education institutions in the traditional period, higher education institutions in this period were not so closely linked to the bureaucratic system institutionally as they had been, even though the national government still assumed the responsibility for higher education.

Governance of Higher Education

The governance of higher education reflected an institutional strengthening of the
Ministry of Education within the government over time and the influence of the political parties in higher education. The most important change was the establishment of the Board of Education in 1905, which took over the role of higher education administration from the National University. After the 1911 revolution, the Board of Education was changed into a Ministry of Education. The minister was directly responsible to the president of the state and became a member of the cabinet. The Ministry of Education had four bureaus—general affairs, school education, special education, socialist education. The specialist education bureau administered higher education affairs including establishing new universities and colleges, degree granting, professorial titles, and doctoral councils (Xue, 1939:109,115).

After 1927, a department of higher education was established within the Ministry of Education to deal with higher education issues in particular. At the provincial level, the education bureau began to deal with higher education institutions in local areas. There was a clear separation between the government and teachers in official institutions. Teachers became an independent professional group, parallel to government officials. With the development of the modern curriculum, government officials were no longer experts in higher education subjects and the teachers' authority over modern knowledge became established.

Political parties began to wield influence in universities in the middle 1920s, with a special interest in students. Their involvement in higher education was seen in the attempt to create a new relationship between the government and universities, especially for the party in power. The Guomintang or Nationalist Party became involved in higher education when it gained political power. Although it established a few partisan institutions such as Zhongshan University (Zhongshan daxue) and the Central Politics University (Zhongyang
zhengzhi daxue) (Yeh, 1990), the Nationalist Party did not have a direct control over universities and colleges before 1949. The Nationalist Party had to influence higher education mainly through government policies, which were reflected in educational aims based on the Three People's Principles, the introduction of courses about the history of the Nationalist Party, the campus inspector system, and efforts to develop party membership on campus.

In this period, the value of university autonomy in the West began to be transferred to Chinese universities (Hayhoe, 1996). However, it was redefined within the Chinese political, social, and cultural context in relation to the imperialism of Japan and the West. There were three layers to the meaning of autonomy in Chinese universities in relation to university governance. The first layer was not limited to the relationship between the university and Chinese government. It revealed a contradiction between China as a semi-colonial country and imperial forces. University autonomy became an international concept going beyond the relationship between Chinese universities and their government. University autonomy referred to the freedom and independence of Chinese universities in face of imperialism. Some foreign governments in the Late Qing frequently interfered with

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29 The Three People's Principle included nationalism (minzu zhuyi), the people's rights (minquan zhuyi), and the people's life (minsheng zhuyi). It was put forward by Sun Zhongshan, the founder of the Nationalist Party (guomintang).

30 The Party's involvement in higher education reflected a continuity with traditional values of the combination of scholarship and state administration. An attempt to combine Chinese and Western higher educational values can be seen in the aim of education as completing the people's life, assisting social existence, developing the people's living conditions and continuing the nation's life, in order to realize the independence of the nation, to promote the people's rights, and improve people's lives. This aim was laid out in the 1931 constitution, in the 1936 constitution and in the 1948 Constitution. Within this framework, higher education was to focus on applied sciences and substantiate subjects to cultivate personnel with specialized knowledge and well-developed personality to serve the state and society. It was consolidated by the three acts issued by the nationalist government: the University Organization Act (1929), the University Curriculum (1929) and the University Law (1948). See Gu, 1993, (4), p. 2160.
hiring issues in the National University of Beijing. Freyn (1940) pointed out that one of the reasons why the Japanese bombed Nankai in the beginning of the war was that they wanted to attack Chinese intellectuals, whom they saw as frustrating their hopes of seizing the right to administer Chinese territory. Two years after the anti-Japanese war broke out, 77 of the 108 higher education institutions migrated from Japanese occupied areas to Sichuan and Yunnan provinces at their own volition.

The second layer of meaning was regarding the relationship between higher education institutions and the government within the Chinese context, reflecting coalition and conflicts between the government and intellectuals. The main issue was whether higher education was meant to serve the interests of the established order or to spearhead radical changes in society. Yeh (1990) pointed out that before 1927, universities and colleges developed in a laissez-faire environment. The central government could not control the situation because of the chaos caused by conflict among warlords. The value of Western concept of university autonomy began to be adapted by Chinese intellectuals to deal with political and social changes.

Cai Yuanpei (1868-1940) was one of the first important figures to advocate the

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31 On August 10, 1898, the Italian Embassy presented a memorandum to the premier's office requiring that the National University of Beijing establish the department of Italian language and hire Italian teachers. On September 16, the Italian Ambassador sent another memorandum requiring this to be done. At the same time, the German ambassador also asked the university to hire a certain number of German teachers. On August 28, 1898, the president of the National University of Beijing replied to all these inquiries that the running of the university was an internal affair of China and the German and Italian ministers should not interfere with it. See Zhu, 1986, (2), 1, pp.678-683.

32 Chinese higher education institutions in the pre-modern period aimed at improving the established system rather than making changes in society. In the modern period, Western ideas of science and democracy were introduced into China and consequently influenced the goal of higher education.
independence of education from the control of religion and politics. In January 1912, Cai was appointed as the Minister of Education of the Republic. In February of 1912, he published the article "On Educational Principles," expressing his ideas of education in a complete way. He said that the aim of education should be to cultivate students' personality. Education for this purpose must consist of military education, pragmatic education, moral education, education for a world view, and aesthetic education. To him, military education and pragmatic education were urgent tasks for China to develop, moral education was the centre and world view education the end, while aesthetic education was a bridge among them (William 1977, Qian 1989). In order to carry out this idea, Cai advocated that education should be independent of politics and religion and have its own independent funds, administration, ideas, and content. In his position as Minister of Education, he led a radical change in the educational system, denouncing the old educational system with its focus on being loyal to the monarchy, worshipping Confucianism, and studying classics in all schools (Duiker, 1977). In 1927, he planned to establish a national education council which would separate higher education from governmental control so that academics could govern education independently. However, this plan ended after a year experiment (Linden, 1968).

The third layer of autonomy can be viewed from the operational settings of the university. Here the theme focused on academic freedom and the freedom of the university as a collective group to create its own agenda and exercise professorial governance according to its own agenda. University autonomy developed into a model with two focuses: professorial governance and the council system. Professorial governance with the president as the representative of faculty members, meant the centralization of executive
powers in the president, and the wide participation of professors in decision-making in academic affairs through the council system. This model was based on Cai’s ideal of the university and academic freedom, which was most influenced by German universities, and on his reforms in Beijing University after 1917. It had a great influence on Chinese universities in the nationalist period. According to Gao (1980), Cai set the aim of the university as "a place to pursue higher learning." He encouraged academic freedom, ideological freedom, and science and democracy on campus. He hired professors based on their academic achievements regardless of their political and ideological viewpoints, so that the university was able to develop a contingent of teachers who were the best in the field and devoted themselves to scholarship. In the curriculum, Cai restructured the departments and replaced the study year system with the elective course and credit system. He also required faculty members to improve their lecture content, and teaching methods, and asked them to reduce students’ study loads. He urged the university to develop the lecture system, establish research institutes and a good library, and encouraged students’ autonomous organizations and their participation in research activities and running journals. In management, Cai set up the university council as the highest decision-making body. The council was formed by the president, chairs of the college and departments, and professors. The council made all regulations and acts, determined the establishment of subjects, examined the faculty’s professorial titles and students’ academic records, and controlled the budget. During Cai’s period of office, the university council proved "the Organization Act of the Association of Professors in Universities and Colleges" and "the
Internal Organization Act. All these managerial reforms enabled the university to establish mechanisms of democracy, which gave it continuity over time and made it an influential model.

While all universities and colleges were subject to the leadership of the central government, institutions under different levels of control had different degrees and forms of autonomy. National institutions enjoyed some autonomy within the framework of governmental jurisdiction. Those institutions of high prestige and national status, enjoyed a greater degree of autonomy in an implicit way. University teachers' authority had been established. The substance of autonomy included control over the design of programs, courses, and research planning; the selection and writing of texts, the conducting of classroom instruction, the arrangement of time tables, the determination of teaching standards, contents, methods, and the evaluation of admissions, graduations, and degrees, the distribution of research results, the examination of qualifications for degrees and professorial titles, and the qualification of faculty members. Liao Fengde (1994) described how the Southwest Union University (a combination of Beijing University, Qinghua University, and Nankai University during the war with Japan) dealt with orders of the

33 In December, 1917, the council passed "the Organization Act of the Association of Professors in Universities and Colleges". And in December, 1919, the council passed "the Internal Organization Act". These acts established the internal governance structure. These two acts stipulated four functional structures within the university: 1) the university council as the highest judicial body to make laws; 2) the administrative committee as the executive body with the president as head and professors as members; 3) the office of academic affairs, and the association of professors in the department and college, the committee in the preparatory school, and research institutes, to take charge of academic affairs; 4) the office of general affairs to manage personnel and general affairs. See Gao, 1980.

34 During the anti-Japanese war, these three universities moved to the south. They established a temporarily joint campus in Kunming, Yunnan Province, named "Southwest Union University" (Xinan lianda). After the war, the university was dispersed and the three universities moved back.
central government in Chongqing in their own way. He commented on the university's freedom to choose government policies according to their own needs rather than to follow bureaucratic orders. He commented that the officials in the Ministry of Education discovered that they could not give orders to professors in this prestigious university. With regard to such government policies as a unified university curriculum, the registration of professors, unified examinations, and teaching of the three people's principles, the university either ignored them, or adapted them to its own needs.

Private universities and colleges enjoyed a kind of group autonomy within China in relation to the authority of the Chinese government at central, provincial, and municipal levels. Fenn (1976) noted that before the late 1920s, the religious institutions enjoyed some autonomy, reflected in the fact that they were founded by missionaries and protected by foreign governments, chartered in foreign lands, and largely staffed and administered by foreigners. Things changed in the late 1920s during the movement for nationalism. The demand to have Chinese teachers and administrators in religious institutions was strong. Together with the government's increasing control, religious institutions began to lose the privileges of protection by imperialist powers, although financially they remained dependent on their foreign sources of funding. The Chinese government's control over higher education institutions increased and religious institutions were required to adopt regular national ceremonies, courses on nationalist party theories, military training, and the supervision of dormitory life. Although the first two did not gain much attention, the last two limited the freedom of thought in their institutions.

The restraints on religious universities were set within the framework of governmental policy concerning educational sovereignty and religious belief. Religious universities were
required to register with the government, and subject to government supervision under the 1929 University Organization Act. The government banned the teaching of ecclesiastical beliefs in the classroom and prohibited the disseminating of Christian beliefs through higher education.\textsuperscript{35}

Independent private institutions were governed by charters. Taking the charter of Nankai University as an example. There was to be a board of trustees to make policies which included the appointment of the president, accumulating funds, approving the budget and expenses, and approving amendments to the charter. The president was in charge of all administrative affairs, together with a few vice presidents and their assistants. The university also set up the senate, which was formed by administrators at the university and college levels. The senate had rights and duties to do the following things: discuss university policies and principles, design internal organizations, allocate funds according to budget and income; change or cancel the charter; receive and discuss all suggestions, discuss all events that happened in the university.

During this period, Chinese universities began to develop their own institutional histories, and university professors became an independent professional group, which was

\textsuperscript{35} In 1929, the Ministry of Education issued the Regulations on Education Run by Religious Organizations. It said:

There are two categories of education run by religious organizations in China. One is to prepare talents through donating funds and establishing schools; the other is to study and pass religious thought through running societies and associations... The Ministry of Education rules: 1) Those institutions of education within the educational system founded and maintained by religious organizations should abide by the government regulation regarding private institutions... 2) The institutions established for the purpose of disseminating religious beliefs are not allowed to use the names of institutions of education in the educational system. 3) The institution established by religious organizations for the purpose of studying religious scholarship must follow the government regulation of associations.

And in 1934, the government issued another act to increase restraints on religious organizations in schools. See Gu, 1993, (4), pp. 2409-2410.
identified with the particular institution in which they were working.

The Socialist Period (1949-1978)

Patterns of Higher Education

In 1949, the People's Republic of China was established under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. From 1949 to 1978, China had several historical phases: the transition period (1949-52), the construction period (1952-57), the Great Leap Forward or development period (1958-60), the retrenchment period (1961-1966), and the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) (Liu, 1991:1-88). This whole period saw the development of a highly centralized political and economic system under the Chinese Communist Party.

Within the socialist political and economic system, Chinese higher education became highly centralized, assuming the function of serving socialism. The system was modeled after Soviet patterns, yet, these patterns also revived elements of traditional experience. As a result, the institutional histories of particular Chinese universities and colleges were assimilated into the national history of higher education.

The aims of higher education were to serve socialism. At the First National Conference on Education in 1950, Qian Junrui, the deputy minister, said that education in socialist China was a new democratic education. Its main tasks were to increase the cultural level of the people, to prepare personnel for economic development, to clear away feudalist, bureaucratic, and fascist ideas, and to develop the spirit of serving the people. This education was to be a nationalist, scientific, and mass education. Through the method of integrating theory and practice, education was to serve the revolution and economic development. Qian also discussed the choice of the Chinese government in establishing a
new education system following the example of Soviet education (Guojia jiaowei chengren jiaoyusi, 1994:3). Higher education institutions aimed at fostering personnel of a high level who had a knowledge of culture, modern science, and technology, and who wished to serve the people whole-heartedly.36

To realize this aim, the Chinese government started to transform the control of universities and colleges by taking over all private institutions, including over twenty universities and colleges funded by the churches (Fenn 1976). In 1952, the government began to reorganize the higher education system which had been established and developed under the Nationalist regime. It was composed of universities, colleges, and higher specialized schools in general. The Communist government held that this system could not meet the needs of socialism.

By 1957, the reorganization brought China a new type of higher education system that reflected political and economic needs at the national, sectorial, and provincial levels. There were 11 types of higher institution, based on subject matter: comprehensive, engineering, teacher training, agriculture, forestry, medicine, finance, law and political sciences, music, fine arts, and sports. A system of specialities was introduced, setting up the foundation of the curriculum of Chinese higher institutions. In 1953, the government approved 215, and in 1957, 323, which included arts (26), sciences (21), engineering (183), agriculture (18), forestry (9), medicine (7), teacher training (21), finance (12),

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36 See "Temporary Regulations regarding Higher Education Institutions" (Gaodeng xuexiao zhanxing guiding) issued by the Ministry of Education in 1950. In 1958, under the guidance of the Party's general line—"to build socialism with greater, faster, better, more economic results," the central government and the central committee of the CCP issued a joint directive requiring that education serve politics and be integrated with productive labour. Students must develop morally, intellectually, and physically and become workers with scientific and technological knowledge and socialist consciousness. See Chen, 1989, p. 104.
political sciences (2), sports (2), and fine arts (22) (Yang et al. 1985). Through this structure, the curriculum of higher education was linked to the practical needs of society for specialists and developed in the direction of specialization.

Like the former higher education system under the nationalist regime, the socialist higher education system included universities, specialized colleges, and higher specialized schools, with an orderly structure: university level (offering four to five undergraduate programs, including two kinds of institutions: university and college), and non-university level (offering two to three year undergraduate programs, including higher specialized and comprehensive schools). They had three levels: graduate, undergraduate, and short cycle undergraduate studies, but they offered no degrees. The study period was three to five years for undergraduate and two to five for graduate studies. Admission into higher education required graduation from secondary education or equivalent education. After the Great Leap Forward movement in 1958, Chinese universities and colleges expanded rapidly and their number reached 1289 in 1960, about five times more than that in 1957 (229). Then, they dropped down to 407 in the next two years (Liu, 1991: 189). In 1961, the Ministry of Education issued a new policy document, the 60 Articles of Higher Education. It required that the development of higher education keep pace with economic development and promulgated a series of regulations for higher education governance.

Governance of Higher Education

The governance of socialist higher education reflected a principle of centralization and management at various levels. It was integrated into the national administrative system.
The Ministry of Higher Education, representing the government, exercised unified governance over all higher institutions in the country. Three types of higher education institutions were thus created in terms of their relationship to the governments at various levels: higher institutions administered by the Ministry of Education, higher institutions administered by central ministries and agencies, and higher institutions administered by provincial governments.

The status of each institution was associated with its place in the higher education system, reflected in the prestige, treatment, and funding it enjoyed. At the top were universities and colleges affiliated to the Ministry of Education; at the second level were those affiliated to the central ministries and agencies; and at the third level were those affiliated to the provincial government. They were all integrated into the state administration. The status of a university at the national level was equal to that of a province, and the status of a university at the provincial level to that of a prefecture. This status directly affected the rank of presidents of universities and colleges.

Within universities, the governance system was characterized by political leadership of the Party. Compared with the Nationalist Party before 1949, which was never able to

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37 The administration of higher education changed several times in this period. In 1952, the Ministry of Higher Education was established, and Ma Xulun was the minister. In 1958, the ministry was merged with the Ministry of Education, and Yang Xiufeng was appointed to be the minister. In 1963, the Ministry of Higher Education was again separated from the Ministry of Education. Yang Xiufeng was the minister. In 1966, the Ministry of Higher Education was combined again with the Ministry of Education. He Wei was appointed to be the minister. However, the ministry lost its control over education for the next eight and a half year. In 1970, the Office of Science and Education took the control of the education system, directed by Li Siguang. In 1975, the Ministry of Education was reestablished. Zhou Rongxin was appointed to be the Minister. See Yang et al., 1988.

38 China adopted four level of administrative divisions: national, provincial, prefecture, and county. After the Cultural revolution, theoretically, all universities and colleges were equal to the prefecture.
penetrate effectively into internal academic governance, the CCP gradually established its cells on campuses. On university campus, the CCP carried out the Party group system (dangzuzhi), whereby members of the Party committee implemented the state's educational principles and policy as administrators. In September of 1958, a directive regarding educational aims and principles issued by the central committee of the CCP and State council prescribed: "All schools should receive the leadership of the Party" (Li Lihua, 1989:162-b), and required higher education institutions to implement the university council system under the leadership of the Party committee. Under this system, the Party committee led the university council to carry out government policies. All important matters in each institution were to be discussed and passed by the university council first and then given to the president for implementation. The Party's leadership in universities and colleges was further strengthened by the directive "Temporary Working Regulations on the National Higher Institutions" (gaojiao liushi tiao) issued by the Ministry of Higher education in 1961.

The finance of higher education was the government's responsibility, which ensured a complete control of the government over universities. The funding provided to a university was the sum of the quota of all approved items multiplied by the appropriate number of personnel. The funds allocated through this formula consisted of two portions of expenditure. First, there was expenditure for faculty and staff which included basic salary, subsidies, and welfare. The funds were the sum of the average salary multiplied by the number of staff. Second, there were expenditures for students including office expenses, business expenses, the purchase of equipment, repairs, and stipends (scholarship and fellowships). In this portion, there was a quota of expenses for each item. The expenditure
for students was the sum of the quota multiplied by student numbers. However, the allocation was different, for undergraduate, graduate, and foreign students. Besides, the government set up special program funds such as subsidies for foreign experts, for research in national universities, and for doctoral programs. They provided special program funding annually (Wang & Zhou, 1991).

In the socialist regime, the institutional history was assimilated into the national history of higher education. University autonomy was defined within national politics and the economy. From a Western point view, there was no autonomy in this period because universities and colleges were in fact the agents of the government. However, in light of three layers of the meanings of university autonomy noted in the previous regime: educational sovereignty, the relationship between higher education and the government, and professorial governance, we must see them differently.

Considering university autonomy as a political notion linked to educational sovereignty, Chinese universities and colleges finally got away from any foreign control and became public institutions. In 1949, 21 private institutions were funded by foreign agencies, mainly churches. Although they had adapted to Chinese circumstance and finally were integrated into the Chinese higher education system under the Nationalist government (Fenn 1976), they were directly controlled by and financially dependent on the church. After 1949, conflicts between the USA and Communist China increased the government’s determination to take over the control of denominational institutions. In 1950, the central government informed all religious universities and colleges of its right to take control and announced that no new religious institutions were allowed to be established. In October, the government took over the control of Furen (the Catholic University of Beijing). When
the Korean War broke out in the end of 1950, the government decided to take over the control of all seventeen American religious institutions. In January of 1951, the Ministry of Education held a meeting on implementation of this policy. All institutions funded by foreign agencies were required to register with the government first. Then, the government took over the control of all American institutions and transformed them into private institutions run by Chinese and supported by the government or into public institutions. All staff were given the same treatment and allowed to continue. As this time, eleven institutions became public institutions including Yanjing University and Xiehe Medical School, and nine institutions became private institutions including St.John’s University. In 1953, all institutions were finally integrated into the public system. The end of religious higher education was regarded as an increase of autonomy for Chinese universities and colleges in the larger international context and in relation to imperialism. This is the first layer of meaning of university autonomy in the international context.

The second layer of meaning was regarding the relationship between the government and universities and colleges. Since the very idea of university autonomy was questioned by the CCP, complete independence of higher education was impossible when higher education institutions were part of the state administration system. Higher education no longer had a self-defined status. It was defined in relation to the social, economic, and political needs of the country. Socialist higher education institutions were public institutions under the leadership of the CCP. Universities and colleges were administrated separately by the Ministry of Education, central ministries and agencies, and provincial governments. These two kinds of relationship put universities and colleges in such a position that they had to operate within government policies at both levels. Their freedom and power were
derived from their relationship with the government, especially the central government. The closer a university was to the central government, the more freedom and power it had. The idea of "professorial governance" was still alive, however, it was transformed into an understanding of conformity to the state's needs.

The meaning of autonomy at the third layer related to operational settings within universities and colleges. It seemed that individual universities and colleges did not have much room to operate except in non-formal education. With regard to student admission, the government established a unified entrance examination for universities and colleges in 1952. The government set the admission quota. Universities could choose only those who passed the examinations. As for students' job placement, the universities and colleges could only dispatch students to positions which the government arranged. In the curriculum, the government required the removal of all old political courses, such as the three people's principles and the addition of new revolutionary courses such as the foundations of Marxism, Chinese Revolutionary history, political economy, and physical labour or practical work in factories and countryside. In personnel, the hiring in the university was totally controlled by the government through the state labour and cadre system. Academics were recruited mainly through the state's job placement plan.

Teachers and students increased greatly in this period. Teachers were integrated into

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39 Informal education was put into the higher education system in the late 1950s. Liu Shaoqi, the former president of the state, was the main promoter. He suggested developing higher education for adults through public organizations including the union, the women's federation, the Youth League, state-owned factories and companies, and local communities. Many universities and colleges also established correspondence courses and night schools. During the Cultural Revolution, the informal higher education system had rapid development. In 1981, the National Education Ministry issued the Act on Self-Study Examinations. The government ordered that all enterprises and state agencies recognize these diplomas and certificates in consideration of employment and promotion. By then, an informal higher education system was completely established parallel to the regular higher education institutions.
the state personnel system as state cadres. Their nationally defined status weakened their identity as a professional group. Therefore, it was hard for them to find a clear identity. Politically, they were classified as the petty bourgeois. But they could become a part of the working class if they continued thought reform and identified with the working class. The system in which they could find their identity was the personnel system or the cadre system which regulated all cadres.

Summary

In this chapter, I reviewed Chinese higher education in three historical stages: the dynastic, republican, and socialist. Following its intellectual tradition, which is characterized by a practical way of dealing with knowledge and reality, Chinese higher education institutions had formed a quite different experience over their long history from that of Western universities. Chinese higher education did not go beyond its own tradition although it borrowed Western experience widely. While its own tradition shaped its goals, which always ended in social implementation and development, its learning from the West created its modern structures and gave birth to new experiences.

In the dynastic period, higher education institutions originated in the government. Autonomy could be regarded as an administrative power shared between intellectuals and

40 According to Marxism, human beings are social beings, divided into various classes on the basis of economic income and material possessions. Mao Zedong adapted this theory to Chinese society and thought that one's economic conditions would determine one's political attitude toward revolution. He analyzed the structure of Chinese society in rural and urban areas separately and categorized people in the urban area into three main classes: bourgeois, petty bourgeois, and proletariat. Petty bourgeois could also be regarded as the middle class in China. Generally, they worked for the bourgeois class or the government, they had some properties, which could enable them to live a decent life on their income. The most important point from Mao's analysis was that they did not oppress other people. See Mao, 1968.
rulers. It was reflected in intellectuals’ collective authority over the state and the integration of higher education into the state administration. The notion of university autonomy became implicit because there was no group that could identify itself with a particular institution within the higher education system. What we have seen in this period was a group of intellectuals who shared powers with the emperor. They organized the government and formed schools, constituting government officials and school members. Within the bureaucratic system of the state, intellectuals enjoyed the right to regulate knowledge for the emperor. The close relationship between higher education and the government shaped the form of autonomy.

In the republican period, higher education was separated from the government. Higher education was no longer for the purpose of entering officialdom. A modern higher education system was established under the influences of foreign models. The American and French models had the most influence on Chinese higher education. China used American patterns to innovate and French patterns to keep some aspects of tradition. Still, there was a strong political mission for higher education in this period--higher education aimed at national development in order to get rid of poverty, backwardness, and imperialism. Consequently, political parties became involved in higher education (Israel 1966, Yeh 1990), a national ideology was inserted into higher education, and the government gradually established a national higher education system. The Western value of autonomy was introduced to China in a way, as the collective leadership of professors on campus was strengthened. University members formed into a professional group and began to identify themselves with their institutions. The development of faculty groups provided a basis for the Western idea of university autonomy to take root. However, due to the
national crises caused by China's political situation as a country without complete sovereignty, university autonomy remained very limited in this period.

In the socialist period, there was a revival of the integration of higher education into the state administration. Within the socialist political and economic system, higher education institutions aimed at serving the country's needs. This shows a historical continuity of Chinese higher education, despite the difference in various political regimes. The new learning model was from the Soviet Union. Autonomy was nationally defined. Universities and colleges lost their individual identity, being identified with the system of higher education and with their authority as part of the state system. Professorial governance was practised on campus under Party supervision. Within the framework of government policies, intellectuals continued to have leadership on campus and enjoying the right to regulate knowledge. They had leading positions in universities and colleges, in the government, and in other institutions. Like in the traditional period, the close relationship between higher education and the government limited university autonomy in the Western sense, but there was some degree of implicit autonomy derived from the power distributed by the government to intellectuals for the purpose of improving the existing order. Autonomy, which is defined as an administrative power, was associated with intellectual leadership in the state in the dynastic period, with professorial governance over academic affairs in the republic period, and with the intellectual control over the higher education system in the socialist period. There was a close relationship between higher education and the government, without which autonomy could not stand alone. However, a Chinese model of autonomy had not been established, nor was there a successful picture of applying a Western university autonomy in the Chinese cultural context. In this long
history, there was not a consistent institutional history, nor was there a consistent group which could be identified with individual institutions.
CHAPTER SIX: THE REFORM PERIOD AND UNIVERSITY AUTONOMY IN CHINA

In the end of 1978, the Chinese leaders launched a national reform, aimed at changing socialist practices, speeding up economic development, and realizing four modernizations. The reform brought many changes to universities, providing an opportunity for them to exercise their idea of autonomy in an open way. The government delegated many new administrative powers to universities enabling them to develop their resources in distinctive ways. As a result, although universities are still related to the government closely, there is more flexibility in government policies and universities have more freedom to be engaged in action. Universities have reestablished their individual institutional histories, which were interrupted in the socialist period; and autonomy has become explicit and entered the discourse of Chinese universities.

In Chapter Five, I examined the historical roots of the Chinese concept of autonomy in traditional higher education before this century and in Western patterns of higher education in this century. Chinese higher education was always close to the government in terms of goals, structure, and administration. Although it was implicit, university autonomy could be seen as a form of administrative power shared between intellectuals and the ruler (or government) and an art of using that power for improving the established system.\(^41\) In this

\(^{41}\) As Chinese culture has always focused on human relationships, university autonomy in China dealt with the relationship between intellectuals and the ruler. There was a sharing of administrative power between intellectuals and the ruler with respect to governing the state. In the pre-modern period, through the civil service examinations, intellectuals played a dominant role in society by forming the government and administered the country within the framework of an imperial system. During the Republican Period (1911-1949), intellectuals became diverse political and professional groups, and they formed a leading force of social and political revolution under the leadership of political parties. University teachers (I particularly refer to those in government universities) became an independent professional group and took leadership on campus. However, their role was largely limited by specific international, national, and regional political contexts in which
chapter, I will show how universities are engaged in activities related to autonomy while remaining closely to Communist government in the reform period, through describing what has happened to universities and how the reform has shaped the concept of autonomy in China. I will address this point through the following sections: higher education expansion, higher education governance, and university autonomy in general.

The Reform and Higher Education Expansion

In the reform period, the impact of reform was reflected in the decentralization of government policies and autonomy became a means for local government to seek higher education expansion in local regions. For universities, autonomy increased their freedom of action so that they could plan their future and develop special characteristics through their own thinking and efforts, instead of by the central government's planning. Expansion in institutional identity and institutional diversity became an important outcome of autonomy.

Higher education expansion can be examined in the following historical periods: 1978-85, 1985-89, 1989-91, and after 1991. From 1978 to 1985, the expansion was reflected in the increase in the number of universities and colleges, programs and specialities, texts and syllabuses, and in the development of adult higher education.\(^2\) From 1985 to 1989, the

\(^2\) Higher education for adults came into being in the late 1950s with the rise of informal higher education institutions mainly specializing in agriculture and engineering. In the 1960s, there was an attempt to integrate informal higher education with the regular higher education system, but it was not realized. In the late 1970s and 1980s, informal higher education had achieved a great development and formed a separate subsystem within the national system of higher education. Officially, informal higher education is called adult higher education. There are seven kinds of
reform of the educational system was carried out and it became government policy to increase university autonomy. Changes took place in the university's structure and governance, with an emphasis on the president's role. The presidential responsibility system was adopted experimentally in the hope that it would be applied to the whole system in the future. The period from 1989 to 1991 was an interruption for higher education development in China due to the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident. As a result, the CCP's leadership was strengthened on campus. After 1991, higher education became market orientated and gained a great deal of financial autonomy from the government. Expansion was associated with institutional changes toward diversity, which was expected to increase universities and colleges' social, economic, and academic competence.

One obvious result of the reform was the expansion of regular higher education institutions toward diverse forms and levels of institutional structure and interaction with society through introducing research and the commercialization of research results. The most striking changes can be summarized as follows: 1) an increase of institutions from 392 in 1976 to 1065 in 1993; 2) an increase in student enrolment from 564,715 in 1976 to 2,535,517 in 1993; 3) an expansion of programs from 6,319 in 1978 to 16,178 in 1993; 4)

higher education institutions for adults: T.V. universities, workers universities, peasants universities, institutions for administration, educational colleges, independent correspondence universities, and institutions for adults run by regular institutions of higher education (Chambers, 1984). In the 1990s, adult higher education institutions are not only for adults who are employed. They have become supplementary to regular higher education institutions by taking in high school graduates who did not get into regular higher education institutions. According to 1993 statistics, there were 1,183 higher education institutions for adults including 1,862,900 students and 89,500 teachers. Also see Piao, 1993.

43 It still needs to study what and how much impact of the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident on university autonomy. If we focus on practical issues in academic, personnel, and financial aspects of the university, the incident seems to have little impact. However, if we look at the centre issue of the relationship between intellectuals and the CCP, we may find that there was an tension between them. This tension showed a continuous demand of Chinese intellectuals for political democracy. However, this is not the concern in this thesis.
the development of new curricula in engineering, agriculture, forestry, medicine, teacher training, humanities, natural sciences, finance and economics, political sciences, and art; and 5) the expansion of research, with diverse forms emerging including theoretical studies, academic publications, high-tech products, cooperations with industry, and the commercialization of results (Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian, 1995).

Diversity became a strong feature of regular higher education. One legacy left from the previous period was a strict division of the higher education system based on specialization. The regular higher education system was composed of twelve kinds of institutions: comprehensive, natural science and technology, agriculture, forestry, medicine and pharmacy, teacher training, language and literature, finance and economics, political sciences and law, physical culture, art, and nationality and short-cycle vocational colleges. The expansion increased universities and colleges' freedom to make changes within and beyond these divisions. As a result, they were no longer limited by their traditional subject orientations. Through integrating science and technology with arts and social sciences, the internal structure of the higher education system was transformed (Zhang & Lin, 1993, pp.1164-65).

Comprehensive universities increased from 29 in 1976 to 62 in 1993, with 303,945 students and 47,923 teachers. They had originally focused on pure arts and sciences, preparing specialists in theoretical and basic sciences and cadres for the government. In the reform period, they broadened out to include programs of applied arts and sciences.

Science and technology institutions increased from 126 in 1976 to 292 in 1993, with 928,552 students and 142,331 teachers. Central ministries administered 70% of these institutions and they had expanded them in the 1950s and 1960s to meet the needs of
industrialization. In the reform, these institutions developed programs in arts, applied arts, and social sciences, and especially increased the cooperation with industry.

Agricultural institutions increased from 38 in 1976 to 59 in 1993, with 134,802 students and 23,355 teachers. A new agenda was set to develop agricultural higher education as an aspect of modernization in agriculture. The model of integrating teaching, research, and production was promoted. Agricultural institutions were encouraged to integrate their studies with the needs of economic development in the countryside. This became a new measurement of the quality of higher agricultural education.44

Forestry institutions increased from 5 in 1976 to 11 in 1993, with 21,024 students and 4,085 teachers. They were aimed at preparing administrative and technological cadres and specialists in forestry and were encouraged to integrate teaching, research, and social practice as agricultural institutions had done.

Medical institutions increased from 88 in 1976 to 126 in 1993, with 224,936 students and 42,310 teachers. In the reform, they developed medical sciences and related disciplines such as medical engineering and biochemistry programs.45 They intended to take international standards in medical education. One example was the increase in the length of the curriculum from four years to five and then to seven.

Teacher training institutions were the second largest group of higher education institutions, but two third of them were non-degree colleges. They increased from 58 in

44 In 1987, the SEdC and the Ministry of Agriculture, Husbandry, Fishing, and Forestry held a joint discussion meeting on the three integration model in agricultural institutions, confirming this model as a new approach to higher agricultural education. Zhang & Chen, 1993, pp. 1161-1163.

45 One extraordinary case was the development of programs of biochemistry and medical engineering, which had nineteen kinds of programs in China at undergraduate and graduate levels by 1995. Chongqing Medical university, as the first institution to develop this specialty, now has the first Ph.D program in medical engineering. Interview code, 0423.
1976 to 251 in 1993, with 566,552 students and 74,965 teachers. Expansion was reflected in the development of applied arts and sciences programs, teacher education research, and diverse program delivery. An important change was the development of teacher training across other divisions of the higher education system. Teacher training programs were established in institutions other than teacher training, including adult higher education institutions.

Finance and economics institutions had been underdeveloped before. In the reform period, they increased greatly from 6 in 1976 to 82 with 167,071 students in 1993. Like teacher education, financial and economic programs were also offered in other universities and colleges.

There were only six law schools in 1965. They completely closed during the Cultural Revolution and restarted in 1977. In 1993, there were 27 institutions with 33,341 students and 4,689 teachers. There was also an expansion in the development of law programs in short-cycle institutions, in-service training, and adult higher education programs.

Language institutions increased from 10 in 1976 to 15 in 1993, with 17,760 students and 4,689 teachers. These institutions moved from a focus on foreign language studies to multiple programs, including foreign trade, international business, economics, teacher training, and office management.

Physical education institutions increased from 7 in 1976 to 15 in 1993, with 15,572 students and 3,332 teachers. It focused on training high school teachers, coaches and administrators, and doctors specializing in athletics. Teaching, training, and research became a direction for sports education in the reform.

Art schools increased from 14 in 1976 to 31 in 1993 with 15,271 students and 5,535
teachers. This type of institution included fine arts, music, drama, media, and traditional opera schools. As the autonomy of art was embraced in the reform period, art schools enjoyed greater freedom of thought and expression than ever before, and saw a dramatic growth in applied and commercial arts programs for the needs of society.

Nationality colleges increased from 9 in 1976 to 11 in 1993, with 26,782 students and 4,606 teachers. Another kind of institution—short-cycle vocational college—came into being in the reform period. There were 84 institutions of this kind in 1993. Like nationality colleges, they did not have specialized subject area figures but were comprehensively oriented.

All these higher education institutions sought the development of related subjects, based on their traditional subjects. The new developments described here broke the narrow division of disciplines and reflected tendency of higher education development toward comprehensive institutions.

The Reform and Higher Education Governance

External Governance

In external governance, autonomy is reflected as a phenomenon of decentralization and power redistribution between the government and higher education. The central government has increased opportunities for local governments to participate in higher education development and governance, and thus there is a bigger space than ever before for local governments and higher education institutions themselves to manoeuvre.

As I said in the previous chapter, the socialist higher education system was characterized by centralization of leadership and two levels of administration: central and
provincial government. The central government assumed the leadership over higher education in the country and administered its affiliated universities and colleges. It did so through the SEdC and central ministries. The provincial government took charge of universities and colleges within its jurisdiction. Therefore, higher education institutions were likely to be defined by their relationship with the government at the central and local levels. There were three groups of higher education institutions according to their jurisdiction: the SEdC, central ministry, and provincial institutions. According to statistics in 1993, the SEdC had 36 universities, located in every province and autonomous region. These institutions were comprehensive and engineering universities, and constituted the most prestigious institutions in the country, such as Beijing University, Qinghua University, the Chinese People’s University, Fudan University, Shanghai Jiaotong University, and Sichuan Union University. The central ministries had 325 institutions, which were all professional institutions in engineering, medicine, communications, finance, law and political science, agriculture, art, and forestry. Each ministry had up to twenty institutions, ranging from short-cycle vocational colleges to universities. Some of them enjoyed the same prestige as those under the SEdC. There were 704 provincial and municipal institutions. These institutions were of lower status and the level of prestige tended to reflect that of the province or city where they were located. Among them, more than 10% of the institutions were run by municipal governments, and had come into being in the 1980s. Although these municipal institutions were of rather low status and most of them did not have degree conferring power, their close relationship with local governments enabled them to get more support from local communities than universities and colleges under the control of national and provincial governments. This was the case in particular in
some rich provinces.

The reforms after 1985 caused several changes in higher education governance. The first was decentralization. The central government delegated some powers to provincial and municipal governments and universities and colleges as confirmed in "the Temporary Provisions of Higher Education Governance" in 1986. The SEdC had responsibilities for making national policy within the framework of the CCP and the state's principles. Its responsibilities covered the following areas: national planning of student enrolment and job placement, structural changes, funding formulas, standards of undergraduate and graduate studies, program lists and approvals, degree conferring and postdoctoral development; the curricula, standards of training, and evaluation; arrangements for capital investment, operational funds, personnel quotas, labour and facilities; personnel regulations; administering affiliated institutions, supervising all higher education institutions in political work, physical education, health care and service work; formulating adult learning plans for the country; and managing and guiding, overseas students in China, and international exchanges.

The central ministries were responsible for implementing national policies and making their own policies within the framework of the CCP and the State Council. Their main responsibilities were to administer affiliated institutions with reference to programs, structure, student job placement, and subject development, the approval of non-degree programs, capital investment funds, facilities, operational funds, and distribution. They also guided political ideological work, the appointment and dismissal of university administrators including the Party committee secretary, hiring and firing issues, professional titles, and academic matters such as teaching and learning, research and
service, and textbook editing and writing. They supervised and helped their institutions to establish cooperation with industry.

The provincial government was responsible for implementing national policies and administering affiliated institutions accordingly. Their responsibility covered planning and organizing the enrolment and job placement; approving non-degree programs; controlling funds, facilities, and auditing processes; supervising political work, teaching and learning, scientific research, and service; appointing and dismissing the president and Party committee secretary; controlling professional titles and hiring; facilitating cooperations and exchange among higher education institutions in the region; conducting evaluations of education quality, and facilitating higher education institutions in cooperation with enterprises, research units, and other agencies.

The universities and colleges' responsibilities, which I described in Chapter two, focused on self-governance within the framework of the policies made by the CCP, the State Council, the SEdC, and the respective authorities listed above. University autonomy took form in terms of new powers over academic, personnel, and financial matters. A special feature was that autonomy was not limited to academic matters (Zhengce faguisi, guojia jiaowei, 1992:225).

A second point was the government's adjustment of higher education governance from a two-level to a three-level administrative system, bringing in municipal governments. Over one hundred community-oriented institutions were established under municipal governments such as Haiding Commuter University in Beijing, Tianjin Agriculture Institute run by Beijing City, Taiyuan University run by the Education Commission of Taiyuan City, Hunan Women's Vocational University jointly run by the provincial education
commission and the women's federation, and Yuzhou University run by the city
government of Chongqing.

A third change was calling for provincial and municipal governments to provide
financial support for institutions under the jurisdiction of the SEdC and central ministries.
Before the reform, these national universities and colleges did not receive any money from
provincial and municipal governments although they contributed a lot to local development.
There was a structural problem in the governance system which did not give national
institutions access to local resources. Theoretically, national universities and colleges were
autonomous from provincial and municipal governments. However, this put them in a
disadvantageous situation in the market economy, because they could not get necessary
support from local governments. The central government decided to reform the governance
system to help these national institutions to establish a relationship with the local
governments. A noticeable example can be seen in Guangdong province. Since 1993, the
Guangdong provincial government cooperated with the SEdC to reconstruct Zhongshan
University and the Huanan Science and Technology University, with the Ministry of
Health, the Chinese Herbal Medicine Bureau, the Overseas Chinese Research Office, and
the Ministry of Agriculture helping to reconstruct four universities. The provincial
government invested 600,000,000 yuan in higher education in 1993, 900,000,000 yuan in
1994, and 1,200,000,000 yuan in 1995 (Renminribao, 1995, Nov.25).

The significance of these changes in external governance was that universities and
colleges had more opportunity to get support from local government and had more space to
initiate action along the lines of their own traditions.
Internal Governance

The decentralization of government structures saw changes in university governance, with professional leadership strengthened through the implementation of a governance system focusing on the role of the president and university teachers. However, this was not the purpose of reform. Chinese leaders had no intention of reestablishing the traditional authority of the president and professors, but rather wanted to strengthen them to take initiatives in the development of higher education; they did not want to reduce the Party’s leadership on campus but to change the working style of the Party from one of administrative leadership to one of supervising the implementation of the new policies.

During the reform period, the governance system changed twice. In the early 1980s, the Party committee system was applied, focusing on the overall leadership of the Party committee. In 1985, the central government introduced the presidential responsibility system and required all universities and colleges gradually to implement it. With some caution, the government tried out the system experimentally, in a small number of higher education institutions. In Sichuan Province, of about 60 higher education institutions, only seven adopted the system.\footnote{In 1984, the presidential responsibility system was put forward as an experiment. The first group of institutions in Sichuan Province were Chengdu Science and Technology University, Chengdu Communication Engineering Institute, West China Medical University, Chengdu Geology Institute, the Southwestern Politics and Law Institute, the Sichuan Institute of Fine Arts, and Wenjiang Teacher Training School. \textit{Sichuan gaodeng jiaoyu zhongdeng jiaoyu nianjian}, 1988, p.428.}

As I mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, after 1989, the government adjusted the policy by terminating the implementation of the presidential responsibility system in other institutions. Instead, a presidential responsibility system under the leadership of the Party committee was put forward, characterized by collective leadership and the
differentiation of responsibilities between the president and Party committee secretary. The Party committee retained the power of making policies and the president was responsible for carrying them out. We could take this change as a retreat from the reform of 1985, but it was thought to be necessary by Chinese leaders. According to Li Tieying (1992:425), the leadership of the Party in universities and colleges was the guarantee of persisting in a socialist direction of education. He urged Party organizations and the government to strengthen the leadership of the Party on campus and assure the power of those who were loyal to Marxism. In principle, the government required all higher education institutions to implement the presidential responsibility system under the leadership of the Party. Within this system, the Party committee was responsible for steering the institutions in a socialist direction and for supervising political and ideological work. At the same time, the president was allowed to play an important role in administration.

In the university, there are still two parallel structures of governance: academic administration and the Party. While the administrative system is connected with everyday operations in areas such as teaching, learning, and service, the Party system is linked to work with the people who conduct the everyday operations.

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<th>The Administrative System</th>
<th>The Party System:</th>
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<td>president</td>
<td>Party committee secretary</td>
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<td>--president office</td>
<td>--office</td>
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<td>--function sectors: study affairs, personnel, finance, service.</td>
<td>--function sectors: organization, discipline, propaganda, front line,</td>
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<td>--teaching units: departments and research institutes</td>
<td>--teaching units: department party branches.</td>
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<td>--assistant units: library, labs, university publishers</td>
<td>--assistance units: party branches</td>
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<td>--service units: dining halls, vehicles, clinic, daycare, residency.</td>
<td>--wing organizations: Student Union, Youth League, Union, Faculty and Staff Representative Conference, Women’s federation.</td>
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Within this two-track governance structure, the president is the head of administration and responsible for implementing governance of the university. The administrative system covers areas such as classroom teaching, the enrolment of students, students and staff's living conditions, and security on campus. However, these arrangements can fail if there is any obstacle in the Party system.

In this situation, there was a need to change and improve the Party's work on campus. The Party's role was more facilitating than controlling at the department level, where the department chair's responsibility system was applied. Although at the university level, the Party took charge of making policies, at the department level, it did not take the leadership in administration. The Party branch secretary was to help the chair to fulfil tasks and to mobilize the masses to participate in the department's development. All Party members were required to play a leading role to support the chair's work. Nevertheless, the Party branch secretary should also report any wrong done by the department to the Party committee.

Chinese leaders were apparently trying to develop a system of higher education governance that could apply the idea of socialist democracy. They tried this through several governance systems, such as the presidential system, the Party committee system, and the revolutionary committee system during the Cultural Revolution. Always, it was hard to establish a collective leadership based either on academic professors or on the Party. The persistence of the Party's involvement in higher education seemed not only necessary to maintain a socialist direction, but also as a form of democratic leadership on campus. Democratic leadership has often been interpreted as the cooperation between the two different leaders: the president and the Party committee secretary. As the university's
role has been more and more important, and the Party remains in power, a mutual sharing of power between higher education leaders and the Party has become necessary. The president needs the Party committee to support his role in academic leadership and the Party secretary needs the president to lead the university.

The Reform and University Autonomy

Why do I put the beginning of the Chinese concept of university autonomy in this period? I think that the reform led to a ferment in which the Chinese concept of autonomy eventually emerged. Without the reform, the concept would not have taken form. In this period, Chinese university members began to be aware of the concept of autonomy in China and the government formally recognized it as important in higher education development. Autonomy as a way of thinking and a code of action has taken the form of a liberation of the minds of university members, with the purpose of ensuring higher education's contribution to economic modernization. Autonomy in China has become a means to pursue the expansion and diversity of higher education and its social ends.

The first layer of the meaning of autonomy is related to the sovereignty of Chinese universities. There is still an awareness of educational sovereignty in this period. Although the Chinese government has invited foreign educators to come to teach and to run joint educational institutions, it has protected educational sovereignty through keeping universities as public institutions and strengthening the CCP's leadership on campus.

The second layer of the meaning of autonomy is seen in the relationship between higher education and the government. While the CCP's leadership in higher education continues, the government has given new powers to universities, allowing them to govern
themselves within the framework of government policies. In this circumstance, autonomy is nationally applicable as a pattern of higher education governance, as a right to make policies for universities and colleges’ needs within government policies, and as access to governmental support. The government switched from micro-control to macro-control, and gave higher education institutions space to initiate action. Within this context, policy development after 1991 was intended to increase the national importance of universities through the development of a set of national key projects such as the 2/1/1 project and national key programs. The 2/1/1 project is an influential part of strategic planning for the national higher educational system, reflecting the future direction of Chinese higher education, strengthening the country through science and technology. It was put forward in the Educational Development Program which the central committee of the CCP issued in 1993. Its purpose is to develop 100 key universities and some key programs at a level of excellence to the best in the world during the 21st century. These universities and key programs are expected to lead higher education in China and to play a prominent role in modernization.

The third layer of the meaning of autonomy is examined through the operational settings of universities. Autonomy centred on three aspects of university life: academic matters, personnel, and finance. In academic matters, the most important changes were student admission and job placement. After 1985, the government allowed universities and colleges to admit students through two kinds of admission plans: the state development plan and the state adjustment plan. Under the state adjustment plan, universities and colleges could charge the students tuition fees. Regarding student job placement, universities and colleges were gradually released from their duty to dispatch students
according to the government's job placement plan. Universities and colleges began to play a more meaningful role in student job placement by providing counselling, training, and job information. Universities and colleges could develop programs according to the program definitions set by the government, to adjust the direction of their programs, to make teaching plans, to adjust syllabuses, to select texts, and to reform teaching contents and methods. They could do research, publish research results, commercialize the research results, and conduct international academic exchanges.

In personnel matters, universities and colleges were given certain powers to operate within government policies. They could recommend to the government the appointment of vice presidents, hire and dismiss teachers and staff, determine the qualifications of professors and associate professors, and evaluate undergraduate and master's programs. Within the framework of the government policies regarding the salary reform in 1985 and in 1993, universities and colleges could make the bonus scales according to their own resources and reallocate 1/3 of salary funds according to their own standards (Interview codes, 0113, 0213, 0313).

In financial matters, universities and colleges were seen to have some real freedom to decide in matters of capital construction, the allocation of government funds, and the creation of resources. With the approval of authorities, universities and colleges could select architectural firms and companies to carry out capital construction. They could reallocate state funds for the needs of teaching and learning. The new regulations for the allocation of state funds were based on the responsibility principle, which meant that, within the budget, universities and colleges could allocate the funds according to their needs. If they did not use up the funds within the year, they could keep them for their
needs in the following year. Besides, universities and colleges were allowed to create alternative funds through receiving donations from corporations, providing service to society, running businesses, and making contracts with industry.

As a result, autonomy was increased in two areas: some space to make policies within the framework of government policies and some space to take action based on their own rules. The most important issues were student admission and job placement, adjustment of the direction of programs, the appointment of administrators, the creation of alternative sources of funds, the allocation of government funds, and international academic exchange. These are unique to China’s present circumstances. One of these important features in the government policies was that the government no longer gave detailed instructions but left it for universities and colleges to consider how they should act.

University teachers have resumed their identity as a professional group, politically, economically, and socially. There are several indicators of this. First, faculty members increased dramatically in the past fifteen years. In 1993, there were 387,800 university teachers and their number was significant in the national picture. Although faculty members were not nationally organized, they took a lead in academic matters, which were the centre of university life, through organizations such as the Teachers’ Union, the Representative Congress of Teachers and Staff, and most important of all, the academic council, which is the highest committee for decisions on academic affairs.

Summary

In this chapter, I reviewed the expansion of higher education, higher education governance, and the impact of the reform on the meaning of university autonomy. The
reform created conditions for Chinese universities to define the meaning of autonomy in relation to their economic, political, and social reality.

A greater degree of autonomy can be seen in quantitative terms, in the increase of institutions, programs and specialities, student enrolment, and teachers' development. It can be also defined in qualitative terms. This is reflected in long-term planning for higher education to upgrade its standards.

University autonomy as a means to push higher education to develop more programs and to stimulate intellectuals' freedom of action is a phenomenon of the reform period. It focuses on the mastery of skills in managing the university and developing its distinctive features so that it can survive economic difficulty and achieve prosperity under its given conditions.

The academic, financial, and personnel reforms in universities and colleges have caused university members to identify with their institution instead of with the whole system of higher education. In this way, an autonomy that is meaningful to individual institutions and to university members has taken form.

What is most obvious is that the meaning of autonomy is clearly linked to the economy. There are positive and negative aspects. Whether it helps higher education needs to be studied further. Next, I will examine three institutions of higher education in Sichuan Province and see how this national picture of autonomy is relevant to specific universities and what university autonomy means in individual cases.
The reform has pushed higher education toward the market economy, but it does not aim at privatization of higher education, because the state has to keep a public system of higher education to support social and economic development. With political and economic decentralization and changes in Communist practice, universities and colleges are able to continue their institutional histories and achieve a higher degree of freedom in spite of the fact that they remain as government institutions. University members have formed a group who identify themselves with their institution, and this enables Chinese universities to enter into a meaningful discussion of autonomy with the Western counterparts.

In this chapter, I will show how individual universities have approached autonomy in their own way. Is there any common point related to autonomy among these institutions? How is the concept of autonomy understood in practical terms? As I mentioned in Chapter Three, these three universities are all in Sichuan Province. One is Sichuan Union University located in Chengdu, the capital of Sichuan Province; the other two, Chongqing Teachers' College and Chongqing Industry and Management Institute, are located in Chongqing, which is the largest city in Sichuan Province.

Sichuan University

General Introduction

Sichuan Union University is not only one of the oldest universities in modern China,
but also the largest and most comprehensive types of universities, ranking among 35 key universities affiliated to the State Education Commission. Located in the south of downtown Chengdu, it contains of two campuses which are contiguous to each other, with approximately 150 hectares of land, and about 800,000 M² used for school buildings. In 1995, SUU's total staff was about 7,200, of whom there were 4,300 faculty member including 328 full professors (or research fellows) and 1,654 associate professors (or associate research fellows). Two senior professors were elected academicians of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, and another nine scholars had been nominated members of the national Academic Degrees Committee and Different Disciplinary Groups under the State Council. Sixty-nine professors were accredited supervisors of doctoral students, and another eleven were entitled National Distinguished Young and Middle Aged Experts. More than 25,000 students throughout the country were enrolled on campus, among whom more than 1,500 were working on the masters or doctoral degrees. Every year, over 100 foreign students came from some 30 countries, and about 500 domestic teachers and researchers arrived here for further studies and work (Sichuan Union University Brochure, 1995).

History

The beginning of SUU could be traced to the founding dates of the Sino-Western School (Zhongxi xuetang, 1896-1902), the first provincial institution at the tertiary level, and two traditional academies (Jinjiang Shuyuan 1704-1902, and Zhunjin Shuyuan 1875-1902). In 1902, the provincial governor, Kui Jun, established a university (Sichuan shengcheng gaodeng xuetang) by amalgamating these three institutions. Modelled after the
National University of Beijing, the university became a comprehensive type with four colleges: arts and sciences, teacher training, sports, and preparatory study for university. The first president was Hu Jun, who had the highest traditional academic title, that of advanced scholar (jinshi) and was a scholar-official in the Hanlin Academy (Hanlin bianxiu) of the imperial government.

From 1911 to 1927, the university lost its status as a comprehensive university and it was even closed down from 1916 to 1926 by order of the central government. In 1931, the university gained national status again as a comprehensive university, National Sichuan University (NSU) through amalgamating with two other specialized universities: National Chengdu Normal University, and National Sichuan University (specializing in applied sciences). Under the nationalist government, the university made the transition from a local institution to a national one in terms of teaching objectives, faculty origins, student sources, structures and material conditions. The central government’s provision of direct funding guaranteed this transition. In 1949, NSU had 5,057 students, 371 faculty members, and 614 staff, with 6 colleges (teacher training, engineering, agriculture, law, sciences, and liberal arts), 25 departments, and 2 semi-independent research institutes (Sichuan daxue shigao 1985).

The university continued to be a national institution under the communist government. In 1950, the name of university changed to Sichuan University. After the national restructuring of 1952, Sichuan University was left with only two subject areas: arts and sciences. Nevertheless, it still enjoyed the highest academic status in the province as a

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48 The central government decided that only specialized universities (danke daxue) were established at the provincial level. Universities should be run by the central government. See Sichuan daxue shigao, 1985.
national comprehensive university. Its law college was merged with the Southwestern Law and Politics Institute located in Chongqing; its engineering college was formed into an independent institute, Chengdu Engineering Institute (later Chengdu Science and Technology University); its agriculture college merged with the Sichuan Agriculture Institute located in Yaan; and its teacher training college moved into Sichuan Teachers' College located in the north of downtown Chengdu. In 1960, Sichuan University became one of the key universities affiliated to the Ministry of Education.

Having separated from Sichuan University, the Chengdu Engineering Institute was combined with departments and colleges coming from other universities in the country and became highly specialized, focusing on mechanical engineering, hydro-electricity, and applied chemistry. In 1978, the institute changed its name to Chengdu Science and Technology University, and became a national keypoint university under the jurisdiction of the SEdC.

In the beginning of 1993, the central government put forward the 2/1/1 project to develop 100 world class universities in the 21st century. It attracted all the universities controlled by the central government due to the funding and the prestige it promised. One of the conditions for entering the project was the institutional type. What the government favoured was the comprehensive university in the Western sense, that is, a combination of arts, sciences, and engineering. Neither Sichuan University nor Chengdu Science and Technology University met the requirements of the project. The two universities began to consider a merger. Since they used to be one university and both were governed by the same authority, the decision for amalgamation was soon made. In May of 1993, the SEdC approved their merger and in July of 1994, the two universities officially joined as one
under a new name, Sichuan Union University. This merger was described as

a breakthrough in the stereotype for decades that tech-oriented institutions were

divorced from arts and pure sciences. With interdisciplinary integration achieved,
SUU has more options to better its educational quality, scientific research standards,
and social and economic benefits. To answer the new challenge of the 21st century,
this multiversity stands ready to contribute far more to technological advancement,
national economic construction, public service and international exchanges as well.
(Sichuan Union University Brochure 1995)

Among 35 key universities affiliated to the SEdC, Sichuan Union University became

the first one, and is the only one at present, that represents the amalgamation of two

universities under the same jurisdiction. In the end of 1995, SUU successfully passed the

first evaluation of the SEdC and became one of the first universities joining in the 2/1/1

project.

Aims

Being strengthened by the merger, SUU has become a teaching and research university

of a truly comprehensive type, with balanced programs in arts, sciences, and engineering.
SUU aims at research, high-tech development, and training talented personnel for national

needs in broad knowledge areas, embracing arts, sciences, business, law, and engineering.
It is committed to the CCP’s educational principles and policies and to students’ all-round
development in health, morality, and intelligence. SUU prepares specialists for state

keypoint projects, for enterprises and companies, and for higher education institutions.

Curriculum

The curriculum has become very broad now. SUU comprises 15 colleges and 2

research institutes, with 40 departments, 2 national key laboratories, and 3 national
specialized laboratories; 40 different research divisions exist along with 40 other educational or research centres. There are 109 undergraduate specialities, 90 master programs, and 31 doctoral programs, 5 national keypoint subjects, and 3 post doctoral study areas. Based on a great many disciplinary fields, SUU has set up several broader learning branches as follows:

1) languages, literature, and history,
2) economics and management,
3) philosophy and law study,
4) mass media and communications,
5) pure and applied mathematics,
6) physics and engineering
7) life sciences and engineering,
8) energy science and engineering,
9) material science and engineering,
10) information science and engineering,
11) Chemistry and engineering,
12) light industry and textile engineering,
13) manufacturing and engineering,
14) urban and rural construction and environmental engineering (Sichuan Union University Brochure 1995)

Some of them excel in their own fields at home and enjoy a good reputation abroad, for instance, the history of Chinese language, polymer materials, tanning, hydraulics and river dynamics, and atomic and molecular physics.

Governance

As mentioned before, SUU is a national university affiliated to the SEdC which is responsible for all professional matters regarding teaching and learning, finance, and personnel. Theoretically, the provincial and municipal government have no control over SUU. SUU is thus autonomous of local authorities. However, it has tried to develop cooperative relationship with the provincial and municipal government and with other
organizations in society. This can be seen as an aspect of its autonomy.

In terms of internal governance, SUU has implemented the presidential responsibility system under the leadership of the Party committee. Governance is conducted through cooperation among the Party's leadership and the presidential administration.

The former Sichuan University was regarded as having strong leadership by the Party committee. The CCP had established its grassroots cells among students in Sichuan University long before the People's Republic of China was founded (Sichuan daxue shigao, 1985). Based on this tradition, the Party committee never withdrew from its leading position in Sichuan University even in the middle of the 1980s when some universities including Chengdu Science and Technology University switched from the Party committee system to the presidential responsibility system. When the two universities merged, the former Party committee secretary of Sichuan University became the secretary of SUU. The secretary was a woman who is a professional Party worker, having been in the position for over ten years and survived two presidents. One characteristic of the Party's leadership in SUU is the academic development of Party workers. The secretary has the academic title of research fellow equal to the rank of professor and many other professional Party workers in the university and college levels have academic titles of professors and associate professors as well.49

Formally, the Party committee is the highest body to make decisions regarding SUU's policies with regard to goals, curriculum, finance, personnel, and student work. The merger of Sichuan University and the Chengdu Science and Technology University was

49 Some of them have obtained academic degrees in Western countries. Recently, a new Party secretary in SUU has been appointed. The secretary has been transferred from Chinese Coal and Mining University, another university affiliated to the SEdC, specializing in radio.
one of its important decisions. Along the line of the Party system, there is a discipline committee which supervises and examines the ethics of Party members, especially cadres. The committee is independent of the Party committee, although its head sits on it. Besides, there is the extended council of the Party committee and university leaders at all levels. The council consists of the Party secretary and vice secretaries and the university president and vice presidents, deans and secretaries in colleges, chairs and secretaries in the department, and honourable presidents and administrators responsible for academic affairs, student affairs, and general services. The governance structure of the Party is intended to guarantee the Party's function on campus.

In terms of academic administration, the president is the highest administrative official in the university. The present president of SUU is a scientist and a doctoral supervisor. He was the president of Chengdu Science and Technology University before the merger. As mentioned before, Chengdu Science and Technology University had implemented the presidential responsibility system since 1985. As a high-level science and technology institution which is affiliated to the Chinese Science Academy, Chengdu Science and Technology University had been characterized by the strong leadership of experts represented by the president. After the merger, it was expected that SUU could combine the former governance systems of both Sichuan University and Chengdu Science and Technology University and create a new kind of cooperation in practice.

The president heads the overall administration of SUU with the support of vice

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50 It was said that since January of 1993, when the Educational Development Program was issued by the central committee of the CCP and the State Council, the Party committees of the two universities negotiated over and over again about the merger, and finally made the decision. There was no sign of direct suggestion or administrative orders from the SEdC on the merger issue of the two universities from the report given by the Party committee of Sichuan University. Sichuan daxue nianjian, 1994.
presidents and eight presidential assistants. Each vice president takes charge of particular matters such as academic matters, finance, general affairs, research, and business. The position of presidential assistants is a new arrangement in the reform period. The presidential assistants help the president in everyday work, some holding positions of directors and deputy directors in the president’s office and in the Party committee office.

Under the presidential administration, several academic committees are set up to supervise and guide academic development. The degree committee is responsible for decisions about conferring the degrees on students; the subject development council is in charge of the development of programs and specialities; the academic title committee approves the academic titles of faculty members and administrators, and the text development council supervises the writing and publication of textbooks. Professors and associate professors are members of the committees and all are chaired by the president.

SUU has established an intermediate structure of administration: the college. Now, SUU's forty departments have been grouped into fourteen colleges. Like that at the university level, the college has a dean's office and a Party committee's office. The dean's responsibility system under the leadership of the Party committee operates at this level. However, since the college is a new structure and its status has not been defined within the state administrative system and its functions have not been fully developed. SUU is still managed mainly at the university and department levels at present, especially in terms of funding procedures.

The governance of the department is almost like that of the university, except that the
chair's responsibility system\textsuperscript{51} is implemented at the department level. The department council, composed of four to five persons including the chair, vice chairs, and the secretary of the Party branch, is a decision-making body. Under the leadership of the chair, the council administers teaching, faculty work, student activities, and fund raising. The department has an academic council, too, to deal with teaching and learning issues, especially, the evaluation of professional titles. Theoretically, the department chair has the highest power in policy-making and implementation of policies, but in practice, she or he could not function as a leader without the support of the council members.

Professors in SUU were highly involved in academic committees at the university and department levels. Each committee had clear responsibilities and powers. With the help of these committees, the university could manage its finances, foreign exchange, the appointment of teachers, university planning, program development and the direction of university development, within the policies of the CCP and the State Council.

Funding

Sichuan Union University is funded directly by the central government through the SEdC. The regular funds of the state come to SUU in three forms: 1) operational fees, 2) research fees, and 3) capital construction fees. The university has also sought alternative funding sources through running university companies and enterprises, providing services to society, and commercializing its research results. However, getting a precise financial report about how much the university earned after the merger seemed difficult. From a

\textsuperscript{51} Most universities and colleges implement the presidential responsibility system under the leadership of the Party, however, at the department level, the department chair responsibility system is adopted for the purpose of establishing the chair's authority in implementing university policies.
financial report of the former Sichuan University in 1993, it had got 31,814,000 yuan in operational and research funding from the government, and generated, by itself, another 37,512,000 yuan (Sichuan daxue nianjian 1994). For the Chengdu Science and Technology University, while there was not much difference in the allocation of the state funds, the rate of its self-generated funds was probably higher than that of Sichuan University because of its subject areas. In these days in which the market has a dominant role in determining the value of knowledge, those universities with a science and technology background will have a better chance to earn money in the market competition.

Special Features

In October of 1996, SUU celebrated its 100th anniversary, although it did not really become a university until 1902, nor had it the true status of a national university until 1931. However, that is not important. What is most important is that over the past one hundred years, this university has developed from a traditional academy soaked in Confucianism to a comprehensive modern university in China. Moreover, it has been a place for many distinguished scholars, thinkers, and leaders of social movements to gather. For instance, Wu Yuzhang, Zhang Lan, Zhu De, Guo Moruo, and Ba Jin used to work, teach, or study there. Now, it has created a model of university reform in socialist China through amalgamating Sichuan University and Chengdu Science and Technology University. It is a model not only of combining liberal arts, pure sciences, and technology, but also a model of the reuniting of institutions which had been one institution before 1949. What is different from the national restructuring that took place in 1952 is that university members in both institutions themselves chose to merge. This is an indication of
university autonomy as freedom of action in this period.

Chongqing Industry Management Institute

General Information

Chongqing Industry Management Institute is a small institution and one of the youngest degree-granting institutes of higher education in China. It is affiliated to the Ministry of Armament Industry (or China Northern Industry Corporation Group), and specializes in industrial management and engineering.\(^{52}\) Located in the centre of Yangjiaping district, in the City of Chongqing, it has a campus with about 20.43 hectares in size, over 100,000 M\(^2\) of which are taken up for school buildings. In 1995, CIMI's total number of employees was 577 staff and workers, 327 faculty members, including 55 professors and associate professors, and 170 lecturers. Around 3,168 full-time students from the country were enrolled on campus, doing bachelors degrees and non-degree studies, and there were about 1,000 students in adult learning.

History

Although its history of higher education at the university level did not go back before the educational reform period, the origin of CIMI could be traced to the decade before the People’s Republic of China was founded. The forebear of CIMI was the 11th technical school of the Ministry of Armament Industry affiliated to the 21st factory of the Ministry (Bingongshu di ershiyi gongchang fushu bingongshu di shiyi jigong xuexiao). The school

\(^{52}\) The institute has always been affiliated to the Ministry of Armament Industry, whose name has changed several times, although its nature has not changed. Chongguo gongye guanli xueyuan: xiaoshi 1940-95 (Chongqing industry management institute: history 1940-95), 1995, pp. 152-154.
was established in 1940 by the Southwestern Armament Industry Corporation of the nationalist government. Li Chenggan was the first principal, and also director of the 21st factory of the Ministry of Armament Industry. He was a scientist in electronic engineering, who had graduated from Tokyo Imperial University in the first decade of this century. Under his leadership, the school focused on mechanical technology and trained students through work-study programs. By 1949, 1,068 students had graduated from the school.

After the People's Republic of China was founded, the school became a secondary professional school for training technicians and continued to serve the armament industry. In 1965, the institute was promoted to be a university (offering four-year undergraduate programs) and given the name of Chongqing Industry Institute. The institute focused on work-study programs, through which students spent half of their time studying on campus and half of their time working in factories belonging to the armament industry. During the Cultural Revolution, the institute was transferred into a factory to make meters and electronic parts. In 1983, the Ministry of Armament Industry decided to resume the institute to meet the increasing demands for skilled personnel in the sector. The institute was named Chongqing Industry Management Institute. After a few years of preparation, finally in 1986, the institute enrolled its first group of students, after having been closed for almost twenty years. There were 150 students in four programs: management, mechanical engineering, material management, and labour economy. In 1990, the State Council granted the institute the power to confer bachelors degrees.

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53 As I mentioned in the previous chapter, the model of half-work and half-study in Chinese universities, was promoted by the former president Liu Shaoqi. He put it forward in 1958 as an alternative system of education to regular education. In 1964, the central government decided to expand this practice into higher education. CIMI was an example of the application of this model to higher education.
After 1992, CIMI speeded up its development by initiating multiple cooperative programs. CIMI has absolutely no chance of entering the 2/1/1 project that has made SUU become a new model in Chinese higher education. However, it learned to look for its own pattern of development through cooperative programs. In this way, CIMI lessened the gap between it and other major universities. In 1993, it began to seek cooperation with enterprises within the sector and developed about thirty partners. In 1994, the Automobile Technology Education Foundation of the Southwest Armament Industry was established and CIMI became a member of it. 1995 could be regarded as CIMI’s year. CIMI opened a tourist school in cooperation with the Wanyou Travel Company, a land management school in cooperation with the government of Chongqing, and a driving school in cooperation with an enterprise in Hongkong. Adult learning programs became a new domain for CIMI to expand the cooperative activities. In 1994, the institute set up the adult education college, offering diploma programs. In 1996, CIMI developed international cooperative programs with Centennial College in Ontario through its adult education college in order to expand enrolment and to increase its academic status.

Aims

CIMI is a teaching institution but it has not limited itself to classroom teaching. It aims at preparing industrial management personnel and carrying out in-service training for members of state-owned enterprises affiliated to the Ministry of Armament Industry, so that it can serve community needs. The institute is committed to the CCP’s educational policies and to students’ all-round development, including health, morality, and intelligence. It specially emphasizes discipline and the overall quality of students.
Curriculum

The curriculum specializes in engineering and industry management. The guiding principles for curriculum development in CIMI are as follows: facing society and expanding knowledge areas in all directions; facing the future and sticking to reform and renovation; facing grassroots areas and serving the armament industry; and facing CIMI’s reality and developing its own special characteristics (*Chongguo gongye guanli xueyuan xiaoshi*, 1995:97).

Under the guidance of these principles, CIMI has achieved considerable development within nine years. Now, it comprises 11 departments and fields of study and three vocational and professional schools (the School of Auto Engineering, the School of Vehicles, the School of Land Management). 34 laboratories and 4 research centres exist along with a factory, CIMI’s Automobile and Electronic Parts Factory (Chongqing gongye guanli xueyuan cheliang dianqi zhongchang). There are 29 degree and non-degree programs, and two master programs which are offered in cooperation with the North China Industry Institute and Sichuan Union University. Based on its specialization in industrial management, CIMI has set up the following programs:

**Economic management**
- investment economy,
- labour economy,
- international economy,
- capital budgeting.

**Management engineering,**
- computerizing management,
- resources management,
- information technology,
- secretary and public relationship,
- modern enterprises’ management.

**Accounting**
accounting,
computerizing accounting,
international accounting

Business management,
marketing,
investment economy,
estate marketing and management,
land management advertisement and retail,

Mechanical engineering
mechanic design,
models and fashions.
techniques and equipment of mechanical engineering,

Electronic engineering
electronic engineering,
electronic technology,
application of PC and repairing.

Auto vehicles.
motors,
vehicles and tractors,
vehicle repairing and examinations.

Governance

CIMI is a sectorial institution, affiliated with the Ministry of Armament Industry,
which has about 20 institutions of higher education. The Ministry is responsible for CIMI’s
finance, the appointment of the heads in both academic administration and the Party, the
quota of faculty, and students’ job placement. Like SUU, CIMI has no administrative
relationship with the provincial and municipal government. In this sense, it is autonomous
from local control. However, CIMI has been willing to develop cooperative relationships
with local authorities in order to enhance its own development and to expand its freedom
of action.

In terms of internal governance, a collective leadership of the institute has been
established through the implementation of the presidential responsibility system under the leadership of the Party committee. Full cooperation between the Party committee and the presidential administration characterizes the governance and the centralization of power in the leading group of the institute. The leading group includes a president and five vice presidents, the Party committee secretary and the chair of the Party discipline committee. This leading group is very efficient and highly disciplined. Partly due to the institute's tradition in the sector of the armament industry, the leading group has displayed great ability to implement policies in the institute and initiate action based upon its policy decisions.

The institute has set up a binary system of governance at two levels: the institute and department. The Party committee is the highest body of decision-making and the leading group for implementation. The committee considers issues such as the appointment of administrators and Party leaders at the middle level and above, the development of the university, and the formation of university policies. The present Party committee secretary has been in this position for about ten years. He was appointed by the Ministry in the first instance, and reelected three times through the Party Members' Congress in the institute. At the Third Party Members' Congress in 1994, of seven members in the present leading group of the institute (president, vice presidents, Party committee secretary and vice Party committee secretaires), five were selected as members of the Party committee.

The Party has its functional structures established at the institute and department levels. In 1995, there were 389 Party members, 8 general branches, and 30 subbranches, with a Party school which was set up in 1988. Party members made up one thirds of staff and faculty members in the institute, and all administrators at the department level and above
were Party members. Since the educational reform, the Party committee has enacted 15 regulations and codes to educate and discipline members (Chongqing gongye guanli xueyuan xiaoshi, 1995).

Along the line of administration, the president is the highest executive officer in the institute. The institute members highly respect the present president and regard him as a leader, a practitioner, and an entrepreneur in the development of the institute. He is one of the pioneers who reestablished the institute after the Cultural Revolution, being vice president in 1986 and became president in 1994. There are five vice presidents, among whom one also acts as vice Party secretary and chair of the Party disciplinary committee. This arrangement shows a shift of power forward presidential administration.

Funding

As a sectoral institute, CIMI is funded by the Ministry of Armament Industry under the unitary funding formula of the state. The funds come to the institute annually through the form of operational fees, research fees, and capital construction fees. The ministry may sometimes add more funds on an ad hoc basis since the institute is still under construction. Besides, CIMI has the capacity to generate revenues from its own factories and companies. It has developed campus factories ever since it was founded. Now it has a profit-making factory to produce electronic parts, a new product development business, and an architecture construction company. These businesses can generate about 10 million yuan for the institute a year. In recent years, the cooperation with external agencies and business companies also brought funds to the institute. In 1995, the institute’s funds fell into three groups of 10 million’s each: 10 million from the government, 10 million from cooperative
partners, and 10 million from its business activities. Although the funds from its partners may not be consistent, the funds from its business activities are regular and are expected to increase in the future.

Special features

One of the most important characteristics of CIMI is its success in developing cooperative programs. CIMI has provided a successful model of a sectoral university working in cooperation with local agencies such as local government, sectoral industry, business, and other universities. Although it has a very short history, it is innovative and progressive. Its cooperation with other agencies has a great impact on the academic expansion of the institute. In return, CIMI has increased services for the local area and for the sector. While other universities seek resources for survival, CIMI has vigorously pursued its development based on its own conditions. In 1995, the provincial government praised CIMI as a model of institutional development in the province.

Chongqing Teachers' College

General information

Chongqing Teachers' College is a medium sized degree-granting institution, affiliated to the provincial government. It is in Shapingba District, the cultural centre of Chongqing, where there are seven large and medium sized universities and colleges and several prestigious keypoint secondary schools at the primary and secondary levels. The college has about 20 hectares in size, and over 100,000 M² are taken up for school buildings. It has a small but enjoyable and quiet campus right in the commercial centre of the district.
Its campus is next to a railway station and a long distance bus station, which link the city to all areas of the region and the country. With this convenience of transportation, which is specially important nowadays in China, the college provides a suitable place for students to study and to experience the busy city life. Its location became one of the most important conditions which enabled it to attract faculty members and self-paying students. In 1995, the total employment of the college was about 1,100 staff including 436 faculty members with about 150 professors and associate professors. About 4,500 full-time students throughout the province were enrolled in degree and non-degree programs, and there were about 2,400 students in adult learning.

History

The college was founded in December of 1953 by the government of Chongqing City as a junior college (offering two year undergraduate education) to prepare teachers for secondary schools. It had six specializations: Chinese, mathematics, physics, chemistry, geography, and biology. Deng Ken, director of the municipal educational bureau and a revolutionary veteran, acted as the first president (1954-56). In 1954, the provincial government took over the control of the college and the college increased enrolment steadily. In 1959, it was promoted to university level (offering four year study programs) and it changed its name to Chongqing Teachers' College. The college added accounting mathematics, electronic technology, and political studies to its curriculum at that time. In that year, 125 students were enrolled in four-year study programs, and all together there were 849 new students. In 1960, the college enrolled 59 new students for five-year study programs and increased students in four-year study programs. However, that was the last
year of institutional expansion.

In 1961, the central government adjusted the plan for teacher education development. Chongqing Teachers' College became one of those which had to limit its expansion. Again, the government degraded it to a junior college, allowing it to develop only three year-study programs. The college had to cut down the former nine programs and specialities to four: Chinese, mathematics, biology, and geography, and many facilities, programs, faculty, and students were transferred to Sichuan Teachers' College, located in Chengdu, about 500 kilometres away from Chongqing. In the following years before the Cultural Revolution, the college continued to reduce its enrolment, and in 1965, the number of new students dropped to 199, and there were only about 600 students on campus.

In 1966, the college stopped operation, as did all other universities and colleges at that time. The college resumed operation in 1972, and began to develop slowly but steadily. The new student enrolment was about 300 on average from 1972 to 1976. By 1976, the last year of the Cultural Revolution, there were five departments and seven programs: Chinese, mathematics, physics and chemistry, history and geography, and foreign languages, with about 900 full-time students in three year programs. However, the Cultural Revolution gave the college a chance to develop non-formal education programs. During this period, the college successfully developed distance education programs in Chinese and mathematics. By 1976, the number of registered students reached 38,000, among whom, 28,000 were in Chinese and 10,000 in mathematics. They were divided into 370 classes, and over 5,000 study groups (Chongqing shifan xueyuan xiaoshi, 1995:61).

Throughout its history, it was only the reform period that provided great opportunities
to the college for the development of formal education. In 1978, the college was again promoted to be a university level institution offering four-year study programs, and in 1981, it was granted bachelor degree conferring power by the State Council. In 1987, the college enrolled the first group of masters degree students, marking a move toward the greatest academic prestige in its programs. In the 1990s, the college moved toward the combination of teacher eduction and non-teacher eduction programs and other developments in textbooks, library service, facilities, and equipment.

Like CIMI, Chongqing Teachers College did not have any chance to enter the 2/1/1 project. Its leaders therefore tried to look for their own pattern of development. One of the important strategies they adopted was to develop non-teaching programs. The college gradually established 18 non-teacher training programs. In 1992, the college established an ad hoc committee to design a reform plan. It set the long-term goals of an enrolment of 9000-10000 students, including full-time degree and non-degree students, graduate students, and adult learning students by the year 2000; adding 3-5 new non-teaching training programs, increasing masters programs by 4-6 in number; establishing 5-8 keypoint subjects including 3-5 provincial keypoint subjects, and preparing a certain number of professors and specialists who are in the front of their fields (Chongqing shifan xueyuan xiaoshi, 1995:143).

Aims

Chongqing Teachers College aims at preparing school teachers at the secondary level. It also intends to strengthen research and the development of non-teacher education programs. The college is committed to the CCP's educational policies, and to students' all-
round development in morality, intelligence, and health. It focuses on enhancing the quality of teacher education by the development of students’ teaching skills through the integration of the formal curriculum and extra curricular activity.

Curriculum

The curriculum is based on arts, sciences, and education. There is a tendency to become more comprehensive in the future. In 1995, the college had eleven departments: Chinese, Mathematics, Foreign languages, Chemistry, Physics, Geography (or Tourism Management), Film and video, History, Biology, Political Sciences. Two research institutes exist along with five research and teaching centres. There were six master programs, fourteen bachelor programs, nineteen diploma programs, and about thirty programs in adult learning.

Forming its base in teacher training, CTC has set up a curriculum including the arts, social sciences, pure sciences, and applied arts and sciences:

1) Chinese, history, foreign languages, film and video;
2) politics, psychology and pedagogy, and administration;
3) mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, geography;
4) computer sciences, tourism management, marketing and selling and accounting.

The college has also developed extra curricular activities that will enhance students’ skills as teachers. For example, it has a program in hand writing, blackboard writing, brush writing, and chalk painting.

Governance

CTC is a provincial institution. Within central government policies, the provincial government has the direct control of CTC’s finance, personnel, academic matters, and
student admission and job placement. The college has no administrative relationship with the municipal government.

In terms of internal government, the presidential responsibility system under the leadership of the Party committee has been applied ever since the government introduced it. The provincial government appoints both the president and Party committee secretary. The Eighth Party Members’ Congress in 1993 produced the present Party committee, composed of eight members. The president and one vice president were selected as members of the Party Committee. The college also has a Party disciplinary committee, which is to inspect the ethics of the Party members and cadres. The present Party committee secretary came from another university in 1990. He was appointed first, and then reelected by the Party Members’ Congress in 1993. Under his leadership, the Party’s work has become more practical, linking the Party’s policies to the college’s goals. In recent years, the Party Committee has been responsible for several practical activities, which showed their efforts to improve the college. One was the establishment of the research institute on education to strengthen research on teacher education. Another was to accumulate money to build an eight-floor training centre to develop adult learning. Another was to design the overall reform plan of the college. A fifth important one was to take back the college’s land which had been occupied by other companies during the Cultural Revolution (Interview code, 0121).

While all important issues in the college, especially in personnel matters and leadership, finance, and objectives of the college, have to be discussed in the Party committee, the Party committee centres on membership development, policy studies, the administration of cadres, and students’ moral education. Since 1992, the Party committee
has established study groups and training classes to educate cadres (administrators) in all functional sectors and departments. It has also restructured the contingent of cadres by introducing new standards. In 1994, of 100 administrators at the department level and above, 47 persons had professorial titles equal to associator professor and above, 97 persons had post secondary education, and nine had graduate degrees. Beside a complete structure for Party and mass organizations, the Party also has a staff and faculty representative committee. The purpose of this committee is to examine and discuss the college’s overall goals and policies regarding development, teaching and research, business, and staff welfare.

Being a member of the Party committee, the president is also responsible for implementing the decisions of the Party committee. CTC has two levels of administration and the president has the highest administrative power. CTC has adopted the responsibility system in the department. It is clear in theory that the Party branch and the secretary are only to facilitate the implementation of the government and college’s policies, with the chair having the main authority. Of course in many departments, it is a usual experience for chairs to share powers with the Party branch secretary and other department leaders such as the vice chairs and the office director.

The college has established academic councils to study and make decisions on all important academic affairs including the curriculum council which steers the development of programs and courses and the keypoint subject council which develops high quality subjects at three levels: the college, provincial, and national. For CTC, the emphasis is on that of the provincial and college keypoint subjects. Besides, there are the evaluation council and the committee approving professional titles. Faculty members dominate these
councils, with the president as a chair in all cases.

Funding

The college is funded by the provincial government through three categories: operational fees, research fees, and capital construction fees. By comparison to SUU and CIMI, CTC is definitely the poorest institution of all. In 1995, the government allocated about 15,000,000 yuan to CTC's operations and research. The college generated by itself about 10,000,000 yuan through contracts, tuition, running classes, and service to society. Since the college does not have a core factory or key products as CIMI had, nor can it dream of entering the 2/1/1 project to get extra funding from the central government as SUU has done, it has to depend on its limited resources. The college has two companies now which focus on commercializing research results, but most of its self-generated funds come from student fees. And now the college depends more and more on this self-generated income to keep the normal order of teaching and research.

Special features

As a provincial institution, Chongqing Teachers' College has limited resources but it has tried to make the best of its situation and expanded its role in society based on its own conditions. The most important development of the college is that it has developed new non-teacher training programs and increase its ability to serve local and provincial communities. Since 1953, The college has provided over 30,000 graduates who are now teaching in the province, many of whom have become leaders of middle schools and educational administrators from the grassroots to the provincial government. It has trained
thousands and thousands of school teachers in the province through adult learning programs. By now, it has won the highest reputation for its quality of graduates as a teacher training institution in the province. It is seen that the college is beginning to move in new directions toward research by developing particular programs such as computer science in mathematics, research on the Taiping Rebellion in history, literature of the Anti-Japanese period in the Chinese department, and special education in psychology. Besides, it also exercises its ability to succeed in both teacher training and non-teaching training programs, and formal and non-formal schooling.

**Summary**

In this chapter, I described SUU, CTC, and CIMI, three cases of university autonomy. Despite the differences in their traditions, administrative affiliations, funding sources, subject areas, institutional size, student and faculty members' qualifications, these universities showed a common understanding of autonomy as a form of freedom of action and they took it as a practical approach to development in the present period.

Each institution came into being at specific period of Chinese history and was able to develop its particular identity in the reform period. SUU is the oldest one, developing with the history of modern China since 1902; CTC is linked to the history in the socialist period, and CIMI is a product of the reform period. Their governing authorities are different, representing three main educational levels of administration in China. SUU is with the SEdC, CTC with Sichuan Province, and CIMI with the Ministry of Armaments. Their academic prestige seems to be connected with their history. SUU has the highest status as a SEdC university and also has the longest history of the three. CTC may have a
bit higher status than CIMI due to its longer history, although it is a provincial institution. However, CIMI has a strong foundation, based on the importance of the Ministry of Armaments as well as the financial strength created by its own efforts.

Within the framework of government policies, these institutions have formed their own patterns of development, resulting from their understanding of university autonomy. Thus, each has provided a case for studying the practice of autonomy in their own development.

Sichuan Union University has started a new model of Chinese higher education as a multiversity with liberal arts, pure sciences, engineering, economics, management, law, and other applied sciences and arts, a model formed by the reunion of two universities, which had once been together before 1949. What is significant is that the merger was their own choice, although the national 2/1/1 project triggered the idea.

Chongqing Institute of Industry Management has displayed a model of cooperation with various agencies such as the government, enterprises, and foreign corporations. It is a model of the university as an agent of change. Their practice shows that there is a great potential in society for the support of higher education. Their semi-military style of governance and ability to do things quickly and effectively are attributed as the main factors to their development. In comparison with other institutions, CIMI has developed very quickly in the past ten years.

Chongqing Teachers’ College has sought development through combining teacher training and non-teacher training programs. The reform has provided good opportunities for its development. CTC has chosen to focus on student quality, and through the improvement of teaching, it has increased programs which are the major sources of revenue apart from government funding. This orientation has opened a new way for the
college to develop and to gain academic experience and financial benefit. Its adult learning programs have displayed some great potential in providing alternative delivery programs for the future.
CHAPTER EIGHT: ACADEMIC AUTONOMY

What is academic autonomy? How is it defined in practical terms in China? In the Western literature, academic autonomy is almost identical with university autonomy, as academicians' control over academic affairs. Academic freedom is the most important principle of all, concerning within academicians' needs and interests. In North America, academic freedom takes the forms of freedom of teaching, research, and publication, and of tenure which protects academicians from dismissal unless they are incompetent. There is high degree of agreement among interviewees on that academic autonomy is just one aspect of university autonomy, not necessarily limited to professors.54 Academic autonomy is what universities do to create their own academic community and to develop academic identity within the framework of government policies. It involves conducting academic governance in terms of goals and direction, deciding student admission and job placement, determining outline of teaching, establishing or terminating a course, program or research project, writing or selecting materials, conducting instruction and arranging courses, setting up evaluation standards for students' academic performance, publishing and handling the results of research, and examining qualifications for degrees and teachers' professorial titles.

In this section, I will explore the meaning of academic autonomy in practical terms,

54 In the interviews, two important opinions were found in relation to the status quo of teachers. One was that teachers had some control over academic affairs, especially over curriculum development and classroom instruction. The other was that teachers did not have any administrative power in other aspects such as student management and personnel and financial affairs. This was regarded as a weak point of the status quo of teachers in the present situation. One professor thus suggested that the university establish personnel and financial councils as part of the decision-making machinery and select teachers to be members of those councils (Interview code, 0332).
particularly as it relates to student admission and job allocation, program initiation and termination, the structure of the curriculum, and academic freedom and faculty issues.

**Student Admission and Job Allocation**

**Admission**

In students admission, except for the admission of self-paying and sponsored students, universities and colleges do not have much freedom in determination of admission standards, student qualifications, and admission numbers. In the 1985 education reform decision, the central government announced two national plans in relation to admission: the state development plan, and the state adjustment plan. The state development plan is linked to the planned economy, suiting the economic development of the country. Every five years, the government issues the enrolment quotas to universities. Students enrolled through the state development plan, which is based on higher education development and middle to long term strategic planning of personnel for the country, are expected to get jobs assigned by the government on graduation. To support the economically developing areas, state key projects, and the People’s Liberation Army, the government allows a certain number of students to be enrolled through a fixed-direction plan, that is, they will go to work in these units after graduation.

The state adjustment plan allows universities to enrol students through contracts with employers. To encourage universities to take more students, the government allows universities to charge the employers for training. Students in this plan are required to work for employers who have paid for their studies after graduation. The government also allows the universities to enrol a small number of self-paying students. After graduation,
these students can look for jobs through recommendation of the universities.\textsuperscript{55} This plan is linked to the market economy, however, and limited by available resources. The government does not provide one penny for students in the state adjustment plan. Besides, the government has a rule about how many students can be enrolled under the state adjustment plan. Universities cannot take more than $1/3$ of their admission quota. Sichuan University had 1,500 new students in 1994, among whom there were about 500 students coming through the state adjustment plan (Interview code, 0321).

Admission process includes the determination of admission standards, the evaluation of student qualifications, decisions on admission numbers, and processing admission. Universities and colleges exercise their control mainly in processing admission.

The government sets up the admission standards, covering political behaviour, morality, health conditions, and personal conditions. With reference to political behaviour and morality, generally, the government allows all students to apply for higher education examinations, except those who have criminal records or have been in jail. There are limitations based on age and marriage status for applicants for the regular higher education institutions. Those who are more than twenty years old or married are not allowed to apply. However, they are welcome to apply for adult higher education.\textsuperscript{56}

Regarding how to evaluate students for admission, the main method is the national entrance examination which takes place in early July. It is divided into two categories: arts

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\textsuperscript{55} "Zhonggong zhongyang guanyu jiaoyu tizhi gaige de jueding" (The decision on the reform of the education system by the Central Committee of the CCP). Issued in 1985. Reprinted in Jiaoyu gaige zhongyang wenxian xuanbian (Selected important documents on education reform), edited and published by Renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, Beijing, 1988, pp. 15-18.

\textsuperscript{56} For those applicants for teacher education, there is some flexibility, for instance, the age can be extended to 28. There is also limitation in age for graduate students (masters under 35, doctors under 45).
and sciences. While Chinese, mathematics, politics, and English are compulsory tests for all, candidates for the arts have to take history and geography and those for the sciences have to take chemistry, physics, and biology. After 1985 many efforts were made to develop standard tests that can guarantee quality and at the same time reduce the pressure on students. One method was to reduce the number of examination subjects. After 1993, geography and biology were removed from the examinations. Many provinces introduced joint examinations for secondary school graduates to screen students for the national tests. With the permission of the SEEdC, Shanghai organized its own regional tests. The government also allowed some national key universities and normal universities to accept students who are exempted from the national entrance examinations. SUU and CTC have a small number of these students.

After the examinations, it is the provincial government's responsibility to grade papers and to organize the selection. The provincial government also decides on entrance scores for degree and non-degree programs, based on the performance of candidates in the province.

Each university sets up its own entrance scores based on provincial standards, which vary in different programs and admission plans (the state development plan or state adjustment plan). In 1995, the Sichuan Provincial government decided on entrance scores of 500 for degree programs and 450 for non-degree programs. As a national keypoint university, SUU required 534 for arts degree programs, 550 for science degree programs, and 453 for non-degree programs under the state development plan; and 514 for arts degree programs and 530 for sciences degree programs under the state adjustment plan. Other non-keypoint universities in Sichuan asked for 515 for arts and 521 for sciences
under the state development plan; and 505 for arts, and 510 for science under the state adjustment plan (Interview code, 0322).

The principles for admission standards made by the government are as follows. First, they are to choose the best. The selection criteria are political behaviour, examination results, and health, with the examination results as the first consideration. Second, they are to choose students who have the highest scores in the entrance examinations. Those who have not reached the provincial standard are not allowed to get into the selection process. If universities do not enrol the students with highest scores among the ones who apply, they must give good reasons and get permission from the provincial enrolment committee. Third, they are to abide by the law of fair competition and selection. They believe that everyone should go to college only through academic competition and the proper selection process. The local government arranged the selection process in a way that is open to the media. Entrance standards and entrance scores are transparent to the public, and the selection results are available for the candidates within one month after the evaluation of the examination papers (Interview code, 0322). Thus, beside the government control, society is beginning to watch over university admission. However, both the government and society pay attention mainly to student enrolment under the state development plan. As for the enrolment under the state adjustment plan, there is more flexibility in admission, selection criteria, and qualifications. It is expected that the government will gradually reduce the number of students under the state development plan in the future. If so, universities might have greater freedom.

Job Placement
Strictly speaking, student job placement is not an academic issue. However, it is taken as one because universities and colleges have been the government’s agencies for assigning graduates ever since 1952. Now universities and colleges are beginning to be released from this burden.

According to a university job placement officer, there are three principles in the reform of student job placement: to benefit the university’s realization of its aims and objectives; to benefit the state’s needs of personnel in keypoint units, the establishment of a rational personnel structure for the country; and to benefit most students so that they can get a job before they leave school (Interview code, 0311).

Beginning in 1985, the SEEdC started experimentation with the student job placement in two of its affiliated universities. SUU was one of them. The reform of student job placement advanced in two stages. In the first stage, the government issued the quota to the potential employers’ units, allowing them to choose students in negotiation with universities. Students did not join in the negotiation at this stage. In the 1990s, the reform entered the second stage. The government allowed students to participate in their own job placement. Students entered the market to negotiate directly with potential employers. They had the right to select employers and vice versa; and they learned to be responsible for their own choices whatever they were. Now, universities and colleges

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57 This principle is called "universities meet employers which require university graduates" (gong xu jian mian) (Interview code, 0311).

58 The method changed to "shuang xiang xuan ze" (two-direction selection), which is the biggest move in the job allocation system since 1951. From then on, students had to find jobs by themselves, in return, they had freedom to choose any job and place they wanted to live in (Interview code, 0311).

59 In the past, universities had complete responsibility for their students. Students perceived their university as "mother school" (mu xiao). Being a mother school for students, the university
can draw back from their responsibilities for their students' jobs. They have become a facilitator to help students get jobs.

Regarding the state's role, the government no longer issues administrative orders to control the process of job placement. The government plans to totally release itself from its responsibility for students' job placement. Nevertheless, at present, the government has not fully released itself from its responsibility for students' in their job placement at present. If any student does not land a job, she or he would go to the government in her home province for help.

Teacher training institutions like CTC have not entered this stage of the reform. Students have to obey the state's unitary assignment and choose only among those units within the assignment plan. When they apply for teacher training institutions, students are informed that they will be provided with full financial aid and free tuition, and that they will be, in return, assigned by the government to teach in schools and they must work for at least five years before they leave for other jobs.

The process of student job placement starts in the beginning of the students' fourth year. Take SUU as an example. The government's offer of jobs covers about 10% of graduates. The university has to help the other 90% of graduates land jobs. Every December in recent years, the SEdC would hold a job information conference to get its affiliated universities to meet with national key enterprises and units. Many universities begin their student job placement at this conference. In 1994, the SEdC held the information exchange conference in Guangzhou. The student job placement officer of SUU not only provided education, accommodation, health care, and entertainment, but also continued its care until the students settled down in their employer units. If any student was not accepted by their employer units, he/she would come back to the university which had to negotiate with the government agency to find other employer units for the student (Interview code, 0311).
went there with the students’ files, which included personal information such as name, region, age, health, height and weight, academic records, moral behaviour, photos, and job choices. At the conference, SUU successfully made agreements with employers for 183 graduates. Later, 171 persons took the offers, and the rest switched to other offers. Beside the immediate agreement made with the employers, the university brought back all information about employment and the employers in the conference to graduates, and helped them contact the potential employers individually. Another 10% of graduates were settled through this follow-up contact. The other 80% of students would find their jobs through various similar conferences, meetings, and gatherings organized by the provincial and municipal governments in the following months. The local government has also established a human resources’ exchange market to help students find jobs. Some specialized institutes like CIMI organize their own job information conferences and invite employers to campus. In addition, students are encouraged to find jobs through their own networks. Through all kinds of channels and methods, most of the graduates can find jobs before they leave the university in July. Those who did not land a job by July, would go back to their native province and the local government would help them get one in the end.60

University members welcome the change in student job placement process. One department Party secretary said:

It has freed the university from a great burden. Every summer in the past, the most difficult thing was to place graduates in some remote areas. Since it was the government’s order, the university had to implement it (Interview code, 0321).

60 Generally speaking, as China is now in a development process, there is a great demand for university graduates. Therefore, there is no unemployment problem at present, for university graduates, especially for those students in the state development plan (Interview codes, 0111, 0322, 0211).
Universities can play a positive role in social communication and development through helping their graduates find jobs. They are no longer a dispatching agency of the government. Through the process, they know more about themselves, their students, and their community. Thus, they can become more responsive to social needs. However, whether they have prepared for this change is hard to say. In the end, the government's job guarantee will be gone and universities will have to face the market on their own. The only way they can attract good students is by developing good programs and improving the quality of their programs.

For students, these changes in job placement bring some fear. Both students and their parents worry about social mobility and unemployment. However, this situation has also stimulated students to study harder than ever before. A student job placement officer noted with satisfaction that all rooms in the library were full of students in the evening and on Saturday now (Interview code, 0311). Viewing the change in job placement, students become more conscious about what they are studying and what job opportunities there are than ever before. They are able to decide their academic and career development. Regarding the process of job placement, they welcome the changes in which the process becomes transparent to them. They know where they may have to go and feel that they can work harder to make it happen. Many students participate in extra curricular activities to gain skills that they cannot obtain from the classroom. According to a student leader in CIMI, more than half of the students have joined various associations including both academic interest groups and entertainment (Interview code, 0241). These organizations help students socialize and develop interests that will enhance their competence for their future job search.
Generally speaking, universities’ freedom over student admission and job placement remain limited. However, universities fear that complete freedom in admission could result in the commercialization of education and put universities in an unequal competition position. A faculty member pointed out that the government should not leave admission power completely to universities themselves because without the government’s sanction, some institutions might seek economic benefit and ignore educational quality. For example, universities might increase numbers of new programs to the detriment of program quality (Interview code, 0313). As for job placement, the government has gradually delegated many powers over students’ job placement to universities. However, many universities do not want the government to shake off all its responsibility for students’ job placement. They fear that their disadvantaged students such as women and those from rural areas will be discriminated against in the job market once the support of the government is gone. They expect some unified standards to be imposed by the government to help them go through this transition period.

Program Initiation and Termination

Program Initiation

The reforms in student admission and job placement caused the development of new programs in universities and colleges in response to social needs. Although the government controls the approval of new programs, universities and colleges have greater freedom to consider new programs if they are well prepared (Interview code, 0115). According to a faculty member, the government did not intend to, and could not, limit program
development in universities.\textsuperscript{61} In the three institutions under investigation, SUU has tripled programs and specializations, CTC has increased from 8 to 29, and CIMI from none to 29. There are three forms of programs: degree programs such as bachelors, masters, and doctors; non-degree programs (two to three years), and adult education programs. In terms of degree programs, SUU covers all three levels, CTC has bachelors and a few masters programs, and CIMI has bachelors degree programs.

The SEdC has several rules for the establishment of new programs. First, universities must choose only program areas which are included in the SEdC's program catalogues.\textsuperscript{62} Second, universities must complete an application form with a program plan which includes aims, the length of study, curriculum, and the evaluation methods. Third, universities must follow the appropriate procedures--applying for approval to their direct controlling agencies first, and then filing their application documents to the provincial or national education commissions. Within the framework of these rules, universities can develop programs based on their own resources and capacity. In the following paragraphs, let me describe how CTC, SUU, and CIMI developed their programs related to tourism management to illustrate their autonomy in program development.\textsuperscript{63}

Let me start with CTC. The geography department in CTC is a small but very energetic department. There are thirty-six faculty members and eleven staff, with more

\textsuperscript{61} This is also reflected in Statistics China, which shows that programs increased from 6,319 in 1978 to 11,760 in 1985, and to 16,178 in 1993.

\textsuperscript{62} The SEdC updated several catalogues of programs for arts, sciences, and engineering, fine arts, and others in 1989. A program put forward for approval must bear the same name as that in the catalogue (Interview code, 0114).

\textsuperscript{63} This is based on interview records gained from the selected institutions (Interview codes, 0431, 0321, 0213).
than 250 full-time students and 200 students registered in adult education. In 1993, the central government removed geography from the national entrance examinations. Then, not many geography teachers were demanded and the department had to cut annual enrolment from 90 students down to 30. This situation forced the department leaders to consider other options for development. The department is one of the two oldest geography departments in the province with eighteen professors and associate professors and eleven lecturers, good labs and equipment, and a rich collection of books and magazines. The department has two nationally circulated publications: the Journal of Geography Education (Dili jiaoyu) and the Geographical Perspective (Dili daguanyuan). With their resources, the department decided to start new programs that could integrate geography education with the new needs of society.

As we know, China’s unitary entrance examinations have always dominated Chinese teacher training institutions and school education. Schools and most teacher education colleges only set up such subjects as are tested in the entrance examinations. When geography was no longer required in the entrance examinations, schools did not hire as many geography teachers as they had before. Many schools had to switch their geography teachers to other subject areas. After scanning the market needs, the department leaders put forward the idea of developing a tourism management program. In 1993, the department leaders visited a dozen other universities in the country. The geography department of Shanghai Normal University had developed a successful tourism management program. East China Normal University, and Hubei University (the former Hubei Teachers’ College) had established a new department of tourism management. In August of 1994, the department formulated the application for a tourism management
program and submitted it to the provincial education commission. The application package included objectives and aims of the program and its connection to social needs, conditions and advantages of the department, preparation and teaching staff, and the curriculum. In 1995, the provincial education commission approved the program, allowing 30 students to enrol in the state development plan and 10 more in the state adjustment plan.

In 1995, three programs of tourism management in Sichuan Province were approved through different jurisdictions. The one in CTC focused on geographical sightseeing and tourism and was located in the Geography Department of CTC. CTC sought approval from the provincial education commission. Another focused on historical heritage and tourism, and was set in the History Department of SUU. SUU sought approval from the SEdC. The other focused on hotel management and tourism and was established as a school in CIMI, in cooperation with a travel company. Since its cooperative partner was located in Chongqing, CIMI was able to get approval from the municipal government.

According to their experience, there were various ways to develop new programs. Universities could develop programs through the establishment of a new department. Once the department was built, adding new programs would be easier. Universities could also develop non-degree programs and adult learning programs first, for which, the government had comparatively fewer restrictions. After a few years of practice, when these programs became mature, universities could file applications to the government to transfer these programs into degree programs. For instance, the degree program in computer sciences in the Mathematics Department of CTC followed this process. As well, universities could develop cooperative programs with local corporation or other universities which had already established programs. CIMI developed several cooperative programs and schools
with other institutions in recent years. Incorporating with a local enterprise, it sought the approval of a tourism management program and a program in driving from the municipal government, which considers new programs mainly from the perspective of local needs.

It is a different experience for universities to seek the approval of graduate programs, where the control is with the central government. The SEdC approves applications on an irregular basis, once in several years. The first approval of graduate programs was in 1981. By now, it has approved six groups of graduate program applications. The process is highly competitive. Universities have to file their applications to their responsible authorities for first approval. Then, the applications are also sent to the Subject Evaluation Committee of the State Council for final evaluation. Distinguished scholars in the country form the Evaluation Committee. However, academic competence is not the only factor in the approval. The Geography Department of CTC filed its application for a master's program in natural geography in the first half of 1995. In September, it passed the first evaluation in the provincial education commission. In January of 1996, the National Subject Evaluation Committee began to view all applications. They classified geography into the subject area of air and earth. Since there were so many disciplines in this category and many committee members were not in the particular field of geography, it required not only academic competence, but also other conditions, such as detailed program plans, personal connections, and evaluation of local needs. In the end, they approved its application for the master's program. Now, this department has masters programs, bachelor programs, three year, and two year non-degree undergraduate programs, and adult learning programs. Besides, they have three fields of study--geography education, marketing and trading, and tourism management.
It might be a little unusual to find different programs in three fields of study in one department. This has become a common practice now in Chinese universities. For instance, the Mathematics Department in CTC has programs in mathematics, accounting, and computer sciences; the History Department in SUU has programs in history, archaeology, and tourism management, and the Philosophy Department has programs of philosophy and administration.

Program Termination

Regarding termination of a program, universities still need permission from the government, but that is just a formality. The university can decide for itself. In 1995, the History Department of SUU ended their museum study program. The dean explained this as follows:

What we consider most is the maturity of the program. From a national perspective, our program on museum study is not very mature. Academically, museum study is very close to archaeology. Students in museum study must study archaeological excavation and cultural protection. These two kinds of knowledge are interrelated. Ours has not become an independent discipline, unlike those in foreign countries. From a job market view, we have found that students with both kinds of knowledge are more welcome. In addition, we do not have very good experts in this field at present. We have not had much research done in this area. Thus, we could not provide high quality courses at a higher level but had to replace them with archaeology courses. We felt it difficult to continue this program in such circumstances. Therefore, we decided to merge the museum study with an archaeology program, and to stop enrolment in the museum study for a while. But we set it as a specialization in our archaeology program (Interview code, 0321).

There are some cases in which the government interfered in university programs for the sake of quality control. In September of 1995, the national academic commission in the State Council evaluated 259 doctoral programs in five fields of study: mathematics, chemistry, physics, electronics, computer science and technology. The result showed that
fifteen doctoral programs were not of adequate quality or they were poorly operated. At its 14th session, the commission ruled that three doctoral programs be not allowed to enrol students for two years, eight programs be adjusted, and four programs needed to change (Renminribao, haiwaiban, July 9, 1996).

Curriculum

After 1985, university curricula moved toward the integration of theoretical and applied knowledge, with a special emphasis on applied arts and sciences. The government's control was seen in the structure of knowledge, political content in the curriculum, and the curriculum length. Universities and colleges were able to make changes in areas such as redefining training objectives in subject areas, and developing courses in relation to their own understanding of knowledge and social needs.

The curriculum was structured according to the division among general knowledge, foundational knowledge, and specialized knowledge, with a shift to the integration of divisions of various kinds of knowledge so that there were compulsory and elective courses. The compulsory courses cover general knowledge, foundational knowledge, and advanced knowledge in specialities. The compulsory courses take up over 70% of all courses. Elective courses are developed to expand students' knowledge. The bachelor's degree program takes four years, with about 2500-3000 class hours, varying little among different programs and universities.

The political courses are put into the compulsory studies. It is still believed that

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64 General knowledge includes courses in political and moral education, physical education, and foreign languages. Foundational knowledge refers to the foundation of a speciality like Chinese language in the humanities and mathematics, physics, and chemistry in sciences.
students can learn values through particular courses offered in the curriculum. We can see what these courses are through the curriculum guideline in the three institutions:

**Sichuan University:**

1) current situation and ideology education,
2) history of Chinese revolution,
3) Chinese socialist construction,
4) Marxist theory,
5) national defense education (*Sichuan daxue jiaowuchu*, 1994).

**Chongqing Teachers College:**

1) history of the Chinese revolution,
2) Chinese socialist construction,
3) Marxist theory,
4) the world political economy and international relations,
5) foundations of law,

**Chongqing Industry Management Institute:**

1) Chinese socialist construction,
2) history of the Chinese revolution,
3) Marxist theory,
4) foundations of law,
5) ethic educational and moral cultivation,

In non-degree programs, only one or two general political courses are included. For a two-year marketing and trade program in English in CTC, there are only two political courses: the Chinese revolution and construction and foundations of law (*Chongqing shifan xueyuan jiaowuchu*, 1995).

Except for political studies, universities can make changes in their curriculum. The curriculum change in CIMI focused on cooperative education through the establishment of several programs, schools, and labs with cooperative partners. CIMI established a general study department in which all first year students are put together for the first year in order
to strengthen the study of general knowledge. With the implementation of the credit system and a major-minor system, students were exposed to a wide range of knowledge. CIMI also strengthened the construction of labs and arranged internships based on relations to market needs. They also tried to integrate the development of long-term and short-term programs (Interview code, 0213).

CTC made changes in the following four areas. First, they changed the structure of college programs by adding four teacher training and two non-teacher training degree programs. They cut off some theoretical courses and replaced them with selective courses in applied arts and technologies. They moved some courses in the curriculum to extra curricular studies, such as music and painting, to reduce the students' load. Second, they developed nine college keypoint courses and three provincial key point courses which include English, Mathematics, and ancient Chinese. Third, they reinforced the management of student training by requiring students to pass the fourth level of national tests in English, and the basic level of national tests in computers. They would not confer degrees on those who failed the tests. Fourth, they developed regulations and codes that reflected the needs of CTC regarding teaching and learning (Interview code, 0114).

Universities shifted their emphasis on specialization in the past to general knowledge and to the application of knowledge to practice at present. Their objectives are stated in university curriculum guidelines. What is most important is that these details reflect a tendency toward the development of diversity of aims and program needs. The following paragraphs illustrate some of these changes at SUU.

History aims at preparing practical specialized personnel who fit in with socialist modernization needs. They must have all-round development in morality, intelligence, and health, have a systematic mastery of basic theories, knowledge, and skills of history, archaeology, and museum study, and have a wide range of
knowledge in border trade, tour business, affairs concerning the people living in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Macau, national economic development, and urban development and management.

Philosophy aims at preparing high level specialized personnel who fit in with socialist modernization. They must have all round development in morality, intelligence, and health, with a systematic mastery of basic principles of Marxist philosophy and basic theories of administrative management, with problem solving ability, theoretical thinking, writing skills, oral expression, and socialization skills. They must be familiar with modern technology and the management skills of office work.

International trade aims at preparing specialized personnel who fit in with socialist economic construction. They must have all-round development in morality, intelligence, and health; with a systematic mastery of Marxist international trade and international finance theory, of knowledge of business and international commercial affairs and business skills, with a sense of modern business and a strategic vision. They must be capable of using one foreign language in financial activities, teaching, and research.

Mathematics aims at preparing specialized personnel with all round development in morality, intelligence, and health. They must have strong scientific quality and a solid foundation in mathematics, and primary training in basic research and applied research.

Physics aims at preparing specialized personnel with all round development in morality, intelligence, and health. They must have strong theoretical foundations, ability of doing experiments, creativity, and adaptation. They must have primary training in basic research and applied research.

Electronic engineering aims at preparing specialized personnel with all-around development in morality, intelligence, and health. They must be strong in maths and physics, master theories of automatic control, and applied technology in computers and electronics, and receive strict training in science experimentation and primary training in engineering design. 65

Curriculum changes emphasise the application of theoretical knowledge to practical problems in society and competency and skills. The most obvious thing was the development of applied arts programs. For instance, in 1984, the Department of Philosophy in the former Sichuan University established an administration program for

social needs. For many years, the department had only one program, which focused on the study of Marxism and Mao Zedong thought and it mainly prepared government officials and teachers for secondary schools and colleges. When the economic reform began, the philosophy program went into a kind of stagnation situation and its students could not find appropriate jobs. While doing social investigation in factories, some faculty members discovered that administrators in these factories needed training badly. Soon the department opened classes to train administrators and managers for factories, companies, and the government, which led to the establishment of an administration program. The department created a way to integrate philosophy with administration and at the same time it generated lots of money through tuition, texts, and charge for services (Interview code, 0313). Now this program has three specializations—administration, secretary and office automation, and administration in enterprises. Graduates from the department have a wider range of work opportunities than before and they are supposed to work in fields of human resources, ideology, policy research, propaganda, and administration for the Party and government, mass associations, enterprises and corporations, and teaching and research institutes. The program of administration in SUU has become a model for philosophy departments in the country. Soon many universities and college followed SUU and developed various applied programs in relation to philosophy. As well, other fields of study experienced the same growth. In SUU, the History Department had specializations in urban development and management, management of affairs related to Hong Kong, 

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66 Before, the program of philosophy included such courses as political studies, mathematics, foundations of national science, the history of Western philosophy, the history of Chinese philosophy, readings of Marx and Lenin, modern Western philosophy, Mao Zedong’s philosophical thought, dialectics, and ethics. The program had a strong focus on the study of Marxism and Mao Zedong thought and on application of these theories to China’s reality.
Taiwan, and Macau; The Chinese Department had management of arts and culture, secretarial study and public relation, film and radio; and the Mathematics Department had computer mathematics and applied software. New programs were also seen in law, finance, environment, and energy and materials. Many courses became very practical, focusing on problem-solving skills. For example, in SUU, the Chinese Department had elective courses in "methods of using reference books" (E01018) and "applied writing" (E01019); the Mathematics Department of "literature research" (F01085), "academic writing" (F01103), and "statistics software and operation" (F01101) (Sichuan daxue jiaowuchu, 1994:43,247).

Beside the curriculum, extra curricular activities attracted my attention. There were no limitations from the government. Extra curricular activities were not included in the teaching plan, but required by each university. Extra curricular activities used to be politically oriented, organized mainly by the Party organizations, through the Youth League and student associations. The purpose was to increase students' political consciousness and communist values. Now, extra curricular activities have expanded to all kinds of campus activities aimed at preparing students for the challenge of their future work and life. They cover broad areas of knowledge, skills, and values. Some universities have begun to integrate this with the curriculum. There are university requirements. For instance, CTC requires students in teacher training programs to pass tests in handwritings and painting, and CIMI required its students in business management to pass tests in driving, English, and computer operation. Students can learn from extra curricular activities mainly in the following ways.

Formal courses are provided in English, computers, and speech practice for those
students who want to improve their skills out of class. Usually, they are organized by the student affairs office and the Youth League. Self-organized associations of students also exist, such as a geography association, a mathematics association, and a Marxist study group. There were many organizations of this kind. Students were encouraged to participate in these associations to develop their interests or entertain themselves.

Universities funded these associations. Universities organize special courses for students, based on their own choice. Formally, every year, universities organize special occasions such as "academic weeks" and contests, to encourage students to participate in research and academic activities. Through contests in areas such as Mandarin speech, handwriting, English speaking, and all kinds of sports activities, students not only have lots of fun but also expand their learning.

With regard to textbooks and teaching methods, there are no restriction from the government except for some materials in political studies. At the university level, a curriculum committee has been established under the auspice of the study affairs office (jiaowuchu). Since 1979, faculty members in Sichuan University (former SUU) had written more than 200 kinds of texts and 400 kinds of lecture drafts. The university could choose from a number of excellent texts published at home or outside.

In the evaluation of the curriculum, there is a tendency to separate examination and teaching. All three institutions were developing data banks to store examination questions. The control of these questions was in the department. They also participated in various national examinations in English, Computer, and mathematics. They required their students to take English and computer tests, and CIMI also required students to take national tests in mathematics. There were other kinds of evaluation organized by non government
institutions such as enterprises or academic communities. In 1995, the students of CIMI won two championships in national contests for mathematical design and computer design. Universities participated in these contests based on their free choice, because they believed that the tests could help students develop their ability and promote the institution's reputation.

Universities seem to be enthusiastic about unitary evaluation methods. The most obvious case was the national test of English. Although the government did not require it, many universities chose to take the test. English language is one of the required courses for all, with about 300 class hours (4 hours a week, four semesters in all). In fact, many students had to put in much more time to pass the test. The three universities in my study had all required degree students to pass the national test of English. About 5% of their students could not pass the test. As a result, these who failed the test could not get their degrees. A president explained:

We have to be hardhearted to refuse to offer the degree to those students who have not passed the English test although they might be qualified in other ways. Insisting on this rule to improve our quality is important for us to meet social needs (Interview code, 0111).

According to a department chair, English was put into the curriculum of a new program not because of a requirement in the structure of knowledge, but because of the expectation of students and parents (Interview code, 0431).

Many faculty members expressed their doubts about this. A few doctoral supervisors worried that their doctoral students did not have enough time to study their specialties because they had to spend 1/3 to 1/2 of their time to learn English (Interview codes, 0331, 0453). This led to questions of who determined the standard and what quality it should be. At present, the quality indicates a mastery of English, some knowledge about computers
and their operation. One administrator said:

Although the government does not order them to participate in the evaluation, all universities have tried to follow the direction. This influence of national tests has shown the domination of one model, and that the minds of university members are not liberated enough (Discussion minutes, 0411).

This shows the influence of the government in university culture.

**Academic Freedom and Faculty Members.**

As I mentioned, university autonomy is not identical with academic freedom, although it covers part of it. In the reform, a higher degree of university autonomy provides a more free environment for university members to pursue their goals.

Traditionally, academic freedom in China was understood as a political right of intellectuals to represent public opinion, criticising the rulers or government (Freyn 1940, Cherrington 1991). It is observed that the idea of freedom did not disappear in this reform, although the government tried to reduce the political dimension and urge a response to economic reform.

One of the Chinese intellectual traditions is that there is no strict boundary between academic freedom and ideological freedom. The standard is very arbitrary, based on the effect of free speech on the public and its consequence in influencing the masses. To teachers, this is a difficult issue because they deal with students and what they say is already in the public.

Academic freedom in Chinese practice was not applied merely to university teachers; it was for the whole intellectual community, especially intellectuals working in the arts and social sciences. Communist government also promoted academic freedom, but defined it differently. In the 1950s, academic freedom was expressed in the Party’s two principles--
one hundred flowers blossoming and one hundred schools of thought contending. The Party allowed diverse opinions and ideas to be spoken and different voices to be heard, within the frame of zero tolerance for attacks on socialism, and the Party’s general line. This resulted in a phenomenon where the nature of the discipline was the crucial factor in academic freedom. In the natural sciences, it was considerable, but far more limited in the social science and humanities.

If we put the political view aside, within the university setting, academic freedom has become a freedom to compete for academic excellence in the reform period. It is a means for individual teachers and students, teachers in particular, to pursue the development of teaching, learning, and research, through activities such as raising questions, expressing ideas and attitudes, setting up topics for study and research, selecting materials, publishing and handling research results. It focuses on freedom of competition, of pursuing academic success, and of marketing one’s knowledge. According to university members, there is no limitation upon individuals’ pursuit of knowledge and academic success now. The government, university, and departments encourage individuals to succeed because this promotes the quality and efficiency of universities and benefits the government (Interview code, 0115).

Some methods of rating academic ranks reflect this idea of academic freedom as competition. In Chongqing Medical University, one evaluation method is called giving an open challenge (da lei tai). The university posted the number of professorial positions and the required qualifications on campus so that everyone in the university could apply. The applicants sent their applications with the nomination of the department to the university committee responsible for evaluating academic ranks. After the committee screened the
applications, it put the date and rules of the challenge out to the public. The committee invited the most prestigious scholars and practitioners in the medical field to be judges. The applicants would tell the audience about their work, publications, research, awards, and achievements of any kinds. They answer any question raised by committee members as well as by the audience. They can also challenge other applicants. According to an administrator, most academicians widely accept this open challenge (Interview code, 0421). Other universities such as CTC and CIMI did not use this method, but gave everyone who had applied for professorial positions a chance to describe their work, performance, and achievements in the academic council. Before they entered this stage, the applicants could pass the primary evaluation at the department level.

Academic freedom is supported by a phenomenon in which research has become one of the central tasks of universities, and faculty are encouraged to integrate research and teaching. It is a new direction that universities adopt research as a major goal. In the 1950s, most higher education institutions were teaching institutions because the government established separate research institutes to do research. Since 1985, the government has encouraged national keypoint universities to centre on both teaching and research. All other universities and colleges take research as part of their goals. As a national keypoint university, SUU would stand in front of the three. A report about Sichuan University (former SUU) in 1993 indicated that research grants in the natural sciences reached 20,830,000 yuan, the university had got contracts for research relating to 8 national key projects. It had its 32 research projects pass evaluation, produced six patents, got 32 government awards, published 657 academic papers, and obtained fees for commercializing research results at 1,502,000 yuan (Sichuan daxue nianjian, 1995:160-161). For CTC and
CIMI, their research office have become much busier than ever before. For faculty members, research has become important for their promotion to a higher position, such as associate professor and professor, and for their income and reputation. To mention a few examples, one associate professor in CTC got funds from the UN for the study of disabled children; another professor in mathematics, published over 50 articles in international journals, and was recognized as one of the first rate scholars in the field. A professor in CIMI won a prize in the competition for excellent text books for his text book "The Application of the PC in Management" (Chongqing gongye guanli xueyuan xiaoshi, 1995:95).

Research has liberated faculty members' minds, enabling them to participate in social and economic development. Some faculty members have developed second careers as designers, consultants, and lawyers, apart from their teaching. Others have involved their departments in running various kinds of classes, and conducting contract research. Faculty members from different disciplines have had different fortunes in the market. Those in finance, business, law, applied sciences and technology benefit from their specialty, while those in arts and pure sciences have difficulty finding opportunities off campus. Thus, they work together with their departments to do research or run training classes in cooperation with other staff and political workers.

Academic freedom continues to be a concern of university members, and they are interested in social and political issues for the sake of social justice. A new development in university structures has been the establishment of institutional channels for university members, mainly for faculty members, to take part in politics. Various democratic parties establish their offices on campus, and they are allowed to enrol faculty members, not
students or workers, however. Teachers' Union have begun to play a more independent role on campus, representing faculty and staff interests. Within the union, faculty and staff representative conferences have been established as a regular forum for university members to express their concerns, examine government and university policies, and express their opinions, suggestions, and ideas for improvement.

The boundary of academic freedom is in that one may not attack socialism or the CCP. Criticism of the government has always been allowed, but not any activity that could be seen as undermining the government. One administrator explained this as follows:

Academic freedom is not abstract freedom, but has political principles. That is to say, we must follow the "two hundred" principle. Under this basic principle, we undertake academic activities. Research and writing of articles must also be based on this principle. Issues in arts and social sciences must be confined in a small domain. There individuals could express their opinions freely. However, if the issue has broad social implications, we should obey the political principles mentioned above. Within those principles, the faculty members enjoy abundant academic freedom (Interview code, 0111).

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67 The CCP has implemented a system of cooperation of multiple parties within the framework of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. The first conference was held in 1949, joined by the following eight democratic parties: the Revolutionary Commission of the Nationalist Party in China (minge), the Democratic Alliance of China (minmeng), the Democratic Development Association of China (minjian), the Democratic Promoting Association of China (minjin), the Worker and Peasant Democratic Party of China (nonggongdang), the Returned Overseas Chinese Party of China (zigongdang), the September 3rd Academic Association (jiusan xueshe), Taiwan Democratic Autonomous Alliance (taimeng). Defined as the components of the patriotic united front of the Chinese revolution, they are working together with the CCP to serve socialism. On campus, they are free to develop membership among staff but not allowed to do so among students at present (Interview code, 0132).

68 Chinese intellectuals have always been very critical of their rulers in every stage of the Chinese history. Nevertheless, there is a principle in their concern in relation to the outcome of the criticism: what is the purpose of criticism? Is it to improve the established system or to overthrow it? In my investigations, I found that many university teachers hoped to do something to improve the established system rather than to change it for a new one.

69 The "two hundred" principle was one important cultural policy of the CCP culture. Literally, it means letting one hundred flowers bloom and one hundred schools of thought contend. Practically, it encourages creative thinking and action accordingly. It focuses on liberating people's minds and on creative activities for academic development, especially in art and literature. In the
The degree of academic freedom is very different in different disciplines. In science and technology as well as in applied arts, there is a greater degree than in the social science and humanities (Interview code, 0316). An administrator in medical science claimed that there was no limit to freedom in the academic study of medicine. However, in dealing with some political views, he suggested that universities should be very careful and prudent (Interview code, 0421). The bottom line is that universities should not trouble themselves by seeking conflict with the government (Interview code, 0131).

Different from Western practice, academic freedom has its rich connotations of pursuing academic development through equal competition, the freedom to pursue academic achievement, and concern with social issues.

Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed academic issues including student admission and job placement, program initiation and termination, course arrangement, and the issue of academic freedom.

Academic autonomy in Chinese universities has a focus on university academic development in terms of diversity, quantity, quality, and the delivery of programs, courses, also other skill training, and value cultivation processes. Based on their given conditions, Chinese universities have exercised their administrative power to make decisions, to initiate

history of the CCP, there were two important mass movements in relation to the promotion of this principle in a large scale: the Yan’an art and literature movement within the CCP, which was held in 1942 and the rectification and anti-rightist movement (1956-57). However, the implementation of the principle in reality turned into a political purge against difference in and out of the CCP. Now, people became very careful about how to applying this principle to reality. The bottom of line is that universities are allowed to do everything except for those things that go against the socialist system.
action based upon these decisions, and to grasp the chance to make changes. Their ability in using this power to make changes also defines the meaning of autonomy.
CHAPTER NINE: PERSONNEL AUTONOMY

What is personnel autonomy? How is it defined in practical terms in China? In the Western literature, personnel autonomy can be regarded as the control by academics over the appointment of administrators, employment of teachers, determination of professional titles, and regulation of salary. As academics have control over on the decisions on these issues, personnel autonomy is almost identical with academic autonomy.

Personnel autonomy is one important part of university autonomy in China. The term "personnel" has more than one meaning. On the one hand, it refers to the labour force; on the other hand, it is associated with employees' professional quality and morality. Thus, the term links university employees to the state. Broadly, university teachers, administrators, and support staff are all government employees, paid directly through state budgetary allocations. Within this context, personnel autonomy in China can be seen as a form of freedom of action for the university as a collective group to arrange personnel affairs on its own within the framework of government policies. By exercising administrative powers delegated by the government, the university is trying to create conditions under which all teachers, administrators, Party workers, and support staff can be united as one person in order to deal with existing problems and achieve effectiveness. Personnel autonomy involves such activities as the management of cadres (administrators and Party workers), teacher training, the employment of teachers and staff, the determination of work loads, professional titles, salary, welfare, reward and discipline.

In this chapter, I will describe what universities have done under the claim of

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70 It is the most important part in the university reform, but the part in which universities have less degree of autonomy, in comparison to that in academic and financial sectors.
personnel autonomy through the following issues: the present personnel system, the appointment of the president and Party committee secretary, the employment of teachers, the determination of professional titles, and distribution of income.

The Present Personnel System

There are mainly three kinds of public organizations in China. They can be differentiated based on their function and nature in relation to their personnel structure: government, government institutions, and state-owned enterprises. Universities belong to government institutions which are funded by the state and function to implement government policies.

The personnel system in the university is characterized by the overall leadership of the Party Committee and a binary personnel structure: the Organizational Department of the Party Committee and the Personnel Department under the administration of the university president. The Party Committee controls the management of cadres (administrators and Party workers at the department level and above) through the Organizational Department which selects, evaluates, and recommends candidates to the Party Committee for appointment. In the three selected institutions, all administrators, and Party workers came to their current positions through this process. The Personnel Department deals with practical issues of employees (administrators, Party workers, teachers, teaching assistants, technicians, and service workers) such as employment, rank, salary, transfers, training, promotion, rewards and discipline, welfare, and retirement.

Because it deals with the people who are crucial to the operation and efficiency of the university, the Party Committee has a direct control over the Personnel Department.
through the appointment of its director. It is required that the director must be a Party member and her/his appointment must be approved by the authorities.\textsuperscript{71} A personnel officer explained in the following words why this arrangement was so important:

The Personnel Department is a window of the Party. It is directly involved in the Party's principle and connected to the masses' interest. If there is any mistake, it will influence the implementation of government policies and damage the Party's image (Interview code, 0211).

In the reform period, the binary structure of the personnel system in universities still exists. However, the function of both the Personnel Department and the Organizational Department have shifted. In the past, both the Personnel Department and the Organizational Department were agencies of the government, watching over the implementation of government policies. Now, although they are still responsible to the government, they have begun to consider the best interests of the university and tried to work together with academic departments to create a situation in which university members can develop a relationship with their university.

In the 1990s, many universities began to reform their personnel system and attempted to use personnel reform to push the overall reform on campus. The "contract responsibility system" has been introduced to universities as a model to carry out personnel reform. It has been used in university service sectors including dining halls, the hospital, hotels, transportation, and other campus services (I will discuss this in detail in Chapter Ten). Further more, this system has been introduced to academic departments. For instance, in personnel reform in 1994, the CTC implemented the responsibility system at the

\textsuperscript{71} The official rank of the director of the Personnel Department is equal to that of the department chair and of the provost at the university level. While the appointment of all administrators at this level is approved only by the Party Committee of the university, the appointment of the director of the Personnel Department has to be approved by the government (Interview codes, 0453, 0211, 0315).
departmental level. Under a formula system, known as "ding yuan, ding zhi, ding wei, yi bao" (fixed personnel, fixed professional titles, fixed positions, and fixed salaries), the college gave academic departments quotas for teaching positions, professional titles, teaching loads and salaries, and it allowed them to work on their own according to the framework of college policies. SUU has had similar policies too. CIMI has not started personnel reform, however, it has begun the process of locating its problems in the present personnel system in order to develop a solution.

Appointment of the President and the Party Committee Secretary

In China, the university president and the Party Committee secretary are government officials. They represent the government and are responsible for implementing government policies. Therefore, the government appoints the university president and the Party Committee secretary. This arrangement has not changed in the reform period. In addition, it has been emphasized several times in government policies. However, in recent years, there are some innovations in practice in which universities have begun to participate in the selection of their president and Party Committee secretary.

The university president and Party Committee secretary are appointed through a variety of authorities: the State Education Commission, central ministries, and provincial governments. For instance, the appointment letter for the president of SUU, which is a SEdC institution, will be signed by the Commissioner of the SEdC; that of CTC, which is a provincial institution, will be signed by the governor of Sichuan Province; and that of CIMI, which is a ministry institution, will be signed by the Minister of Armament Industry. As well, Party Committee secretaries in these universities will be appointed
respectively by the Party group of the SEdC and central ministries or by the provincial Party Committee.\textsuperscript{72}

The government's control over the appointment of the university president and Party Committee secretary is in establishing the criteria, the selection process, and the approval. The president must have higher education, political qualities, administrative ability, and experience in ideological education. In short, the president must meet four requirements, which are also the CCP's standards for cadres: to be revolutionary, knowledgable, specialized, and young.\textsuperscript{73} In practice, the president is expected to be either a scholar specializing in a particular academic area or a specialist in higher education. The current presidents of CTC and CIMI can be regarded as specialists in university governance, while the president of SUU is a scientist and a doctoral supervisor.

The president is also expected to know his/her university very well and to have working experience in the university. According to an administrator, the knowledge and previous experience in the very university in which one was going to be the president were important for a president. While it is not a guarantee for all universities to get their

\textsuperscript{72} According to the Party constitution, the Party does not set up the Party committee in the government. Within the government, the Party establishes the Party group to deal with such important issues as the appointment of the Party committee secretary in its affiliated institutions and the development of membership. The secretary of the Party group in the government is appointed by the CCP.

\textsuperscript{73} In 1986, the State Council issued a policy regarding the implementation of temporary provisions of the organization of regular higher education institutions (Guowuyuan guanyu fabu putong gaodeng xuejiao zhanxing tiaoli de tongzhi). According to this policy, a Chinese university president must be revolutionary, knowledgable, specializing in one or two academic subjects, and young. To be revolutionary does not mean that one must be a Party member. However, the president must abide by the Party's principles, support socialism, and carry out government policies. The president must know university administration and be familiar with university affairs. She/he must be an expert in one field of study or have one speciality. There is a limitation of age. The government intends to get younger persons in the position. See Gu, 1993, pp. 286-287.
presidents from their own campus, it is a principle of the Chinese government to choose them only from among universities.

That the president should be a Party member is not a political condition now. However, we know that the Party has been working in universities for more than forty years, hence it is very rare for a president not to be a Party member although it may be possible. In SUU, CTC, and CIMI, Party members have comprised about 1/3 of university employees, and more than 90% of administrators and Party workers at the departmental level and above are Party members. In the past, even if a president happened not to be a Party member, the Party organization would try to work on him or her in order to make her/him join the Party.\(^7\) A former president told the author that he was not a Party member at the time when he was selected by university members. He was, however, invited to be at all Party committee meetings and his opinions were highly considered. Very soon, he was accepted into the Party (Interview code, 0132). In SUU, CTC, and CIMI, all presidents are not only Party members but also members of the Party Committee.

For the Party Committee secretary, the government requires individuals' unconditional obedience to the Party. A Party committee secretary had the following experience. Before he came to the present institution, he had been the vice Party Committee secretary in another university for several years. He had been working in that university ever since he had graduated from there, and his family was there too. When he was informed of being chosen to be a Party Committee secretary of the present institution, he was not prepared

\(^7\) Practically, the Party has two roles in universities: that of the power in or over administrative structure and that of morality. Therefore, some people still view being a Party member as an honour (Interview code, 0452).
for it. Although the new position was a promotion for him, he preferred to stay at his former university. Nevertheless, he decided to come (Interview code, 0121). The same experience happened to another Party Committee secretary who used to be a Party committee Secretary in an enterprise. He did not know anything about the appointment before the announcement. He did not know why he was chosen for the position, either. However, he accepted the offer. He said that as a Party member, what he had to do was to obey and to try his best to do the new job well (Interview code, 0221).

Some presidents came from the university where they had worked. The president in CIMI used to be the vice president and came to the present position in 1994. The president of SUU was the president of Chengdu Science and Technology University before the merger. As well, SUU’s Party Committee secretary used to be the Party Committee secretary of Sichuan University. She became the Party Committee secretary of the combined institution in 1994.  

The president can be elected by university members within the framework of government guideline. The government’s guideline is still in such three areas as the qualification, the selection process, and the approval. As for the qualification, I mentioned, in the beginning of this section, that the president had to meet four requirements: to be knowledgeable, revolutionary, specialized, and young. Nevertheless, in practice, these conditions are quite general and do not limit the university’s freedom in election. The election process is conducted by the Party Committee, but the control tends to be in a

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75 The new civil service regulation regarding the service length applies to the university situation. Both the president and the secretary can only serve three terms as maximum (4 years a term in the university). Every four year, the president has to be reappointed by the government if she/he is given another term (Interview code, 0111). As the same, the secretary has to be reelected by Party members in the university congress, which is a required process for the appointment although it is not given much attention than it should be.
implicit and subtle way. The election process is conducted as is the way in which administrators and Party workers at the middle level and above are chosen. First, each teaching and research unit recommends two to three candidates to its department. Then the department selects two to three candidates from those recommended by the teacher and research units, and recommends them to the Party Committee at the university level. The Party Committee selects two to three from all those recommended by departments, and recommend them to all departments and seek their opinions and agreement. Then, the Party Committee adjusts and decides on the candidate list according to the feedback. Finally, the Party Committee recommends the candidates to the Teacher and Staff Representative Conference for the election. The elected president must be approved by the authority and appointed by the government. Even though, the election by university members is still not a regular practice of universities at present. In CTC, the staff chose their own president in 1984. Several years later, another president was appointed again by the government. Nevertheless, it is becoming more and more popular to select the university president by voting, especially in smaller provincial universities.

It is still the responsibility of higher education authorities to choose the president and the Party Committee secretary for their affiliated institutions. The current president of CTC used to be the president of another teacher training college and was transferred by the

76 The teaching and research unit constitutes the grass-roots structure within the department, based on the specialty. It is formed uniquely by faculty members and conducts daily teaching and research activities. The department is usually formed by several to over a dozen of teaching and research units.

77 At least there are two reasons: one is that the current election method limits the candidates running for the president only to those who are in the same institution. The other is the control of the government, because the president is still regarded as a government official and must be appointed by the government (Interview code, 0452).
Provincial government to CTC in 1990. He was appointed the vice president of CTC at first,\(^78\) and one year later, he was appointed its president. Sometimes, if there is no suitable person for a position, the Party Committee secretary will act as the president or vice versa. As we know, it was a common practice before the reform period for the Party Committee secretaries to be presidents at the same time. Now, although this practice continues, the power no longer centres on the president or the Party Committee secretary alone.\(^79\)

It is a practice in recent years that the Party Committee secretary has to be re-elected by the university Party Members’ Congress within two years after she or he has been appointed. At this congress, the Party Committee secretary face an evaluation by Party members in the institution. If the appointed Party Committee secretary is not elected at the congress, she or he will lose her or his job. According to an official in the municipal Party Committee, in some universities, their appointed Party Committee secretaries did not get elected as members of the Party Committee by the congress, they had to leave the position. The Party Members’ Congress has the same control over the president. If the president does not get elected as a member of the Party Committee, he will lose his power, since all important decisions must be made in the Party Committee meetings (Interview code, 0414).

\(^78\) During the period when he was the first vice president, there was no president in the college. Some university members believed that the authority did not intend to look for other persons for the position of president. Rather it gave some time to him to prepare himself for becoming the president. When I asked a government official about this, he said that usually this was because of no appropriate candidate at the moment (Interview code, 0414).

\(^79\) In some cases, the president and the Party committee secretary of a university are one person. For instance, in Chongqing Medical University and Southwest Law University, their current presidents act as the Party Committee secretaries. I asked a government official why some university presidents were Party Committee secretaries at the same time. He answered that the main reason was the difficulty in finding an appropriate person for the position (Interview code, 0451).
The Employment of Teachers

The employment of teachers is conducted by the university within the framework of government policies, which specify the quota of employees and prescribe the criteria and function of teaching positions. There is a greater freedom for universities to design their own employment policies and operational methods now than ever before. Academic departments are beginning to participate in the selection of teachers, which has become an academic practice.

Jobs in universities are based on two ratios: that of staff (including administrator, faculty members, assistants, and service workers) and students; and that of teachers and students. In the early 1980s, the average ratio of staff to student was 1:2.5-2.9, and that of teacher to student 1:5.5. The government expects universities to reach a 1:4 staff/student ratio and a 1:10 teacher/student ratio (Wu, 1989:257a). At present, in CTC, the ratio of staff to students is at 1:3.5 and that of teacher to student 1:8.5; in CIMI, 1:5 and 1:10; and in SUU 1:3.6 and 1:8. It seems not impossible for universities to meet the government requirement.

Universities can set up their own policies of employment regarding the qualifications for various positions, the procedures of evaluation, and the process of employment. The Personnel Department is in charge of all employment matters and makes sure that suitable candidates are chosen for the positions, in cooperation with academic departments. Usually, the Personnel Department draws up the basic policies for employment based on government regulations. Taking CTC as an example, it has initiated a new set of
employment policies in recent years.

Different from arrangements in the past, universities have their teaching positions open to the public now. They also post advertisements in the newspapers and magazines to look for qualified teachers. Recently, CTC advertised in the Chongqing Daily for their openings in the Foreign Languages Department, and SUU sent their advertisement for teachers to nationally circulated magazines and even to overseas channels.

Since the university is one of the most desirable places for university graduates to go now, many universities receive dozens of applications for one job. Universities can therefore choose their teachers according to their own standards and needs, and integrate the employment of teachers with faculty development. In CIMI and SUU, faculty development is part of the work of the Personnel Department. CIMI hopes to change the structure of their faculty through the employment of senior professors. SUU has opened its doors to overseas Chinese students and hopes to expand the university curriculum through appointing teachers specializing in new fields in the sciences and technology.

With regard to the selection of teachers, the academic department is able to determine candidates' qualifications and to conduct the process of evaluation. The process includes advertisement, selection of candidates for interviews, interviews, and making hiring decisions. After the hiring decision is reached, the department will hand the case to the Personnel Department for processing. With the exception of some unique situations, the Personnel Department will follow the department's decision.

What is the nature of these unique situations? How much do they influence academic decisions? According to the personnel officers in these universities, the decision is sometimes affected by external issues over which the university has little to control, such
as the potential teacher's former work unit, children's school, and medical care. In one institution, a potential teacher was highly qualified by reason of his academic competence and teaching ability. However, the institution rejected him when finding that this person had a history of blood disease. The president explained that the institution could not afford to pay for his medical care if he became sick again. The institution did not have enough financial resources.\textsuperscript{80} Being in a budget-tight situation, the president would not take the risk.

Although universities have great freedom in hiring teachers, they cannot lay off personnel who are not qualified. Theoretically, the government allows them to do so. However, in practice, it is hard to do. Nowadays, a common problem for many universities is that they cannot get rid of the personnel they do not want so they cannot get the teachers they do want. According to one university president, there were many more people than were needed in his institution, and he could keep the institution functioning well with 1/3 fewer employees. However, he could not lay off any one because he had to consider where these people would go and their practical problems in supporting their families (Interview code, 0111).\textsuperscript{81} The only way for universities to eliminate personnel is to wait for attrition (retirement or death) or to adopt the method of internal adjustment. As for internal adjustment, one method is to transfer those who are not qualified to teach into

\textsuperscript{80} Health care is a big cost for Chinese universities now. The government allocates health care fees to universities at a rate of about 200 yuan ($35) per head a year, based on the number of employees and full-time students under the state development plan. This is not enough for universities due to the rising costs of drugs and the cost of medical treatment. Many universities have to use other funds to reduce the deficit caused by spending on health care (Interview code, 0414).

\textsuperscript{81} A main reason is that many university members still see the university's responsibility for individual employees as a part of its social responsibility. They see themselves not only as university employees but also members of society (Interview codes, 0115, 0212).
administrative fields. For instance, most faculty members who had graduated during the Cultural Revolution were transferred into university administration. Another solution is to put these people in university business enterprises (Interview code, 0421).

**Determination of Professional Titles**

One of the most important aspects in the personnel sector is the determination of professional titles. For teachers, if they do not have professional titles, they will not be hired under new policies of personnel reform. As the process of determination of professional titles is involved in the evaluation of faculty members' qualifications and academic performance, it is not simply a personnel issue. It is connected to the quality of universities. Therefore, every university has established a leading group to administer the process of determining professional titles. For faculty members, this is very important to their careers. A faculty member commented that at present, only the appraisal of professional titles could attract faculty members in Chinese universities (Interview code, 0332). The professional title is an indicator of one's qualification and academic competence. Through hiring according to professional titles, faculty members are assisted in developing their identity.

For teaching staff, there are four levels of professional titles: professor, associate professor, lecturer, and assistant. In parallel to the teaching staff are researchers whose titles are also divided into four levels: research fellow, associate research fellow, assistant research fellow, practising research assistant.

The use of professional titles started in the beginning of the reform. After 1985, the work was integrated into personnel reform, to such an extent that a faculty member could
not be hired without a professional title. It was thus linked to one's prestige, welfare, and benefit. Every year, the government would give universities quotas of professional titles and it required universities to make the appraisal of professional titles a regular practice.

The process of determining professional titles is composed of planning positions, identifying qualifications, examining applicants, and making appointments. Within given quotas, universities could set up how many positions and what kind of positions they wanted, based on their goals and resources. There are several categories of positions in higher education: teaching, natural science research, social science research, engineering technology, lab technology, medical technology, library and resources, accounting, press, archives, finance, and statistics. The basic principles for setting up positions are the university's needs, operational efficiency, and the priority of key positions, bearing in mind long term planning and overall considerations.

The government has political requirements for all applicants for professional titles including supporting the CCP, loving the socialist motherland, sticking to Marxism and the Party line, having professional morals, abiding by the law, educating students, carrying out one's duties, having good study habits, and working hard and actively. These requirements are very general and almost all applicants are regarded as meeting them.

Many universities also set their own requirements for applicants. For instance, one is the requirement for academic degrees. This is so important that it determines credits to applicants. A person with a masters' degree will be granted the title of lecturer and one

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82 In 1986, the State Council issued a policy regarding the application of a new employment method through which one is hired on the basis of one's professional title. For instance, if one is a professor, she/he must be hired as a professor. In this case, one must get the professional title before being hired. See Xu, 1993.
with the doctoral degree will be granted the title of associate professor. As well, one with the doctoral degree can apply for professor two years after she/he has become associate professor, while others without the doctoral degree have to wait for five years to apply. Another requirement is academic publication. Each university has set up its own standards. For instance, CTC requires all those who apply for the position of professor to have published books with more than 200,000 words or two papers in first class academic journals. SUU also considers publication in the internally circulated journals as a kind of qualification for applying for associate professor.

Beside setting their own standards, universities are able to set up some positions for particular needs, subject to the approval of the responsible authorities. For instance, SUU has added administration as a category of professional title and allows those who are working in administrative fields and in the Party to apply for these titles. This rule has opened the door to those staff and teachers working in administration and student work to participate in professional development. The other two institutions do not apply this rule.

Salary\textsuperscript{83}

With a shift in the meaning of salary, the present salary system is characterized by fixed income provided by the government and non-fixed income supplied by universities’ self-generated revenues. It is linked to one’s employment, work load, and professional title. The former salary system was established in 1955, characterized by the formulation

\textsuperscript{83} After 1949, the Communist government applied the low-income salary system to universities with the compensation of providing public housing. Apartments were distributed to university employees, with very low rental fees, based on their rank, working history, marriage, and number of family members. Therefore, the salary did not usually cover housing expenses except for a small portion of housing subsidies.
of two portions in individuals’ salary—standard salary and living subsidies. It was provided by the government. However, this system failed to show differences between incomes according to a person’s competence. The reform therefore aims at permitting differences among university members by crediting those who work harder. By so doing, universities can unite all members and bring their initiative into full play for social service.

The reform of the salary system started with the introduction of bonuses in the early 1980s. A new salary system was introduced to universities in 1985. According to this system, one’s salary is composed of four portions: the basic salary, job allowance, stipend based on years of working, and bonuses. The basic salary refers to the portion which is to maintain the lowest living standards; job allowance varies based on the kind of job and one’s rank in the university; one’s work history stipend is given based on years of work; and the bonus. The salary, job allowance, and stipend for years of work come from state budgetary funds; the bonus comes from funds generated by universities themselves. In 1993, the State Council set a new policy, under which one’s salary is divided into fixed and non-fixed portions. The university could allocate 70% of the salary funds to individuals and give the remaining 30% of the salary funds to the department. It could redistribute the money to staff according to its own distribution rules. Usually, the department would integrate this portion of money with bonuses. It is very hard to find out how much departments give to individuals in each university. Each department has its own resources and different standards of distributing income. In those universities which have begun personnel reform, such as CTC, the college has given the authority to redistribute non-fixed salary to the department. The department determines how much money it can distribute based on its own resources. In some departments, such as computer sciences,
members have more income than in other departments. In SUU, this portion of income
given to individuals was about the same or even more than their 70% portion of fixed
salary.  

This salary system has given an opportunity to universities to exercise their ability to
distribute their income according to their own resources and needs. There are also some
stipend policies, which give universities greater freedom to allocate income, as the
following case indicates. The following policy which was made in 1994 at CTC has four
parts: the principle of distribution, eligibility, items and criteria, and methods of
distribution. Each department can make its own distribution policy within the framework of
this policy. The principle of distribution is based on the idea that one gains according to
the calibre of one's work. The college does not allow departments to give the money to
everyone on an equal basis. The college also urges departments to complete their own
evaluation procedures so that the distribution of income is integrated with the process of
faculty development.

This regulation applies to all those who are currently working in the college including
teachers, technicians, researchers, administrators and assistant staff. Those who are not
hired by their departments and those who do not receive salaries from the college are not

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84 Individuals' income varied sharply in different departments since the university gave the
power of allocating the portion to departments and allowed them to distribute their non-fixed
income according to their own resources and needs.

85 In the reform period, many universities have restructured internal organizations in relation
to their salary system. Within the university, two kinds of organizations are identified: 1)administrative and teaching units and 2) service units. The salary for the employees in
administrative and teaching units come from the state’s budgetary allocations. However, those
working in service units including dining halls, campus grocery, automobile service, press, and
factories do not get their pay from the state’s budgetary allocations. It is the goal of many
universities to transform service units into self-supporting and profit-making businesses. The people
working there have to earn their income through the service (Interview codes, 0113, 0211, 0315).
eligible. 

The policy also sets up such items of stipend as the subsidy for teaching or work loads, annual evaluation reward, and special contribution reward. The former two apply to all employees, and the latter is given as an honourable reward to a few scholars (about 5% of academicians) who are selected as academic representatives of the college.

The scales of stipends are based on different methods of measurement among various categories of employees. Each department can adjust its standard following these scales. For instance, teachers' stipends are determined by teaching loads. The average teaching load is 240-360 lecture hours a year. The rate for one lecture hour is different for professors, associate professors, lecturers, and assistants. Even within each rank, there are three scales. All together, there are twelve scales. These scales apply to all other staff in the science and technological category, who have professional titles. Based on these scales, the department can increase the stipend rate in each category. For instance, a professor at the highest level gets a teaching load stipend of 11.1 an hour according to regulations. The department can increase the rate to 15 yuan if it has money. However, if the department can not meet the minimum standard as follows, the college will provide support.

Table 1: Teachers (and other scientific and technological professionals)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Professor</th>
<th>salary</th>
<th>stipend</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>390-430</td>
<td>158-238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>470-520</td>
<td>202-302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>570-670</td>
<td>266-400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associate Professor</td>
<td>275-335</td>
<td>115-173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>365-435</td>
<td>166-248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>475-555</td>
<td>223-335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lecturer</td>
<td>205-245</td>
<td>265-315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>345-435</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

86 A government policy, called "keeping the job without salary" (ting xin liu zhi), was issued in the early 1980s. Some university members were allowed to resign and the university still kept their jobs for a period. During this period, they could come back.
Table 2: Administrators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Salary (yuan)</th>
<th>335-370</th>
<th>405-440</th>
<th>480-580</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stipend (point)</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 3</td>
<td>Salary (yuan)</td>
<td>235-285</td>
<td>310-370</td>
<td>400-430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stipend (point)</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 4</td>
<td>Salary (yuan)</td>
<td>180-216</td>
<td>234-276</td>
<td>300-372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stipend (point)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 5-6</td>
<td>Salary (yuan)</td>
<td>145-174</td>
<td>181-216</td>
<td>221-267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stipend (point)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Both the salary and stipend are calculated per month.

* The administrator in level one refers to the president and Party Committee secretary. It has a separate scale of measurement.

* The college requires that the minimum payment for 1 point is 4 yuan.

Every year, all teachers and administrators have to pass an annual evaluation. An annual reward stipend will be attached to the evaluation result, distributed to those who have passed in August.

Table 3: Rewards for teaching staff.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Excellent (20%)</th>
<th>Very Qualified</th>
<th>Qualified</th>
<th>Not Qualified</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professor</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associate Professor</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lecturer</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Professor</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The unit is yuan.
Table 4: Rewards for administrators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>excellent (20%)</th>
<th>very qualified</th>
<th>qualified</th>
<th>not qualified</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>President level</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vice President level</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 3 Administrator</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 4 Administrator</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 5-6 Administrator</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The unit is yuan.

There are also regulations for service staff. And the special contribution reward is about 20-60 yuan a month. Regarding how to distribute the stipend, the college gives more freedom to those sections and departments which have contributed to the college foundation by allowing them to allocate 30% of the salary funds and to increase the rate of the stipend without limitation. Other departments which have not contributed to the college’s foundation must adhere to the college’s regulations as follows. Those who have been hired as full time employees will receive 100% of the stipend, those who have been hired for part time work will get 70% of the stipend, and those who have not been hired will get no stipends. Those who are on probation will get 80% of the stipend. Those faculty members who are doing advanced studies with the permission of the college will get the stipend accordingly.

The other two institutions have similar methods of income distribution. Although their regular source for the stipend is still the state’s budgetary allocation, universities have had much greater flexibility in distributing income. The present practice of distribution has opened a way for universities to integrate the distribution of income with the professional

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87 The income gap among departments is very big. In some departments, the rate for 1 point is just 4 yuan, the minimum standard given by the college; however, in other departments, the rate for 1 point can go up to 15 yuan. What the college can do is to maintain minimum standard of income for all (Interview code, 0415).
development of university personnel.

Summary

In this chapter, I discussed how universities dealt with personnel issues such as the appointment of the president and the Party committee secretary, the employment of teachers, the determination of professional titles, and the issue of salaries.

Personnel autonomy is narrowly defined in practice. It is meaningful in terms of the application of a responsibility system to the university's personnel sector. Universities do not have much power in making policies, but have greater freedom to interpret government policies and make implementation regulations, which were formerly controlled by the government. Personnel autonomy is therefore very practical but in a subtle way: within the framework of government policies, universities can influence the appointment of the president and the Party Committee secretary, hire teachers according to their own planning, process the application of professional titles, and make their own regulations governing income distribution. Universities have freed their creative energies so that they can determine their goals consciously and ensure that the personnel development responds to social needs. Most important of all, personnel autonomy has formed a university community that identifies itself with its members.

The reform of the personnel system has also empowered academic departments in personnel arrangements. Although the Personnel Department and Organizational Department are directly in charged of personnel policies, the academic departments are able to influence these policies both in the process of policy making and in implementation.
CHAPTER TEN: FINANCIAL AUTONOMY

What is financial autonomy? How is it defined in practical terms? In the Western literature, financial autonomy is emphasized less than academic autonomy; however, its impact on academic matters is becoming much more significant now in Western universities. In China, financial autonomy was emphasized at the very beginning of the economic reform. It is regarded as a central concern of Chinese universities, related to both academic and personnel autonomy.

Financial autonomy is defined as a particular form of freedom of action for universities as a collective group to allocate the funds given by the government, to generate revenues by themselves, and to manage university properties. It is reflected in such activities as management of administrators and Party workers, teacher training, the employment of teachers and staff, the determination of work lords, salary, welfare, rewards and discipline. Financial autonomy is widely understood to be a means of improving the financial situation of universities and of increasing their capacity of action. With financial autonomy, Chinese universities can continue their historical mission which requires them to function effectively in society and to influence the life of the nation.

In this chapter, I will describe university activities related to financial autonomy through the following sections: the use of state budgetary allocations, the creation of multiple resources, and the management of university properties.

The Uses of State Budgetary Allocations

Allocating government funding is an important indicator of financial autonomy.
Theoretically, Chinese universities have the freedom to allocate government funding; however, in practice this freedom is often very limited because of the nature and form of the funding.

As I mentioned in previous chapters, universities are administered by the SEdC, central ministries, and provincial governments. The state funds, composed mainly of operational expenses, capital construction, and research fees, are appropriated for universities by their responsible authorities.

The 1980s saw financial decentralization in government policies. In 1980, the State Council issued a policy, which is sometimes described by the term of "cooking dinner on one's own stove" (fen zao chi fan). According to this policy, the central government was no longer responsible for the finances of provincial universities. It would provide funds only to the SEdC and ministry universities. The provincial government was required to take financial responsibility for its universities. Based on this principle, a new funding formula was introduced. It was characterized by the "complex quota and target funding" (zhonghe zhibiao he zhuangxian he bokuan). According to this formula, the Ministry of Finance would appropriate the funds to university authorities, according to the number of full-time students, together with a consideration of geographical needs and subject areas of individual institutions. For instance, those universities in the northern part of China would get 10% more funding than those in the south in order to subsidize living provisions in the cold weather, and teachers' colleges would get more funds for students' living allowances and tuition stipends. As for "target funding," the Ministry of Finance would appropriate the money to universities for the costs of equipment, foreign exchange, pensions for the

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88 Students in such programs as teacher education, agriculture, forestry, sports, navigation, and in minority nationality institutions are provided with a living allowance and free tuition.
retired, repairs to equipment bought on the World Bank loan, and students’ military training fees after 1989.

Regarding capital outlay, the funds were controlled by the State Planning Commission and given to universities based on ad hoc considerations. The government also allocated research funds to each university separately according to the number of research personnel and special needs. Since most Chinese universities focused on teaching, their research expenses were not much. Take the former Sichuan University for example. In the 1993 fiscal year, the university had 670 researchers on its payroll. The government appropriated 4.50 million (yuan) for research, and 34.69 million (yuan) for operation expenses (Sichuan Daxue Nianjian, 1995).

The state budgetary allocations came to universities through two channels. The Ministry of Finance appropriated the funds annually for the SEdC and the central ministries. Then, the SEdC and the central ministries reallocated the funds monthly to their affiliated universities. For local universities, the provincial government appropriated the funds quarterly for the provincial educational commissions, and the latter gave the funds monthly to their affiliated universities. In recent years, due to uneven economic development across the country, some rich coastal provinces could provide more funds to their affiliated universities than other poor provinces could do.

Currently, the main limitation in universities’ freedom to allocate government funds is the form and nature of funding. The government funds usually come to universities for fixed items. For example, the funds for current expenses include five fixed items as follows: 1) personnel costs including salary, subsidy salary, grocery subsidy, welfare, retirement funds, fellowships and scholarships; 2) bills for utilities; 3) equipment repair
costs; 4) academic expenses; and 5) other items such as international exchanges, salaries of foreign teachers, and conference expenses.

Personnel costs take up about 60% of the budgetary allocation. The only thing that universities can do about this portion of funds is to pass it on to the employees. In 1993, an important policy in salary reforms allowed universities to reallocate 30% of salary funds according to their own rules. The government also allowed universities to keep their unspent money from the previous fiscal year for their own needs.89

Another factor in university freedom in budgetary allocation is the shortage of state funds. For example, expense funds allocated by the government have been about 3,000-3,500 yuan per student per year.90 According to the financial directors of SUU, CTC, CIMI, their institutions have spent in reality much more on facilities and services for the needs of teachers, staff, and students. The government funds were not enough and universities had to look for alternative funds to make ends meet. For example, in 1995, the Mathematics Department of Chongqing Teachers' College had more than 900 full-time students and 1200 students in adult education. The department was given 20,000 (yuan) as operational funds for office management, travel and conferences. It was true that the department could use this money in any way. However, since the money was far less than what was needed, the department could not consider rearranging it (Interview code, 0115).

Having said all this, it should be noted that to Chinese universities, the real

89 The former regulations required universities to return any unspent money to the government at the end of each year. Universities were not allowed to keep the money they saved in the previous fiscal year for their own use (interview code, 0316).

90 This refers to full-time students who are registered through the state development plan. As I mentioned in Chapter Eight, the government did not finance students who are registered through the state adjustment plan.
significance of financial autonomy is not in the allocation of government funds.

Creating Multiple Sources of Funding

The real significance of financial autonomy is in university activities designed to generate income through the development of creative business relationships with a wide range of governmental and social organizations and individuals. A department chair emphasized that the significance of financial autonomy was not in the increase of universities’ freedom to allocate government funds, but in the development of their ability to generate income and to enhance their financial strength (Interview code, 0115).

Why is it so important for universities to develop their ability in this aspect? Clearly, the shortage of government funds is one of the main factors (Interview code, 0421). Since 1978, Chinese universities have expanded quickly. Although the government increased university funding every year, the need to improve teaching conditions and research facilities in universities grew more rapidly. Inflation became serious too. Thus, generating income became an important method for universities to deal with their shortage of money.

In 1993, the central government’s education development program announced the establishment of a new funding system in higher education which is based on state budgetary allocations with a supplement of alternative funds (Bangongting, guojia jiaowei, 1993). In this new funding system, the concept of financial autonomy was confirmed, one aspect being universities’ ability to generate income on their own. The government has encouraged universities to generate income by issuing a series of policies which reduce universities’ business taxes and give them preferential prices for raw materials. Universities have increased their income through all kinds of activities including research,
consulting, training programs, university enterprises, and other services. They have also received grants and donations from the government, corporations, and individuals. Universities can also charge students tuition and decide how much the tuition should be.

Many interviewees regarded generating income as the third task of universities. The other two were teaching and research. These three tasks were seen as interrelated to one another (Interview code, 0322). One university administrator said:

Generating income on our own can increase our financial strength and promote the cohesion of department members (Interview code, 0115).

From this point of view, generating income has become one of the most active elements of Chinese universities nowadays. The following table shows a national picture of university achievements.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Expenditure on Education</th>
<th>Expenditure on H.E.I.</th>
<th>Revenue generated by H.E.I.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>68,970</td>
<td>11,770</td>
<td>2,160</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*H.E.I.— Higher education institutions.

In reality, the self-generated income of universities might be much more than the above report although it was hard for us to get complete and precise data. For Sichuan University, its self-generated income reached 37,512,000 (yuan) in 1993, which is 117.91% of government funds for current expenses and research. Chongqing Industry Management Institute claimed to have generated 20 million (yuan) in 1995 through

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91 In my experience, universities did not release detailed information of their self-generated income in the public. There were at least two reasons: 1) keeping the information of their alternative resources from other institutions, and 2) to avoid public attention to their earnings.
managing its business enterprises and with donations from its cooperative partners. The funds were twice as much as government funds for current expenses and research. Being a teacher training institution, Chongqing Teachers’ College seemed to have less capacity to generate income than the other two institutions. However, in recent years, it still managed to obtain about 10 million (yuan) annually, about 75% of government funds allocated for current expenses and research.

Generally speaking, there are several ways for universities to generate income. The first one is to develop university business enterprises which aim mainly at high tech-products. CIMI has benefited greatly from its traditional link to the armament industry and its history of being a factory for over 20 years before the reform. After it was restored as a higher educational institution in 1986, it still kept a part of the factory for students’ internship. By 1994, the factory expanded to a work force of 500 employees by making auto parts. The institute has also established a construction firm. With this company, the institute can not only draw income from external clients but can also save money by trying to do all the construction work on their own institution. In their own words, they would not allow their “fertilizing water” (money) to irrigate other people’s fields (Chongqing gongye guanli xueyuan xiaoshi, 1995:121). In 1995, their business income reached 10,000,000 (yuan), covering 1/3 of their expenses (Interview code, 0421). The other two institutions, SUU and CTC, also have their own business, and are trying to develop their own key products as CIMI has done. According to a report about the Higher Education Conference in 1995, although many university presidents recognized that it was not easy for universities to develop industry on campus, they still thought it was worth trying (Interview code, 0421).
A second way to get more money is to establish university-industry links. This is particularly beneficial to engineering institutions. A practical model is the one combining production, study, and research. Aimed at the mutual development and benefit of both university and industry, universities develop a cooperative relationship with industries that use technological skills taught by the universities. Universities can provide industrial technologies to these enterprises by making available their research results. At the same time, these enterprises provide a base for student internship or work/study programs. From an economic perspective, universities can share some profits with their cooperative industrial partners. Chongqing University, a SEdC controlled engineering institution has made special progress in the application of this model. The university has set up a monitoring office to help academic departments develop links with industry. A good example is the cooperation between its chemistry department and a local factory. The department successfully helped this factory complete technological innovation and expand the market. The cooperation changed the financial situation of the factory. Later, the factory signed a long term contract with the department and adopted it as its technological advisor. The factory decided to give 5% of its annual profit to the department in the form of service fees (Interview code, 0413). In my investigation, CIMI was the most successful institution of the three in securing money through a variety of cooperative initiatives. In 1993, it began to seek cooperation with enterprises within the sector and developed about thirty partners. Later, these partners donated 750,000 yuan\(^2\) to CIMI. In 1994, the Automobile Technology Education Foundation of the Southwest Armament Industry was established and CIMI became a member of it. Later, these partners donated 750,000 yuan

\(^2\) Exchange rate: 1 Canadian dollar = 6 yuan approximately.
to CIMI. In 1994, the foundation invested 4,200,000 yuan in CIMI to build an automobile school, and in 1995, it gave 4,800,000 yuan for the school's further needs. A further example is that in 1995, CIMI obtained 10,000,000 (yuan) through cooperation with other institutions. Three vocational schools were founded through cooperation with the Government of Chongqing, Hongkong Xingzhao Development Corporation, and the Bureau of Southwestern Armament Industry.

A third way to generate income is through a wide range of classes providing professional training to society. For those universities specializing in arts and sciences and teacher training, this is the traditional, but very reliable, way to secure funds. Chongqing Teachers' College opened training classes and charged training fees at the beginning of the reform. In 1981, the college signed contracts with the Ministry of Petroleum to train school teachers in all subject areas. Many departments also managed evening classes, correspondence courses, and special training classes. All students who wanted to study could come. The Philosophy Department of SUU established the first training program in administration in the country, which also brought the department a lot of money.93 In 1993, Sichuan University got 1,180,000 (yuan) from these training classes.

A fourth way is to seek financial support from the board of trustees. One of the responsibilities of the board members is to bring in funds. The board is composed of university administrators, professors, government officials, and directors of big enterprises and corporations. Sichuan Union University established a board of trustees in 1994. It invited the provincial Party committee secretary to be the chair of the board in order to get support from the provincial government. In its application for the 2/1/1 project, the

93 Many universities required the departments to hand over 1/5 to 1/3 of self-generated income. The money would go to the university foundation (Interview code, 0115).
provincial government gave 150 million (yuan) to SUU for development.

A fifth way to generate income is through cost recovery of tuition fees. One of the biggest changes in higher education reform was the elimination of free higher education. Now students have to pay for post-secondary education. Tuition was formally introduced in universities in the middle of the 1980s. Except for some programs and specialties such as teacher training, agriculture, and forestry, all students must pay tuition. In 1985, the central government introduced two enrolment plans, allowing universities to charge different tuition fees for students registered through the state development plan and students in the state adjustment plan. The tuition for the students under the state adjustment plan was usually four to five times more than that for those students under the state development plan. In 1995, CIMI charged students tuition at 900 (yuan) a year for the students under the state development plan. For some programs, students under the state adjustment plan had to pay as high as 7,000 (yuan) (Interview code, CIMI, 0241). For SUU, the tuition is 1,000-1,500 (yuan) for students under the state development plan and about 3,000 (yuan) for students under the state adjustment plan. As a teacher’s college, CTC did not charge students enrolled in the state development plan, but its students in the state adjustment plan had to pay. The tuition reform opened a new way for universities to generate revenues. In 1996, the SEdC, the State Planning Commission, and the Ministry of Finance issued a joint provision regarding tuition. It allows universities to charge students as high as 25% of the allocation provided by the government. That is about 2,000 yuan a year.

Generally speaking, universities charge higher tuition for those programs which are critical to the marketplace such as business management, finance, computer, English, and
applied arts and sciences than for those which have a small demand such as history, philosophy, biology, and geography. A new development is that the Price Bureau at the local government level began to inspect universities' tuition standards. In 1995, the State Price Bureau ruled that university tuition be subject to the inspection of the local government. Local governments are likely to gradually impose more regulations on universities and colleges. However, at present, this is not a concern of university autonomy in China. In fact, the influence of local government might push universities to act quickly and effectively in response to social needs.

The Management of University Property

Clearly, universities now have more freedom to manage their properties, although they are facing many invisible limitations from society. Different from universities in North America, the Chinese university is like a small and closed society. Besides teaching and research, the university will provide its staff and students with many services and benefits such as health care, child care, food services, and accommodation. Management of university property thus becomes a very complicated and difficult task, involving at least three important matters: funding allocation, campus services, and housing.

Regarding funding allocation, Chinese universities divide their income into two categories: 1) internal plan funds, and 2) external plan funds. All the state budgetary allocations are included in the first category, and the funds generated by universities themselves in the second. Since the government only concerns itself with funds in the internal plan, universities assume the full responsibility for disposition of funds in the external plan.
With respect to internal plan funds, many universities distribute the budgetary allocation according to the government specifications for teaching, research, service, and administration. The money is allocated to the department but deposited in the university account because the department is not allowed to have its own bank account. The department chair has the power to decide how to use it, although the university makes detailed regulations for the department to follow, and maintains the accounts.

For the funds of the external plan, the central government gives general principles that should aim at improving universities’ working and living conditions and bringing the initiatives of university members into full play. In this case, universities can design their policies based on their own priorities. For example, CIMI did not use the money that it had generated from its cooperative partnerships to upgrade the administrative building although, theoretically, it could do whatever it wanted. Instead, the institute invested all this revenue in teaching and instructional facilities such as computers, in order to increase its reputation and to strengthen the relationship between the institute and its partners. The current president insisted that he would never build a new administrative office until CIMI had achieved greater development in all other respects (Interview code, 0213).

As I described in Chapter Nine, all universities have designed many policies regarding the use and distribution of external plan funds. Most of the funds are used for upgrading teaching and instructional facilities and for the social welfare of teachers and staff,

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94 By university members, I refer to the university community as a whole including teachers, administrators, Party workers, assistant staff, and service workers. From a Chinese way of thinking, individuals in each group are seen as a part of the university community.

95 The institute had many new buildings for teachers, students, and classrooms, but its head office was still an old building from the 1950s with no modern facilities (such as air conditioning and computers).
including bonuses and subsidies. These funds are managed at both the university and departmental levels. The university issues the basic policy, and the department can make its own policies within the framework of university policies.

In this respect, financial management has moved toward a combination of professional management and departmental responsibility. At the university level, the financial affairs of the university are processed and managed by the financial sector of the university, which is composed of professionals in the financial and economic fields. As mentioned earlier, all money is kept in the university account, but there is little limitation on the department’s use of its own money.

For most universities, generating revenues is a departmental matter. Each department has a financial committee to deal with financial issues. Most activities designed to generate income are conducted collectively through the leadership of the department. During my long talk with the chair of the Mathematics Department in CTC, I learned their perception of the function of money in relation to the development of the department in these years. The chair mentioned his three objectives when he took office, namely improving teaching standards, strengthening research, and increasing income. The three objectives were interrelated. He particularly emphasized the importance of generating income for the department. Without enough money the department could not improve teaching nor strengthen research. However, he thought that the department could not depend on the government to increase funding. To him, financial autonomy did not mean freedom to allocate the money given by the government, but rather freedom of thought and an ability to put ideas into action. It allowed university teachers and staff to adopt their

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96 CIMI is a centralized institution. Since the institution has its own factory and business, the department does not need to develop other activities to generate income.
department's perspective, grasp their opportunity in the marketplace, and search for means of development. Thus, the department could use money as a leverage to serve their teachers, staff, and students more effectively. The money would give them confidence in taking further action. The department did make a lot of money through running classes in mathematics, accounting, and computer science. With this revenue, they increased the bonuses of teachers and staff to a higher level in the college. They also bought facilities for their new programs in computer sciences and accounting. When asked if these new programs would develop into independent departments, the chair seemed not to worry about such a development. He believed that his people would take it as their contribution to the college (Interview code, 0115).

Different from universities in other countries, Chinese universities are responsible for many campus services: housing university employees and students, maintaining dining halls, running the university hospital and affiliated school and kindergartens, and maintaining internal factories for student internships. For students, universities' responsibilities covered their medical care, eating, living, and transportation. Managing these services well is a challenge to universities now. In 1994, The World Bank delegation came to China to inspect university reform. The delegation saw the difficult situation which Chinese universities had to manage. One of suggestions the delegation made is to release universities from these responsibilities and let external agencies do the services. The suggestion sounded very good, however, it can not be applied in Chinese universities at present. According to some university administrators, it would cost less to run some of the services such as the hospital on their own than to use external services. One university president said that at present and in the future, his institution had to consider the students'
best interests. He did not think that the students could afford the services which would be
provided by external profit-making companies.

Universities have begun to make some changes to the service systems in order to
improve their efficiency and quality. SUU and CTC introduced the responsibility system to
the service sectors and signed contracts with staff in the dining halls, the hotel, stores,
transportation services, and the printing house. Staff in these services were still university
employees enjoying medical care, housing, and all benefits, but they no longer received a
salary from the universities. They had to make money on their own through providing
services to the university community as well as to society. In CTC, the service sectors
were contracted in 1992. Since then, the college receives 100,000 (yuan) each year in
addition to the staff' salaries. In SUU, the service staff numbered three hundred. Their
salaries and the profits they handed over were 1,000,000 (yuan) in 1993.

Managing university housing is a very important aspect of financial autonomy. To
many university members, one of the best things in Chinese universities is the arrangement
of university housing. It has created an intellectual community through which university
professors have close contact with students and colleagues. Their living on campus makes
them have an awareness of university community and a sense of purpose and direction.
The importance of this intellectual community is in its integration of learning and
community life, with close communication between students and teachers. Also, since the
universities have the right to choose employees now, they can, in some way, screen their
members and control their own community life. This sense of community had been
strengthened in the reform period until recently when the central government pushed for
the reform of public housing.
In 1995, the local government of Chongqing issued a policy to speed up housing reform. The government allowed public institutions to sell houses to their employees at a subsidized price (only about 10-50% of the market value). Clearly, this policy is good for individual employees of universities but not for the universities as a whole. There are twenty-three universities and colleges in the Chongqing area. They could decide, along with their responsible authorities, whether they would like to sell their houses to the employees or not. At a discussion meeting organized by the local government, many university presidents expressed their attitude against the sale. However, a few universities decided to sell some apartments to individuals because resisting the will of the masses was hard. This issue shows that universities have some choices about selling their property.

Summary

Universities do not have much freedom in handling state budgetary allocations because of the government's strict control over the funds. In some cases, the government has allowed universities to rearrange part of the funds according to their own needs. However, because of the shortage of overall funds, universities can not really do things as they like. On the contrary, they have had to create alternative funds to make up the shortage of government provisions.

Universities have generated alternative funds through various ways including running enterprises, doing all kinds of business, developing university-industry links, cost-recovery from tuition fees, and managing training programs. The significance of these activities has been in releasing university members' creativity and directing their activity, in which lies the true meaning of financial autonomy.
In the section on the management of university property, a mechanism of responsibility was applied to the departmental level of many universities. There is a kind of economic democracy in which all teachers and staff were involved in activities to generate alternative funds.

From viewing those three aspects of financial autonomy, we can see great changes in university members' thinking and action. Universities can play the significant role in the aspects of generating alternative funds and of arranging these funds according to their own needs. The idea of financial autonomy reflects an understanding among members of university communities of the relationship between the economy and higher education. It also reflects a dynamic relationship of universities with government and society.
CHAPTER ELEVEN: TOWARD THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CHINESE CONCEPT OF AUTONOMY

In the previous three chapters, I examined how autonomy was practised in specific academic, personnel, and financial contexts. I showed that autonomy was taken as an administrative power, which is shared between the university and the government, allowing the university to play a leading role in decision-making and management of university affairs within the framework of government policies. I also showed that the effect of autonomy had gone beyond the domain of university administration. Thus, university autonomy in China is experienced in the mastery of skills in using knowledge to reconstruct a role for universities within the present political and economic context. By nature, autonomy in China is an art, focusing on the university’s freedom of action to create its own community, discourse, funds, and most important of all, to develop a new set of activities so that it can serve society more efficiently and effectively. From its creative activities, I can see that Chinese universities have learned how to continue their historical missions in the changing world of today.

This closing chapter is divided into three sections: a Chinese model, the fundamentals of the Chinese model, and the interpretation of university autonomy in China.

A Chinese Model

A Chinese model of autonomy has been illustrated in the case studies. University autonomy is seen as a form of administrative power used by Chinese universities to create situations in which they can develop strengths to serve and improve society, within the
framework of government policies.

The model has intellectual roots in Chinese traditional higher education and Western universities. The most important root is the experience of the reform period in which universities have drawn on all kinds of learning and experience with fewer limitations than ever before. The relationship between the university and the government is a main theme of autonomy. However, it is worth pointing out that autonomy is not seen as a break of the historical relationship between Chinese universities and the government, but rather an attempt to establish a new order of higher education governance, by which universities can develop a more direct relationship with society and hence serve society in practical ways.

University autonomy in China is treated as a means. For Chinese universities, it is more important and challenging to apply this means to practice than to possess an abstract purpose. Therefore, the application of autonomy to practice can be regarded as a kind of skill, or an art. It is an art of doing education, business, and politics, as well as that of uniting all university members to keep in line with university leaders for the accomplishment of their goals. Without making use of autonomy, universities cannot reach their destiny.

Autonomy as an art focuses on the university's creation and creativity. Because of this, Chinese universities are able to gain a greater degree of freedom of action while they remain close to the government. They are able to continue their particular institutional histories, which began in the republican period and were interrupted in the socialist period.

An autonomous university in the Chinese sense should emphasize outcomes in at least three aspects: academic, personnel, and financial. Thus, it should have more academic programs and diverse forms of program delivery, more research projects and publications,
more self-defined policies, and more self-generated money. The university should also have more ideas for academic, financial, and personnel development, be able to make plans based upon these ideas, seek opportunities to get the plans approved by the government, and work hard to make the plans come true. In this aspect, the practice of university autonomy is a process, rather than a simple action of giving and receiving power or a destiny to strive for. The university also needs time, practice, and ability to go through this process. In fact, not all universities can do what they want, or are supposed, to do when they have the power.

University autonomy in China focuses on the control of the whole institution, or all university members. It reflects a collective approach to the ideal of the university in China, the ideal of education in relation to national policies. Autonomy is not for a particular group, for instance, the faculty group. In the practice of autonomy, the university community is being constructed at the same time. One of the driving factors is the unity of university members. Although faculty members have gained a lot of power over internal governance, they still do not have a dominant control on campus. There is no doubt that faculty members are dominant holders of knowledge in universities, but in the application of autonomy, knowledge is not the only decisive factor for the university’s survival and development in today’s changing world. A guarantee of a higher degree of autonomy is therefore the unity of university members, including faculty members, administrators, Party workers, and assistant staff. They are interdependent with each other.

University autonomy in China is protected by "charters" (zhangcheng), by which university members mean laws, Party and government policies, speeches of senior leaders in the Party and the government, and for some interviewees, regulations and rules made by
universities themselves within the framework of government policies. Apart from these government policy documents, the three universities under investigation do not have their own institutional charters. In practice, autonomy does not follow exactly government policies, but the interpretation of these policies by themselves, which determines the special characteristics of individual institutions.

**Fundamentals of the Chinese Model**

A Chinese Term: Autonomy as Self-Mastery

The Chinese model of university autonomy is expressed in a term which is particular to the Chinese context. It is "zizhuquan" or autonomy as self-mastery. As the word indicates, autonomy as self-mastery focuses on the ability of application.

In Chapter Two, I raised the question of two different terms about university autonomy in the Chinese usage: autonomy as self-mastery (zizhuquan) and autonomy as independence (zizhiquan). I suggested that in Chinese universities, the concept of autonomy as self-mastery is more appropriate. To test that claim, I asked my interviewees which term would be more appropriate. All my interviewees chose the term autonomy as self-mastery (zizhuquan), although three held that it could be interchangeable with the term of autonomy as independence.

Why did the interviewees prefer the term autonomy as self-mastery? On what basis did they choose it? My interviewees gave me two answers. First, they chose it based on their understanding of the relationship between universities and the government. One administrator pointed out that the term autonomy as self-mastery (zizhuquan) was the precise term used by the Central Committee of the CCP and the State Council in policies
regarding what powers universities should have in educational reform (Interview code, 0314). Second, they chose it to avoid a situation that might cause the government to misunderstand the university’s intention and misinterpret its activities. They believed that the other term of autonomy as independence was politically sensitive. One professor made the following comment:

To use the term autonomy as independence (zizhiquan), would remind people of those democratic organizations such as the Students Autonomous Association of Higher Education Institutions (gaodeng yuanxiao xuesheng zizhihui) in the 1989 student movement. That would only bring about misinterpretation of universities’ activities and purposes now (Interview code, 0233).

Moreover, many interviewees emphasized the point that their autonomy is not autonomy in the Western sense. In fact, the term of autonomy as independence (zizhiquan) is not a true description of the situation of universities in the reform. One professor pointed out sharply:

Chinese universities do not have autonomy in the Western sense because there are the Party organizations on campus, which can not be autonomous but must stick to the CCP’s Four Cardinal Principles (Marxism, the CCP’s leadership, Socialism, and the policy of reform and opening). Besides, universities are all public institutions, funded by the government. There is no real autonomy that is equal to autonomy in the West (Interview code, 0431).

In Chapter Five and Chapter Six, I suggested a way to understand the meaning of university autonomy from three layers. In the first layer, university autonomy concerns sovereignty. At present, there is no room for any adjustment here. In the second layer, it concerns the relationship between government and universities. The close relationship between government and universities is still continuing for political, economic, and cultural reasons; however, some degree of adjustment has been made. The present change in universities is related to the third layer. Universities have displayed a great degree of freedom of action to make changes in the direction of adapting to social needs. At this level, we can see a meaningful expression of university autonomy in practical terms.
The Social Orientation of Its Purpose

Why is autonomy as self-mastery appropriate to Chinese universities? A main reason is that this concept of autonomy conforms to the purpose of Chinese universities.

The purpose of universities is socially oriented. Universities must serve society more effectively—not only by preserving knowledge and preparing skilled personnel for society, but also by facilitating society’s forward movement toward modernization. Universities must also prepare morally educated people for society.

Many interviewees agreed that one end of university autonomy was to prepare morally educated people for society (Interview codes, 0332, 0323, 0312). Although there were critical views about whether Chinese universities had done this (interview code, 0331), there was no doubt among all interviewees that Chinese universities should put the moral education of the young in the first place, and that all university work had to take this mission as an end.

Within the premise of preparing morally educated people for society, the purpose of university autonomy is to free universities’ energies so that they can become agents for social change. For universities, the government’s intention is not completely new to them. However, they need more autonomy to adapt themselves to social change, to strengthen themselves, and to increase their ability to operate within the market economy. One of the results of autonomy has been the development of special features in individual universities. For example, SUU is a new model of the multiple subject university, while CIMI is a model of university and enterprise combination (Interview codes, 0332, 0322).

Interviewees and discussion participants also expressed the view that autonomy was essential for universities’ survival in a new economic situation and for universities’
development toward the 21st century. People used the term "survival" to make the point that the economic situation of universities in China was very serious. Since the government could not continue to provide enough funds for university development, they had to find money on their own. Thus, university autonomy became a necessary condition for universities to survive economically. With a higher degree of autonomy, universities could create better conditions, and increase their academic and financial efficiency (Interview code, 0222).

University members welcome autonomy, for a number of reasons. First, autonomy helps universities centre on teaching and learning and directly serves society. Second, autonomy brings university members' initiatives into full play and frees their creative energies (Interview code, 0315). Third, autonomy increases their ability to solve their financial problems by themselves (Interview codes, 0331 and 0332).

Outcomes of University Autonomy

Autonomy as self-mastery should be measured by its outcome, which is reflected in universities' experience in self-expansion and interaction with society. Clearly, it can not be achieved when higher education is still managed through the planning of central government.

The greater autonomy in the reform period has released universities' creative energies so that they can develop quickly in all dimensions along the line of their own thinking and action. Their creativity has led to the expansion of the higher education system in terms of number of programs, students, and teachers, as the following table indicates:

University expansion by number of institutions, student enrolment, programs, and faculty
Autonomy is characterized by decentralization and deregulation. The government has issued general policies, leaving details for universities to work out. Although universities are to implement government policies, there is considerable space for interpretation of these policies, and for universities to adapt them. These university adaptations have covered all areas of university operations, including personnel, finance, and academic matters. They are decided on by administrators and faculty members to deal with existing problems.

In academic matters, autonomy as self-mastery is reflected in universities’ freedom and ability to make decisions, to carry out their decisions, and to make changes in academic affairs, including university goals, student administration and job placement, the initiation and termination of programs, curriculum design, and research. Nevertheless, universities are still experiencing government control over student admissions, program approvals, the length of curricula, and the expression of thought in various degrees. Some interviewees pointed out that government control did not limit universities’ expansion. Within the university, academic governance has moved toward the pattern of professorial governance, with professors dominating academic decision-making processes in areas of curriculum change, subject and program development, and professorial accreditation. Everyone has a
right to learn and seek fulfilment. Everyone also has to cultivate an ability. Academic freedom is an academic right for faculty members to teach, research, and compete with each other for professional awards.

In personnel, universities have gained power to stimulate the reform within the framework of government policies. The universities can appoint and dismiss administrators in the middle level (such as the department chair) and above, hire their own teachers, design academic and administrative positions, engage in the distribution of professional titles, and redistribute part of their salary allocations as well as self-generated income. Universities have invented their own methods of distributing income, which has initiated internal reform. Their principle is based on the socialist ideal of "from each according to his or her ability, to each according to his or her work." According to one personnel administrator, the principle of distribution was to credit individuals’ contribution through stratifying individuals’ income and allowing those who work harder to get more. The purpose is to bring the initiatives of individuals, especially faculty members, into full play (Interview code, 0113).

Financial autonomy has become the most successful aspect of university development in China. One department chair said that university autonomy in finance did not mean that the university had the power to allocate the government’s funds at will, and its significance was not there. He regarded government funds as the lifeblood of universities, but felt that universities had to improve their ability at raising their own funds in addition (Interview code, 0115). Autonomy as self-mastery has led to university activities which have created alternative funding sources for their needs through receiving extra tuition fees and donations, establishing companies, opening classes, joint ventures with external
corporations and individuals, and providing all kinds of services for university communities. Clearly, it is not the university’ goal to make money, but this is a strategy to enable them to achieve their goal of preparing talented persons with moral qualities. Universities can use profits to support their overall needs, subject to government regulations. Facing the market, universities have redefined themselves as enterprises, with equal freedom and the chance to compete with business firms to maximize profits.

Factors Supporting University Autonomy

There are several main factors that support university autonomy in China. The first is government policies, which might be regarded as the legal sources of university autonomy in China, and can be summed up under the term "charter" (zhangcheng). They include:

1) documents put out by the Central committee of the CCP such as the decision of the third plenary session of the 11th congress of the CCP regarding the reform (1978), the decision on educational reform (1985), the program for educational development (1993);
2) laws made by the national people’s congress such as the constitution (1982), academic decree provisions (1981), the compulsory education law (1986), the teacher law (1993), the educational law (1995);
3) documents issued by the State Council, the SEdC, and central ministries such as the educational administration provisions (1986), the regulations for keypoint universities regarding autonomy (1993), and a series of personnel policies made by the Ministry of Personnel;
4) speeches of the leaders in the CCP and the state such as Deng Xiaoping’s
"speech while visiting the south" (Interview code, 0414).

These documents determine the content of university autonomy as well as the limitations on its application. In practice, they are like a formless charter which every teacher and staff knows by heart and obeys consciously (Interview code, 0411).

The second is the ability of university leaders to choose to implement government policies through understanding both the policies and the unwritten meanings behind them. According to a university president, his experience of university autonomy was to make full use of government policies, and to absorb the spirit completely (chitou jingshen, yonggou zhengce). People thought that the potential of these policies was very great. Since what universities were doing now had never been done before, government policies were very general and continued to change until they suited the situation. Therefore, there was a great potential unleashed by these government policies (Interview code, 0111). In practice, the boundary for autonomy has become very flexible, depending on universities' understanding of these policies. There is room for universities to move. The real boundary of autonomy, according to an interviewee, was that universities could do what the central government did not say (Interview code, 0222). The great space left for universities to fill is in a wide range of academic, personnel, financial, and service matters.

Third, autonomy is determined by universities' ability to grasp opportunities and determine appropriate action for change. This is especially a matter of leadership. The president must look for opportunities and grasp them immediately. One interpreted it in the following words: "One cannot afford to lose chances. Once a chance is lost, it will never come again." (Interview coded, 0414) University members also used an analogy of crossing the street to describe their situation: walking fast when the green light is on,
walking in a round about way when the red light is on, and feeling one’s way forward when no light is on (Interview code, 0414). Therefore, the degree of autonomy depends to a great extent on universities’ prompt action in response to opportunity. If they do not do this their opportunities will be gone, because there may be new changes in government policy or there may be changes in the market.

Fourthly, the president and the Party committee secretary should have mutual respect and work cooperatively. There is a reality in Chinese higher education, that is, the presence of the CCP’s organization on campus. Universities can not choose their internal governance system. However, there is a possibility for them to change the role of the CCP and improve the quality of leadership. In practice, it is an important task for universities to establish the authority of the president in the practice of autonomy. However, the Party’s role is still important in terms of political, ideological, and psychological leadership, and the president needs this support (Interview code, 0451). Over the reform period, the Party has changed its working style, gradually leaving administration and focusing on the supervision of policies and student education. This change has enabled the president to exercise his or her professional knowledge and ability in university governance. Nevertheless, making decisions in universities should be done in a collective manner. Without the support of the Party organizations in the present system, the president would find it very difficult to make things happen.

Fifthly, the relationship between universities and government influences the character and degree of autonomy. This is also the dilemma of Chinese universities. For Chinese universities, keeping their close relationship with the government means keeping their tradition. However, this close relationship limits universities’ freedom of thinking and
action by pushing universities into a state in which they have to define themselves in relation to the government. There are two consequences. The first is that the traditional mentality of dependence on the government has limited autonomy. Many decisions of autonomy, allowed by the government, cannot be carried out in practice due to the way in which universities cling to their past patterns. In many ways, universities are inclined to follow the command of government and can not focus on their own problems and make choices according to their own conditions (interview code, 0421). The second is that heavy social responsibility hinders university reform. All Chinese universities are still governed like a small society, in which there are lots of social burdens, such as students and staff’s living facilities, staff’s welfare including their children’s employment, medical care, and other campus services. Universities have to expend their energies and resources to deal with these issues. One of the most difficult is the huge number of staff in universities. Since China has not established a social welfare system, universities can not lay off extra staff. Although the government has given the power to universities to do that, it is very difficult to implement this in practice (Interview code, 0413).

Sixthly, there is a structural problem in higher education governance which has limited university autonomy a lot. The government controls universities through responsible authorities at the central, provincial, and local levels. Each level of authority tends to become a closed system and segregate universities from their local community. Universities are therefore defined in relation to their responsible authorities (Interview code, 0212). Their relationship with authorities determines the degree of autonomy. After 1993, an important move was made to transfer higher education institutions affiliated to central ministries to local governments and to strengthen the cooperation between
universities and local communities. Universities adopted five different approaches to solving this problem: cooperative development between the national university and local government, the transfer of university authority, cooperative management of the university by national and local authorities, university-industry links, and mergers. This was determined by individual universities and the economic development of local areas.

Finally, underfunding is the most serious problem for Chinese universities. Ironically, this problem has become the trigger for university autonomy. The lack of funding stimulated universities to think creatively, act promptly, and to break through academic limitations. However, this has a cost for universities. Many university members realized that underfunding restrained academic development because universities had to expend human and material resources to look for alternative resources. And this made many university administrators believe that their universities' main problem was not autonomy but financial shortages (Interview code, 0322).

The Interpretation of University Autonomy in China

Universities and the Government

The relationship between universities and the government is not merely a relationship between two kinds of social organizations. It is a matter of keeping the tradition of Chinese higher education. As I have suggested in previous sections, autonomy in China is regarded as an administrative power given by the government, and as a capacity to use this power to achieve university development and serve society. It reflects a freedom of the university as a collective group to create its own community, to look for alternative funding sources, to seek development, to perform social roles, and to push society forward. From Chinese
higher education practice, the power of autonomy is rooted in university members’ collective creativity and their ambition to reestablish their institutional identity and develop institutional diversity. It has an emphasis on the results of intentions, that is, cultivating people’s ability of taking action and making change in reality.

The meaning of university autonomy is related to the relationship between government and universities. It can be examined at three levels of that relationship: the central government and universities; the educational authorities (the SEdC, central ministries, and provincial government) and universities; and the local government and universities. Besides, the relationship between the CCP and universities is also very important and delicate.

On the first level, university autonomy is concerned with the implementation of administrative powers given by the central government as a responsibility for program development, student admission and job placement, personnel, finance, and administration. As public educational institutions, universities are responsible for carrying out government policies. Within the government policies, universities can exercise their wisdom, make choices, and work through their own decisions.

On the second level, university autonomy signifies a move of universities to be independent of their authorities. Legally, universities are the property of their authorities. This relationship has segregated universities from participation in local development, and in return, they have not been able to draw upon local resources. Many interviewees agreed that the authoritative agencies should gradually release their control over universities, and this is a central concern of autonomy (Interview code, 0223).

On the third level, university autonomy refers to the freedom of universities to
establish a relationship with the local government in a form of cooperation. This is particularly important for the SEcD and ministry universities to draw upon local resources. Since the local government has no authority over these universities, to establish a relationship with the local government of any kind would strengthen universities’ position in the market competition.

On the internal level regarding the relationship between the CCP and universities, the theme centres on the implementation of the presidential responsibility system. The question is whether the Party committee should remain outside of university administration so that the identities of each university can be developed in distinctive ways. One argument is that because the Party’s work principle is to keep a unitary line with the central government, it will not facilitate the university in developing its own special characteristics which are the essence of autonomy (Interview code, 0332). The extreme of this argument goes to the point that the Party should not be on campus. However, from another aspect of the debate, this is not realistic. In my understanding, why the CCP government has insisted on the Party’s leadership in universities is not only because of its concern for controlling the university, but also because of its intention of reforming intellectuals from being individually centred to being collectively-oriented. The model of the presidential responsibility governance under the leadership of the Party committee, which was consolidated after 1989’s Tiananmen Square Incident, reflects a collective approach to university governance. Chinese universities have a complete Party system. It has mediated the difference between various professional groups on campus such as faculty members, administrators, administrative staff, and support staff. In this type of governance, university members are not distinguished politically. It is characterized by a collective
governance formed by faculty members as a main body and supported by administrators and support staff. In relation to autonomy, this governance system focuses on the collective leadership of the university and autonomy is thus a freedom of the whole institution rather than a freedom of a particular group. With the change in the role of the Party from administration to political leadership, supervision of implementation, and communication with the masses, the Party can remain on campus while universities exercise a higher degree of autonomy.

It is important to point out that autonomy is a means for universities to become members of society and participate in market competition with other public and private institutions. The government never allows universities to be independent and self-controlled. As well, universities never intend to give up their relationship with the government, because that would do them no good, either morally or practically.

Characteristics and Values

University autonomy in China reflects such fundamental values of the Chinese people as self-reliance and social responsibility, action-orientation, and the collective approach.

In the practice of Chinese universities, the idea of self-reliance is especially meaningful from the economic perspective. Many interviewees expressed the view that universities could not depend on the government for more money, for ideas of making money, and for methods to get the money. They had to depend on themselves and on cooperation among university members. University members had to develop their own thinking and strategies to deal with their own problems, and initiate action to solve them. From this perspective, activities derived from the value of self-reliance are also viewed as universities taking
social responsibility. Through these activities, based on the value of self-reliance, universities not only help themselves tide over financial difficulty but also contribute to the humane and moral development of society.

University autonomy in China is pragmatic and action-oriented. University members fully understand that the value of autonomy is in the university's ability to initiate action. They go about all kinds of business which could energize their institutions. They can not wait there talking, complaining, and criticizing, but they have to make changes through creative thinking and action. One interviewee said: "doing something was better than doing nothing, even though we might make mistakes" (Interview code, 0221). Universities are open to the experience of the countryside and industry reforms. They have adopted the contract responsibility system, which is a model in rural reform. This can be seen in all areas of university development, including the presidential and the department chair responsibility systems, managing university service sectors along enterprise lines etc.

The practice of autonomy is reflected as a collective approach to the freedom of universities in relation to the established system. The focus of autonomy is on the institution rather than on particular groups within the institution. However, autonomy is not a corporative right of the university, which allows it to stand independent of the government in terms of goals, programs, curricula, and student admission. Universities in China are public institutions with a strong political mission to prepare skilled personnel for socialism. The Education Law confirms that universities are legal persons and represented by their presidents. Universities have the same rights as state-owned enterprises. However, the fundamental relationship between the government and universities has not changed.

Autonomy in China is thus characterized by cooperation between the government and
universities, between the Party committee and the president’s administration, and between faculty members and other staff including administrators, political instructors, and service staff. University autonomy involves not only the relationship between the university and the government but also the relationship between university members and the government. These relationships are crucial to the practice of autonomy.

Within the university, the cooperation is reflected in the relationship between the Party committee and administration, and between the Party secretary and the president. The Party’s leadership in the university is now a reality and it is regarded as one of China’s present norms (Interview code, 0317). Obviously, some people with extreme views believe that the Party’s leaving the university would increase autonomy. This is not realistic at present, given that almost 90% of administrators at the department chair level and above are Party members, and there is a separate organizational structure of the Party parallel with that of administration, not to mention student organization and other masses’ organizations. This cooperation may be even more necessary at the department level. Perhaps, the hope should be that the Party change its role or nature. It is observed that in the reform period, the Party’s goal has shifted from a focus on class struggle to economic development, and that its work style has become more practical. Party organizations also function as communicative agents between administrators and university members. However, people have no doubt that cooperation between the Party secretary and president is a necessary condition for keeping an effective and efficient leadership.

As for university members, they have become bound to their university and department although they have more freedom of choice. Their financial and material benefits are associated with their university’s prosperity. In the department, especially for those in arts
and basic sciences, their financial well being will come from cooperation of all members in the department, not faculty members only, to open special classes, and conduct commercial projects. As a result, university autonomy tends to focus on departmental activities. The department has become the centre of university activities related to autonomy in program development, teaching and instruction, the selection of teachers, and the creation of alternative financial resources. Consequently, greater diversity has resulted. Many departments have increased programs in both degree and non-degree categories. In this aspect, there are lots of creative academic, personnel, and financial activities that have broken former practices. All are based in the department.

With comparison to university autonomy in the West, there are some important differences. First of all, Chinese universities are not a legacy of the church, but an offspring of the government, reflecting many features of government in terms of structure, operation, management, the recruitment of leaders and employees. The relationship between the government and the university sometimes remains tacit and the written laws have not always played the role they are supposed to. University autonomy may also be restrained by the faults of government, such as bureaucracy, corruption, and power struggles, and universities have sometimes become victims of the government. In the traditional period, higher education institutions rose and fell with the fate of the dynasty, resulting in no case of an unbroken institutional history. In this century, universities were still very easily victimized by political changes, such as happened in the Cultural Revolution.

Next, autonomy in China does not mean universities can be neutral with regard to political parties. This is reflected in the fact that the CCP directly participates in university
governance and supports the leadership of higher education. Universities must carry out the CCP’s line and principles, and serve socialism. Courses in Marxism and Communist Party history are required for all students. Only the CCP can legally recruit students as members in universities, while other democratic parties are not allowed to do so. The Party has a range of associate organizations established in the university, such as the Youth League and unions. These organizations are all structured into the organization of the university and paid through the university’s budgetary allocations. This attitude toward the Party to some degree reflects a choice of Chinese universities. Neutrality would block Chinese universities’ link to their intellectual tradition of participating in national politics either as a shared power holder or a representative of public opinion.

Consequently, university autonomy in China is not an end of universities but a means to help universities achieve their end. University autonomy in China has shown universities’ ability to adopt new ideas and turn these ideas into reality. These are reflected in their attitude toward Western experience and in their learning from Western universities and developing their own strategies to approach modernization.

Where Should Chinese Universities Go?

In Chapter two, I summarized the special features of university autonomy in the West. University autonomy in the West is defined within the law and intellectual tradition. It is likely to be treated as an end of universities (although it is justified by reference to social need in many cases), as a collective right of university faculty members to academic leadership on campus, to protection from government interference, and to the privilege of academic freedom based on law. It is the right of university faculty members to protect
their interests and careers. In Chapter Five and Chapter Six, also I noticed the influence of the Western concept of university autonomy on the Chinese concept. The present development of "legal persons" in Chinese universities reflects a tendency in China to adapt the Western experience of university autonomy to the Chinese context.

Nevertheless, as shown in the previous chapters, university autonomy in China is still a different concept. It is defined within the framework of government policies and the Chinese intellectual tradition. Autonomy has been seen as a form of freedom of action for intellectuals to seek moral, intellectual, and practical meanings of knowledge that can be directly applied to human government and hence improve the quality of human life. An ideal type of higher education governance based on this idea was created in the dynastic period, with a focus on the leadership of scholar-officials, the combination of scholarship and state administration. It has continued now through various ways in which the CCP involves itself in university administration and administrators are selected mainly among teachers or they gain professional titles that allow them to teach. One important feature of Chinese universities is their collective approach to autonomy. The meaning of the collective is not limited to one social group such as teachers, but all staff of universities. Autonomy can not become a dynamic power until a relationship between the leading group of the university and the masses on campus has been established. Without that relationship, no group is really authoritative. This suggests a way of knowing from a collective approach is still dominant in China.

I have also realized some important Chinese experiences that can be shared with international counterparts. First, the purpose of autonomy is to fulfil social responsibility. Second, the content of autonomy covers all university activities, with a special focus on
universities’ ability to initiate action and seek moral, intellectual, and practical development. Third, the way to approach autonomy is to cooperate with the government. Finally, we can see that university autonomy in China puts an emphasis on the quality of individuals and personal fulfilment.97

Through autonomy, universities are developing a Chinese identity in the areas of governance, academic matters, personnel, and finance, and this identity will continue to have an impact on university practice in the future. In terms of internal governance, I expect that the CCP will remain in universities for a long time, although its structure and organization may shrink. The reform period has seen universities enjoying a higher degree of autonomy within the framework of the leadership of the CCP on campus. However, at the same time, there is an uncertainty around political leadership on campus due to the lack of open discussion about the relationship between the CCP and intellectuals. From my point of view, the CCP has the experience of working with the masses and leading them to achieve their goals. The existence of the CCP on campus will help communication among university administrators, teachers, and other members, and especially between universities and the government at the local level.98 In fact, the Party workers at the department level are doing work that can be categorized in professional ways in the West, such as public

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97 This emphasis comes from the traditional encouragement of individual fulfilment. In fact, university autonomy is not seen as a purpose, rather the purpose is the cultivation of individuals’ minds, which is identical with the universities’ goal. In terms of the qualification of being a president, many interviewees made the point that one of the important qualifications is personality and moral accomplishment.

98 At present, universities hope to strengthen themselves and become modernized so that they can serve or influence society more effectively. They need to be united in approaching their goal. Without the CCP, university members would have difficulty achieving that goal. I do not think that faculty members have this experience and interest. University administrators’ positions might help a bit but since most of them come from faculty members and their positions tend to make them become bureaucratic, they are of the less clear about the whole institution’s real needs.
relations, community service, counselling, communication, negotiation, and student affairs. This shows the possibility of the CCP changing its role on campus in order to respond to the new situation.

In the future, a crucial question in the leadership of the CCP on campus is whether the CCP should take its national mission as the university's mission. At present, the CCP has adjusted its goals to the economic development of the country, but this is no guarantee in the future. A very practical issue is how much work is done and how the CCP workers do their work. A department chair commended his department Party secretary in these words: "He always knows the degree of how much he should do on behalf of the Party branch." During the period of more than ten years in which this secretary had worked with three department chairs, he had never interfered with administrative issues defined by the department policies. He communicated with members about department policies and brought their opinions back to the department council (Interview code, 0115). The practice of autonomy is somewhat unpredictable, given this trust in individuals' moral qualities and skills of leadership. These qualities are crucial to university autonomy.

With academic autonomy, universities will be able to develop their programs, improve quality, select their teachers, and attract more students within the framework of government policies. Universities will continue to expand in all directions and most will move toward a more comprehensive type, based on their former majors. University teachers' leadership over academic issues has been expanded, which will prepare them to choose from what is the best in government policies. Most of all, university members have to use their own wit and energy to compete with other actors in the market. As for academic freedom, at present and in the near future, it remains different from the Western
idea of a freedom of discourse and a human right to criticize freely, including criticizing the socialist system. However, there will be more open discussion on campus over internal governance and social issues. How far that discussion will contribute to universities' moral, intellectual, and practical development is not clear even to university members now.

As for personnel autonomy, universities are now exercising their power to plan the personnel structure which will help their development. The present personnel policies are based on the contract responsibility system derived from rural reform. How much relevance the system has to university settings is not yet studied. An apparent consequence of personnel autonomy is the link of university members to their institutions. In some extreme cases, university personnel are divided into small groups at the department level. Members are bound to their departments. Subject areas determine the distribution of personal income, professional titles, and university housing. In many universities which have started personnel reform, there is a great financial stratification within the institution. This stratification will surely bring a negative influence on the practice of autonomy.

The direct indicator of this linkage between university members and their institutions is income, which is an important aspect of university autonomy. Universities are now completely free to make their own money as a supplementary source for operation and the welfare of staff through means that government allows to them and other social organizations. Although the government has few restrictions on university activity in this area, universities find it hard to compete with other organizations due to limited resources. Nevertheless, this increased financial autonomy does not mean the privatization of the national higher education system, because many people believe in public higher education. The CCP government also realizes that public higher education is an important means to
pass on its political values.

In summary, autonomy has become a value in Chinese universities, which gives rise to many things: the development of institutional identity and diversity, democracy encouraging the participation of all university members in university development; the geographical sense of intellectual community; the status of legal persons in the market; intellectuals' concern for society in issues such as tuition fees, student jobs, equality, and corruption in the government; mediation of the Party and intellectuals' conflicts; moral qualities of individuals; new images of the university in society; learning both for careers and personal fulfilment; flexibility in dealing with social change, and new visions for the future.

No doubt, this value is rooted in the Chinese intellectual tradition and has developed in the interaction between Chinese culture and the West in this century. How much will the value of university autonomy in China be changed by international influences, such as the idea of Western university autonomy in the future? How much can this value help Chinese universities to keep the best of its tradition while seeking modernization? We cannot predict the future because Chinese university members do not say much, but what they are doing expresses what they mean. We have to wait and see.
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APPENDIXES: INTERVIEW INSTRUMENTS

A. The Request for Administrative Approval (English and Chinese)

Higher Education, OISE
252 Bloor Street West,
Toronto, Ontario Canada
M5S 1V6
June 5, 1995

President Office

To whom it may concern:

My name is Ningsha Zhong, a doctoral student in the Higher Education in the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. The purpose of this letter is to seek your approval of my coming to do interviews in your university in this fall for my doctorial thesis.

I am currently doing a thesis on university autonomy in China. The research is aimed at adding new ideas to the literature of international higher education and developing a concept of autonomy that is not only rooted in Chinese educational thought but also draws upon the Western experience. So far, no one has done a thorough study like this. My study will focus on how autonomy is understood in Chinese universities which are currently in the process of being modernized through interchange of ideals and traditions with Western universities.

One of the objectives in my study is to conduct interviews with some thirty members of Chinese higher education institutions about their understanding and attitude toward autonomy. If I am allowed, I want to interview twelve to fourteen persons, and I hope these interviewees come from the Party workers, administrators, teachers, and students, with three persons in each group. The interview may take about one hour, conducted according to the attached interview protocol.

If you approve my application, please tell me whom I am going to contact?

I am looking forward to your reply in your earliest convenience!

Thank you very much!

Ningsha Zhong
Ph.D. Candidate
Dear Sir/Madam:

My name is Ningsha Zhong, a doctoral student in the Higher Education of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. I am currently doing a thesis on university autonomy in China. The research is aimed at adding new ideas to the literature of international higher education and developing a concept of autonomy that is not only rooted in Chinese educational thought but also draws upon the Western experience. So far, no one has done a thorough study like this. My study will focus on how autonomy is understood in Chinese universities which are currently in the process of being modernized through interchange of ideals and traditions with Western universities.

One of the objectives in my study is to conduct interviews with some thirty members of Chinese higher education institutions about their understanding and attitude toward autonomy. I will appreciate it very much if you can participate in this study as an interviewee. I believe that your participation will help define a concept of autonomy in China and contribute to the knowledge of Chinese universities.

The interview will take an hour with the focus on your opinions of the meanings of autonomy. The questions will follow the attached interview protocol. I ensure that no one except my supervisor and me can have an access to the raw data, and your name will be omitted in any written report for confidentiality. And at any time you are absolutely free to withdraw from this study.

A copy of summary of the completed report of this study will be sent to you on request. Please let me know if there is anything unclear about this interview.

Thank you very much for your participation!

Ningsha Zhong
Ph.D. Candidate
C. Interview Protocol

1. Explanation

The purpose of this interview is to get interviewee's insights about how they understand university autonomy in practical terms. The interviewees come from three universities and colleges in Sichuan Province. There are thirty six persons all together divided into four groups: the CCP workers, administrators, teachers, and students. There are three persons in each group. I intend to have certain percentage of women interviewees.

The interview will take about one hour. Before the interview starts, I would like to spend 2 to 3 minutes to introduce myself and explain how this interview will go. I will tape the interview if individual interviewees allow. There are two types of questions. The first type of questions are for all interviewees, and the second type of questions are designed particularly for interviewees from different groups. I expect interviewees to answer all questions in the first type. For questions in the second type, I will try to cover as many as the time allows.

This questionnaire has passed the ethnical review required by the OISE, and all questions will be tested before I conduct formal interviews. The interview will take up one hour. In case some interviewees may elaborate a bit more on practical issues, I may extend to one hour and thirty minutes as maximum.

2. Questions

a) Personal Information

Could you tell me what you are doing in this university, when and how did you come
to work (or study) here?

b) Conceptual Questions

Are you familiar with expression of "university autonomy"? Where did you first hear it? How do you define university autonomy? What is the purpose of university autonomy? Which aspect should it focus on--academic matters, personnel, finance or student management? How is autonomy connected to the university’s goal? What is a charter? Does your university have one? What are legal persons? What is the significance of the Education Law to university autonomy? How do you summarize the practice of autonomy in your institution? Does the practice of your university meet your expectation?

c) Practical Questions

1). Party leaders (who are in charge of the Party organizations, youth, and unions at the university and department level, such as the secretary, the vice-secretary, the secretary of the Youth League, the chair of the union, and political supervisors)

According to your understanding of university autonomy, what governance system will suit the university best?

Under the present governance system, what responsibilities do the president and the Party secretary share?

Do you think increasing the president’s power would increase university autonomy?

As a Party organization leader, what do you think about the relationship between autonomy and the CCP’s policy in the socialist market economy?

What is the role of the Party in the practice of autonomy? What percentage do Party
members constitute in main bodies of making decisions at the university and department levels?

What freedom and rights do you think a university should have in academic affairs? Does your institution have this freedom and these rights?

What freedom and rights do you think a university should have in personnel governance? Does your institution have this freedom and these rights?

What freedom and rights do you think a university should have in financial affairs? Does your institution have this freedom and these rights?

What freedom and rights do you think a university should have in terms of student affairs? Does your institution have this freedom and these rights?

2) Administrators (who are in charge of administration at the university and department levels such as the president, vice-presidents, dean of studies, dean of student service, and department chairs.)

According to your understanding of university autonomy, what governance system will suit the university best?

Do you think increasing the president's power would increase university autonomy?

As an administrative official, what do you think about the relationship between autonomy and university governance? What are roles of administrators on campus in the practice of autonomy?

What freedom and rights do you think a university should have in academic affairs? Does your institution have this freedom and these rights?

What freedom and rights do you think a university should have in personnel governance? Does your institution have this freedom and these rights?
What freedom and rights do you think a university should have in financial affairs? Does your institution have this freedom and these rights?

What freedom and rights do you think a university should have in terms of student affairs? Does your institution have this freedom and these rights?

3) Teachers (professors, associate professors, and lecturers who teach academic subjects)

According to your understanding of university autonomy, what governance system will suit the university best?

Under the present governance system, what is the role of teachers in decision-making? What powers and responsibilities do the president and the Party secretary share within the governance system?

Do you think increasing the president’s power would increase university autonomy?

As a faculty member, what do you think about the relationship between university autonomy and teachers’ role? What percentage of membership do faculty members have in the main bodies of making decisions at the university and department levels?

What freedom and rights do you think a university should have in academic affairs? Does your institution have this freedom and these rights?

What freedom and rights do you think a university should have in personnel governance? Does your institution have this freedom and these rights?

What freedom and rights do you think a university should have in financial affairs? Does your institution have this freedom and these rights?

What freedom and rights do you think a university should have in terms of student affairs? Does your institution have this freedom and these rights?
4) Students (full-time students enrolled under the state development plan.)

According to your understanding of university autonomy, what governance system will suit the university best?

Under the present governance system, what powers and responsibilities do the president and the Party secretary share within the governance system?

Do you think increasing the president’s power would increase university autonomy?

As students, what do you think about the relationship between university autonomy and students learning in the university? What percentage of membership do students have in main bodies making decisions at the university and department level?

What freedom and rights do you think a university should have in academic affairs? Does your institution have this freedom and these rights?

What freedom and rights do you think a university should have in personnel governance? Does your institution have this freedom and these rights?

What freedom and rights do you think a university should have in financial affairs? Does your institution have this freedom and these rights?

What freedom and rights do you think a university should have in terms of student affairs? Does your institution have this freedom and these rights?
D. The Interviewee's Consent

Dear Ms. Ningsha Zhong:

I have read the attached letter and the interview protocol describing your research. I agree to participate in your study.

I understand that transcripts of our interview can be made available to me upon request. It is clear to me that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time.

Signature ______________________

Date ______________________
E. Participation institutions and individuals

Interview group by number of interviewees and institutions

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* SUU: Sichuan Union University
   CIMI: Chongqing Industry Management Institute
   CTC: Chongqing Teachers’ College

Informal interview group by number of individuals and institutions

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* CU: Chongqing University
   CMU: Chongqing Medical University
   CAEU: Chongqing Architecture Engineering University
   CMCCCP: Chongqing Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party