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MARKETIZATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN CHINA

Abstract. This article examines and discusses the marketization of higher education in the People's Republic of China. A brief historical overview of the development of higher education in China is presented as background information for contrast. The international marketization trends can also be found in this study; it allows readers to have a comprehensive understanding about the relationship between national development and the development of higher education, and it also illustrates the global trend of marketization of higher education.

Keywords: marketization, higher education, external (social) market, internal market.

Introduction. In this article, the state of the marketplace of higher education in China is introduced first. Higher education participation in China has widened at an historically unprecedented rate and scope. This operation of "massification" has expanded opportunities for young people to get skills and qualifications to meet the needs of China's rapidly developing economy. However, a degree provides a less steady career way than in the past, and an increasing number of graduates are experiencing unemployment, under-employment, and low salaries. In a rival environment, a growing body of quantitative study has identified social stratification in graduate labor markets. It's important, socioeconomic status can be a decisive factor in graduate employment outcomes after controlling for university attended, university major, and other factors. These findings may seem puzzling as higher education is broadly considered the "great equalizer" of life chances.

In this era of globalization, countries are not linked only by trade; international bonds go farbeyond economic activities. Although education preserves and transmits a nation's uniqueculture, it is still affected by the trends towards globalization. In the process of globalization, not only the distinctiveness of national educational curriculum, but also the educational policies, priorities and administrative types, of different nations look blurred and increasingly alike.

In Friedman's proposal, running public services as free enterprises has become the trend. Many governments have emitted their monopolies in the delivery of education by turningover the management of schools to private sectors. Public schools adopt the business practices that meet market needs and compete for clients' choices. This trend is fostered and furtherpromoted by international organizations, such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, which advocate privatization and marketization (Kwong, 2000).

Kwong(2000) identified that "Marketization in education refers to the adoption of freemarket practices in running schools". In Kwong's definition, it includes the business practicesof cutting production cost, abandoning goods not in demand, producing only popular productions, and advertising products to increase sales and the profit margin. In the marketization spectrum, in extreme cases schools not only insert their endowment funds, but also may even run their ownbusinesses.

A market is a place for the exchanges of good and the sum of the exchange attitudes. The market of higher education includes two parts (Chen, 1999):

1) The external (social) market is a market outside the institution. It contains the labor market, science and technology knowledge market and the capital market that is related to the parents, employers, the personnel agents and investors.

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2) The internal market is the market formed by the internal activities and relationshipsinside an institution or between institutions.

In China, the external market of higher education is influenced and determined by many factors: the government policies (China is still a 'socialist' country; its economy system is the 'socialist market' economy at early stage of socialism), the huge population, the number of affordable parents, the economy type and the trend of economy development, demand of high quality human resources. The internal market of higher education is influenced and determined by the government policies, tuition fees, appointments of personnel and remuneration system, funding channels, management system and degree of school autonomy.

China is the country with the world's largest population. According to national statistics in 1997, there were more than 283 billion students under various forms of education; this was about 22.9% of the population and one fourth of the whole student population in the world. Such a huge amount population provided a great platform for the development of higher education.

The population determines only the probable capacity of higher education. The ability to afford and the desire for higher education are the most important elements because they provided the bases for realizing exchanges in the market. With the economic growth, the incomes of most people increased rapidly. Especially in the cities, the economic development level is much higher; most families can afford for higher education. According to the sample survey of the use of savings, which was conducted by the National Statistics Council and Chinese economic prosperity center, people were willing to spend 10% of savings on education and 7% on residence expenditures. In light of another set of statistics, 27% of the savings are directed to for children's education and 80% of student parents think that the tuition fees for non-compulsory education are reasonable in China.

In Chinese culture, most family members have a very high desire for their children to receive higher education. Under the one child policy in China, most families can have only one child; therefore education is highly prized in most families (Li et al., 1999). This is the situation of the parental part in the external market.

The economy has been growing rapidly since the open door policy. Accompanied with the economic growth, structures of industries and technologies change from time to time; these resulted in new demands on education. The structure of industries changed sharply after more than one decade of economic development. A significant proportion of primary industry shifted to the tertiary industry.

The urgent demand for high quality human resources in the economy growth makes the commercial and industrial enterprises become the strong buyers of the products (graduates) ofhigher education. As the society becomes richer, most parents can afford thehigher education for their children. Students, their parents and the government (which provides aid) become the strong buyers ofthe services (teaching of knowledge and technologies). In the external market place, the students are the consumers ofthe higher education services and in turn become the products of higher education and are employed by the enterprises.

Before 1990, the administration of the Chinese higher education system was part of a highly centralized system of directive state planning. At the individual institutions level, most decisions such as the appointment of an academic, an increase in the teaching staffs income, etc. were made in strict accordance with state plans. Leaders of higher education institutions executed the central government's policies rather than being active decision-makers. With the deepening of reforms since the early 1980s, even so, market influences have also left their impress on Chinese higher educational management, which are manifested especially in three areas: administrative management, the personnel system and the system of remuneration (Yin, 1994).

Under the driving of market forces, higher institutions have to shift to the client-center practice and use the entrepreneurial administrative management. In order to enlarge the enrollment scale of institutions, to promote the development and to improve the quality, and to make most use of human and other resources by having ministerial institutions serve local development, many small and relatively weak institutions were merged into big and key institutions with high teaching and research quality. In the process of institutions, localgovernments and ministries constructed several defective ways, such as "collaboration in buildinginstitutions (gong jian), merging institutions (合并) and running institutions jointly"

(*lianhehanxue*) (Zhang, 2001). Whichever method is used; the goal is to amalgamate smallerinstitutions into one large. This can partly solve the problems of low efficiency that arose in the last chapter and make institutions more competent in the market of higher education.

College and university admissions and tuition fees are related to the expenditure budgets, number of staff, equipment and facilities, dormitory spaces, etc. The controls of admissions and tuition fees influence the allocation of resources and many economic entities inside the institutions, such as canteens, bookstores. In China, there were only state-funded students in public institutions before 1986. In 1986, it was the first time, the category of "self-supported student" appeared in the list in the nationwide college and university student recruitment and admission operation. It started the "Dual-Track System", by which public funded students and self-supported students coexist in colleges and universities (Liu, 1995). It was the product of the market economy in its transitional period.

Although this system produced more income for higher education from non-state sources, the system was replaced by the "Combined Track System" in 1997. It was because the "Dual-Track System" weakened the centralization of distribution or allocation of function of the planned economy and brought difficulties for market economy development, which was truly fair competitively and operated on the principle of "survival of the fittest".

Moreover, the change of personnel management of higher education institutions was another important topic in the internal market. It will be discussed in detail later.

On May 5,1999, Liberation Daily stated: "A survey in Shanghai reported that the averagesaving per capita in 1998 was 1,425 RMB yuan. Saving for one's children's education ranked first, with 32.7% of informants saying they were willing to save a large amount of money to invest in their children's education. The second most important purpose of saving money was for health, and the third was saving for housing" (CREC, 2001).

On April 15 2000, Life Times described: "Education has become an important part of people's expenditure. An affiliated center of the State Statistics Bureau conducted a survey with 502 urban residents in Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou. The following findings were shown. (1) 42.7% of families expressed that education expenditure is an important part of their expenditure. (2) 38.4% supported the education approved by the government, and 33.4% paid more attention to the skill-related education. (3) A majority of families (85%) paid littleattention to the tuition fees. They would like to pay higher tuition fees for their children for better schools and better learning atmosphere. Only 9.6% of families paid attention to the scale of tuition fees. (4) 45% of residents felt that the money they paid for education was "value for money". (CREC, 2001)

On June 13 2000, Wuxi Daily reported "Wuxi City Statistics Bureau issued a survey finding on education expenditure among the city residents (Wuxi, Jiangsu Province). Based on 1200 households in the city, the survey found that the average education consumption from kindergarten to university was 63,000 yuan. The average consumption per student per term was 1,540 yuan. The average consumption per college student per term was 3,949 yuan, 1,488 yuanper senior secondary student per term, and 1086 yuan per student per term in kindergarten. The survey also showed that over 10% of households paid different forms of 'donation' forselecting better schools. The average "donation" was 10,093 yuan. A conception of buying quality education with money' appeared among the residents." (CREC, 2001)

These three reports reflect that the Chinese parents are willing to spend a large proportion of daily expenditure or savings on their children's education. The most important points are that they felt that what they paid for education was "value for money" and the appearance of the concept of "buying quality education with money". "Prices for education" seems was rooted in the parents' mind.

Shen and Du (2000, p. 6 8) agreed, "The concept of students paying for their own tuition has already been accepted by the general public". They also pointed out that income from miscellaneous fees and tuition in China had become the second source of education funds after the national allocation.

Before 1980, all university places were centrally planned and allocated by the government; allstudents' tuition and accommodation fees were exempted. In 1980, the Shanghai Municipalgovernment started a pilot scheme to allow 24 institutions to admit 1000 self-supporting students along with "state-plane students". These students had to pay tuition and living fees.

Although it was firstly criticized by some provincial government and some senior officers in SEC, "self-supporting student" was accepted by more and more students, parents, institutions and provincial

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governments. The enrollment of self-supporting students kept enlarging in the first half of the 1980s (Zhang, 2001).

In this period, some enterprises also began to pay tuition fees and provide stipend for some enterprise-commissioned students, because they expected to employ these students in future. These students also stood outside the state plan for higher education enrollment (Zhang 2001).

As a whole, the evolution of the tuition fee system occurred as an outcome of the shortage of education fund and fee-paying for higher education was become acceptable when the market economy concept was introduced. The tuition fee partly reflected the price of higher education. Different specialties charged different tuition fees in the same institution; that means different specialties had different prices. Moreover, institutions in different regions charged different tuition fees; it reflected the price of higher education was different in different regions according to the regional economic situation.

China Education Daily in January 5, 2000 reported: "School-run enterprises in GuangdongProvince generated 3.8 billion yuan (USS 450 million) in 1999. Ten percent of the income wasdirectly spent for improving educational conditions. 61.3% of Guangdong schools and colleges have their own factories and other enterprises". It reflected that school running became an important income of educational expenditure in China and the percentage of these schools and colleges was high. The following paragraphs discuss this situation in higher education.

Since the late 1980s, most institutions had started to develop their own industries, especially the technological industries because higher education institutions have the advantages of possessing talents and high technologies. Tsinghua University and Peking University are leaders in higher education institutions in many areas in China including institution-running enterprises.

In 1992 the total operational value of all technological industries of Tsinghua University reached RMB 248 million yuan, realizing a profit of RMB 30.37 million yuan and resulting in a remission of RMB 7.63 million yuan in tax monies to state. The overall operating income rose from RMB 480 million yuan in 1993 to 3.2 billion yuan in 1999, and profit rose from 70 million yuan in 1993 to 360 million yuan in 1999. (Postiglione and Liu, 1995; Rong, 2000).

Up to 1999 there were more than 20 companies in the form of proprietorship, holding companies and joint companies at Tsinghua University (Rong, 2000). A similar situation was found in Peking University. In 1998 there were 47 universities running high technology enterprises. There were three major industries, including electronic information communication, biotech and pharmacy, and property development. Peking University Founder Group, Beida Jade Bird Group, China PKU WeiMing BioTech Group and Peking University Resource Group were four main corporations of Peking University. The annual overall output of all the enterprises had a worth of RMB 8.26 billion yuan; the total operational value was RMB 7.8 billion yuan. It realized a profit of RMB 65.21 million yuan. The four main corporations contributed a total of RMB 40 million yuan to the financial expenditure of Peking University. It was 6.4% of the university expenditure, which was one of the important incomes of the Peking University. Besides that, institutional enterprises contributed an amount of RMB 30 million yuan to aid the university and build constructions for the university (Yao, 1999).

Besides the most famous Peking University and Tsinghua University, there are some other examples. In 1989 Sichuan University established a "Sichuan University Science-Technology initiation and development Committee" and set up a science-technology initiation and development Company. These two bodies were responsible for institutional science and technology development and institutional industry development. In 1991 university running enterprises contributed a profit of RMB 172 thousand yuan, teaching services made a profit of RMB 471 thousand yuan, and science and technology services provided RMB 893 thousand yuan; they were 3.62%, 9.92%, and 18.8% of institutional fund respectively (Sichuan University, 1992).

Moreover, in 1991 the overall output value of the industries run at Dongnan (Southeastern) University amounted to RMB 32 million yuan, with a profit of RMB 6.5 million yuan. InOctober 1992, the university organized and established a cutting-edge technological enterpriseor entrepreneurial group that carried out unified coordination and macro administration of the industries run under the auspices of the university. In 1992 the output value had increased to RMB 60 million yuan, and the profit to RMB 14 million yuan. Then, in 1993 the total output value of industries run by the university increased to RMB 80 million yuan, and the profit of these industries exceeded RMB 18 million yuan (Postiglione and Liu, 1995).

1991 Furthermore, In December Zhejiang University established "Zhejiang DaxueGongyeZonggongsi [Zhejiang University Industry Headquarter Company]", which possessed 8 industry factories (including mechanical, electrical, chemical, optical, semiconductor, radio and wireless, electrical and mechanical equipment and printing factories) and 9 technological enterprises and economy entities. In 1991 the Headquarter Company had the output value of RMB 65.887 million Yuan and made a profit of RMB 14.42 million yuan. All the institutional running enterprises or companies contributed RMB 14.73 million yuan to the university fund, which was about 68.8% of the fund (Zhejiang University, 1992). In 1992 all the institutional running enterprises or companies had the output value of RMB 106.3 million Yuan and made a profit of RMB 18.49 million yuan and contributed RMB 21.299 million yuan to the university fund, which was about 68.8% of the fund (Zhejiang University, 1993).

In 1995 the number of independent companies in Zhejiang University rose to 135. The overall output value was RMB 465.72 million yuan and realized a profit of RMB 22.58 million yuan. A total of RMB 3.58 million was contributed to the university fund (Zhejiang University, 1996). In 1996 the number of university running companies increased to 146. The overall operating income was RMB 476.24 million yuan and a profit of RMB 27.15 million yuan was made (Zhejiang University, 1996).

The above facts present the recent situation of institution run enterprises and their contributions to institutions. In the above examples, universities made money from the institution run enterprises (including factories, companies and economy entities); these enterprises contributed a considerably important amount of money to the institutional expenditure fund.

China has undertaken economic reforms and started the process towards Four Modernizations since 1978. Education is recognized as the most important means of national development and it has been greatly emphasized by the government. Higher education institutions are the bases of science and technology development. They are highly esteemed by the government for national development. However, the shortage of funds has been the main obstacle to higher education development.

The economic development introduced market mechanismand established the "socialist market economy" in China. Marketization was then introduced into higher education. It brought the diversification of funding and partly solved the problems of shortage of funds. But it also changed the traditional concept of equity that all students should share the fee-free higher education; and brought some equity problems in that it seemed rich students had morechances to access higher education and had more choices in selection of specialties than thepoor ones. It seemed to be against the rule that education has a function of reallocation of social resources and reversed the State's stand for protecting proletarian interest

However, the rapid rise of Chinese national power and its influence in the world and its vigorous economic growth in recent years show that China has found its own way toward national development with Chinese characteristics that might include its long historical and rich cultural wisdom. Chinese higher education, as an important element of national development is also full of Chinese characteristics.

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ҚЫТАЙДАҒЫ ЖОҒАРЫ БІЛІМ ЖҮЙЕСІН МАРКЕТИЗАЦИЯЛАУ

Аннотация. Бұл мақалада Қытай Халық Республикасындағы жоғары білім маркетизациялау мәселелері қарастырылады және талқыланады. Қытайдағы жоғары білім дамуының қысқаша тарихи шолуы контраст үшін анықтамалық ақпарат ретінде ұсынылған. Бұл зерттеуде сондай-ақ халықаралық маркетизациялау үрдістерін табуға болады, бұл оқырмандарға Жоғары білімнің дамуы мен ұлттық дамуы арасындағы өзара байланыс туралы толық түсінік беруге мүмкіндік береді, сондай-ақ жоғары білім маркетизациялаудың жаһандық үрдістерін бейнелейді.

Түйін сөздер: маркетизациялау, жоғары білім, сыртқы (әлеуметтік) нарық, ішкі нарық.

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МАРКЕТИЗАЦИЯ ВЫСШЕГО ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ В КИТАЕ

Аннотация. В данной статье рассматриваются и обсуждаются вопросы маркетизации высшего образования в Китайской Народной Республике. Краткий исторический обзор развития высшего образования в Китае представлен в качестве справочной информации для контраста. В этом исследовании также можно найти тенденции международной маркетизации, что позволяет читателям иметь полное представление о взаимосвязи между Национальным развитием и развитием высшего образования, а также иллюстрирует глобальную тенденцию маркетизации высшего образования.

Ключевые слова:маркетизация, высшее образование, внешний (социальный) рынок, внутренний рынок.

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