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## **Adaptation of Western Administration Models for Chinese Universities**

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Kertas ini ditulis berasaskan kepada kajian 90% daripada makalah serta laporan-laporan penyelidikan yang diterbitkan dalam berbagai jurnal di negara Cina dan di cetak semula dalam 'Higher Education' (Gao deng Jioyu) oleh Pusat Penyelidikan China People's University, dan juga berasaskan buku atau buku-buku teks mengenai Pentadbiran Pendidikan Tinggi yang diterbitkan di negara Cina antara 1980-1991, beserta juga sesetengah penyelidikan yang dijalankan oleh pendidik barat dalam jangka waktu yang sama. Perkataan 'Chinese University' dalam kertas ini merujuk kepada universiti-universiti biasa, kolej dan institusi penyelidikan tinggi yang lain; Perkataan 'pendidikan tinggi di Cina' terhad kepada pendidikan tinggi yang formal tidak merangkumi pendidikan dewasa dan sistem pendidikan tinggi bukan - formal.

Kertas ini membincang model pentadbiran universiti di negara Cina serta respon kepada model barat yang diperkenalkan di Negeri Cina sejak awal 'Dasar Pintu Terbuka'. Ianya terbahagi kepada dua bahagian. Bahagian pertama menghuraikan rangka struktur falsafah pentadbiran universiti dan model pentadbiran pada kedua-dua peringkat makro dan mikro pendidikan tinggi sebelum 1949 dan 1978; Bahagian kedua pula menghuraikan perubahan-perubahan kepada model-model asal sejak 1978 serta pengaruh model barat. Perubahan-perubahan dibincangkan dalam tiga aspek iaitu teori-teori pentadbiran, pentadbiran makro dan pentadbiran universiti. Selepas membincangkan bahagian satu dan bahagian dua, penulis cuba membuat generalisasi atau ringkasan ciri-ciri asas penyesuaian model pentadbiran barat dalam universiti di Cina sejak 1978 hingga sekarang.

## Part One

### The Administrative Models of Chinese Higher Education Before 1978

#### I. Administrative Theory

In the period of 1949-1978, there were almost no administrative theories of higher education in China, and there were hardly any educators and administrators doing the theoretical studies. But this does not mean that the administrative work of higher education had no theoretical basis. In fact, there were three aspects of activities helping to form the philosophical background of higher education administration. They are learning educational policies and orientation; learning Marxism and Mao Zedong thoughts; and learning by doing. (See Figure 1).



In the period of 1949-1978, there were almost no administrative theories of higher education in China. Administrative work in the Chinese Universities were based three components.

Figure 1

##### i) Learning Educational Policies And Orientation

Educational policies and guiding principles were formed based on the Party's principal line and administrators were asked to study important documents and to gain basic understanding of the significance, the correctness and the necessity of the newly made policies and guiding principles. This is to raise their consciousness in charting out policies, guiding principles and regulations, as well as formal instructions from higher authorities, which have been the major tasks of higher educational administrators. This kind of study usually takes place in workshops, study groups, or meetings.

##### ii) Learning Marxism And Mao Zedong Thoughts

Marxism and Mao Zedong thoughts have been regarded as a guide and orientation for administrative work. In fact, there are a lot of statements in Mao's writing which are related to administration and leadership. More importantly, Mao's thoughts became the philosophical framework of administration which helped university cadres to understand, analyze and to solve problems in the administrative work. Amongst Mao's writings, On Practice (1939) and On Contradiction (1937) are the most important ones to shape the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge and that of methodology for university cadres. Regarding the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge, Mao held the following principles, "Discover the truth through practice, and again through practice verify and develop the truth. Start from perceptual knowledge and actively develop it into rational knowledge; then start from rational knowledge and actively guide revolutionary practice to change both the

subjective and the objective world. Practice, knowledge, practice, and with each cycle the content of practice and knowledge rises to a higher level. Such is the whole of the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge, and such is the dialectical-materialist theory of the unity of knowing and doing ("On Practice" Four Essays on Philosophy p.20). Mao placed "practice" in the primary position and believed that practice is the starting point of knowing, the source of knowledge and the only way to prove truth. Therefore, as to administrative work, he emphasized "investigation and research", and believed in developing administrative abilities of cadres through practice and experience.

Regarding materialist-dialectics, Mao held that the law of contradiction in things, that is the law of the unity of opposites, is the fundamental law of nature and of society and therefore also the fundamental law of thought. In "On Contradiction" he discussed the universality and the particularity of contradiction, the principal contradiction and the principle aspect of contradiction, etc. Related to administrative work, he stated that the relationship between internal and external causes emphasized a comprehensive way of looking at problems, and grasping the principle of contradictions. He argued that in studying a problem we must show subjectivity, one-sidedness and superficiality, and we must understand the characteristics of both aspects of contradiction. If not, it may be called "seeing the part but not the whole, seeing the trees but not the forest" (p. 41, Four Essays on Philosophy). In this way, it is impossible to find the method for resolving a contradiction, and it is impossible to accomplish the task and to carry out the assignment.

However, if there are a number of contradictions, how are we to solve problems? His response was as follow: "Hence, if in any process there are a number of contradictions, one of them must be the principal contradiction playing the leading and decisive role, while the rest occupy a secondary and subordinate position. Therefore, in studying any complex process in which there are two or more contradictions, we must devote every effort to finding its principal contradiction. Once this principal contradiction is grasped, all problems can be readily solved. There are thousands of scholars and men of action who do not understand this, and the result is that, lost in a fog, they are unable to get to the heart of a problem and naturally cannot find a way to resolve its contradictions" (p. 53-54, Four Essays on Philosophy).

Generally speaking, university cadres possess a good knowledge of Mao's philosophy, and they try their best to combine Mao's idea with their administrative work. They learned the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge and that of methodology both through self-study, regular weekly meeting, Mao Zedong's thoughts study workshops and fulltime study at Party schools.

### iii) Learning By Doing

"Learning by doing" maybe John Dewey's phrase but this is not his idea alone. In the period of 1949-1978, there wasn't any professional training for becoming or being university administrators. As a matter of fact, administration was not regarded as a profession. Of course there were some kinds of training which I mentioned above, but the content of training was policy study (including guiding educational principles and important documents of the central party and central government), and ideological and philosophical studies.

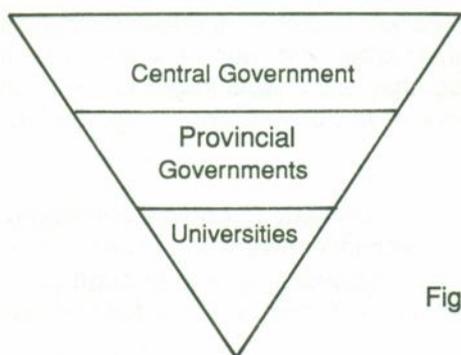
The specific administrative abilities and strategies were learned and developed through practice. The administrators learned leadership and management by their own administrative experience and that of others. There were meetings and articles dealing with the exchange, description and summary of successful experiences. Therefore, the "learning by doing" was not blind administrative activities, but a practice with clear understanding of policies and Mao's philosophy served as a guidance of administrative behavior.

In short, in this period, there were hardly any administrative theories of higher education; university administration was not realized as a "science" and administrative work was not treated as a profession. Individual experience and practice were emphasized, while policies (and related documents) and Mao's philosophy functioned as a theoretical framework to guide administrative behavior. This background is significant in order to understand the origin and the development of administration theories of higher education in China after 1978.

## II. Macro-Administration

### i) Basic Model

According to power distribution and decision-making levels, the administration of Chinese higher education system between 1949 and 1978 was a highly centralized reversed pyramid. (See Figure 2)



According to power distribution and decision-making level, the macro administration of higher education in China between 1949 and 1978 was a highly centralized reversed pyramid.

Figure 2

This model implemented "unified leadership and a two-level institutional management system". "Unified" means centralized leadership and "two-level" means the management is at both central and provincial levels. The higher institutions administered and funded by the Ministry of Education, served nationwide needs and they were termed comprehensive universities, polytechnic institutes and teachers universities and colleges. Those administered and funded by social and economic sectors were known as institutes and colleges of industry, agriculture, medical science, finance and economics, arts, physical culture, etc. The others under the administration and funding of provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions served local needs. However, the proportion of higher institutions administered at the two levels were changed from time to time during the period between 1949-1978.

**Administration at the Central Level:**

In China, administrative offices for higher education have been established from the centre down to the provincial level. The Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China was a component part of the State Council. The administrative office is in charge of higher education leadership and management for the whole nation. The major responsibilities of the Ministry of Education were as follow:

- a) To work out specific policies, issue decrees, and formulate major rules and regulations for education work based on the guiding principles and policies of the CCP's Central Committee and State Council.
- b) To be in charge of the planning of higher educational undertakings and the developmental programs in higher education.
- c) To have full responsibility for preparing teaching plans for each specialization, teaching outlines for each course and textbooks that should be nationally standard.
- d) To be given exclusive authority over decisions about the establishment of new specializations in all higher institutions, worked out through consultation with the State Planning Commission in light of needs defined in the five-year plan.
- e) In consultation with the State Planning Commission which coordinates the manpower needs of all ministries, to decide on the enrollment quotas for each specialization each year, and to assign a job plan for the graduates of higher learning.
- f) To promote and guide scientific research, and to work out the rules and regulations about research work; to organize and promote scientific research in education.
- g) To be responsible for the administration of foreign students studying in China and Chinese students studying abroad and also to be in charge of foreign affairs in education.
- h) To lead and administer the colleges and universities directly subordinate to the ministry, to organize the production and supply of teaching materials, and to manage and to supply goods and materials for them.
- i) To plan and to expedite the training of administrators and teachers; to directly administer some of the personnel work for universities; to recommend the appointment of the president and vice president of all universities, and to regulate and approve the promotion of faculty.
- j) To supervise and inspect the comprehensive work of universities and to organize the summation and exchange of experiences.

- k) To have the power to check and approve or disapprove the establishment of institutions and specializations, and to decide on the developmental scale and length of study, the academic requirements for universities with graduate programs and research institutes.
- l) To unify administration for graduate education work.

### **Administration at Provincial Level**

Each provincial bureau of higher education is a component of the provincial government. It is the administrative office in charge of higher education leadership and management for the province. The major responsibilities of the bureau were as follows:

- a) To carry out the guiding educational principles and policies of the CCP Central Committee and the State Council, and the specific educational policies, decrees, rules and regulations of the Ministry of Education.
- b) Together with other related provincial bureaus, to work out the provincial developmental plan of higher education undertaking and other specific plans, such as annual planning, budget planning, building construction planning and salary planning; to resolve problems that occur while implementing the plans.
- c) To directly administer higher institutions attached to the province and to provide assistant administration to the higher institutions attached to the central Ministries, which are located within the province.
- d) To plan, organize and promote personnel (teachers and administrators) and to supply facilities for provincial universities.
- e) To supervise and inspect the comprehensive work of provincial institutions and to organize the summation and exchange of experiences.

We can note that most of the decision-making power both at macro and micro level of higher education was held at the central level. The Province had no power to establish a new college or university. The number of enrollees in each specialization of each institution was decided by the central government and provincial governments had no power to make any changes. The establishment and cancellation of specializations had to be approved by the Ministry of Education. Of course, provincial governments had certain powers to make decisions on certain aspects for the higher education within the geographical area. It seems that the higher education institutions at the bottom of the reversed pyramid, had little decision-making power in the most important aspects of higher education administration, such as planning, finance, enrollments, job assignments, curriculum, examinations, promotions and research. Even at the very micro level, such as teaching plan and textbooks, universities had no power to change or make their own. It was a very rigid, and highly centralized vertical system.

## ii) Changes Of Higher Education Administration During This Period

This model implemented unified leadership and a two-level institution system. However, there were changes several times between emphasizing centralization and delegating powers of decision-making and administration to the provincial level.

Between 1949-1957, China emphasized centralization. The "Decision on the Leadership of Higher Institutions" issued in 1953 set up the vertical model of leadership and administration. The Ministry of Education had exclusive power and provincial government had to follow its decisions. Until 1955, all universities were directly administered by the Ministry of Education and other Ministries. This excessive central control seriously impaired and limited the initiative of other Ministries and provincial governments. An adjustment was made in 1957 and the number of universities that were provincially administered increased to 129.

From 1958-1960, saw the Great Leap Forward period in China. Along with the reform of governmental administration and the economic management system, focusing on decentralization, higher education administration shifted from being highly centralized toward being decentralized and provincial governments were delegated more power in decision-making than before. As a result of being out of national control and guidance, and educational quality diminished.

1961-1965 was the adjustment period of the national economy. Based on the summary of the experience and lessons in the former higher education administration, the CCP Central Committee and the State Council issued the "Decision on Unifying Management in the Higher Education System" [1963, May 21]. The "Decision" decided to centralize and unify the leadership, and to have higher institutions administered at central and provincial levels in order to strengthen the leadership and administration of higher education. The "Decision" also clarified the administrative responsibility of central and provincial governments.

The "1963 Decision" was regarded as progress on the "1953 Decision" and a comparatively ideal one. These two "Decisions" formed the leadership and administration model of higher education in China before the 1985 "Decision".

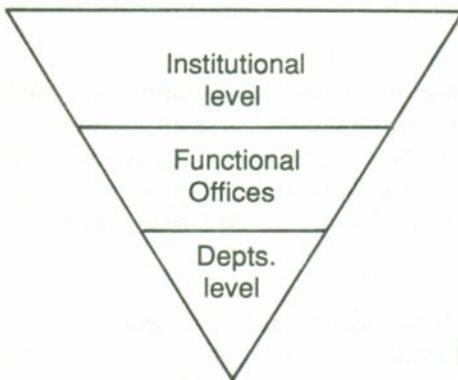
1966-1976 was the "Cultural Revolution" period. Higher education administration, along with everything else, was out of order. In 1979, the 1963 Decision was reissued by the CCP Central Committee and the State Council, which were to enable China to restore gradually the system of leadership and administration of higher education-the "unifying leadership, two level administration". By the end of 1979, out of a total of 633 higher institutions, 35 were administered by the Ministry of Education, 206 by other ministries, and 392 by provincial governments.

From the above, we can understand that the changes in higher education administration during the period between 1949-1978 were only in the distribution and redistribution of decision-making powers and administrative powers between central and provincial governments. It was never brought down to the institutional level and there was no concern about the autonomy of the university and no consideration in increasing the decision-making powers of higher institutions.

### III. Micro-Administration

#### i) Basic Model

According to power distribution and decision-making level, similar to the basic macro-administrative model, the basic model of Chinese university administration in the period of 1949-1978 was another highly-centralized reversed pyramid. [See Figure 3]. In this model Chinese universities carried out a two-level leadership system-institutional level and departmental level. Between the two leadership levels, there were university functional offices. According to the actual power distribution, the administration model was divided into three levels: top, middle, and bottom.



According to the power distribution and decision-making level, the administrative model of Chinese universities in the period of 1949-1978 was another highly centralized pyramid.

Figure 3

The top level is the institutional level, indicating the power of the university party committee and the president or the university council. Most of the decision-making power and executive power were held at this level, mainly by the party committee.

The middle level was university functional offices. The number of the offices depended on the size of university; but usually, there were at least the following offices: teaching affairs office, research affairs office, graduate study office, foreign affairs office, personnel office, financial office, general affairs office and security office.

The top level emphasized planning, decision-making, selection and appointment of personnel and making school policies and rules. The functional offices were its executive assistant in the specialized administrative area, conducting routine work, offering information to the authority above them. Theoretically, the functional offices have no decision-making power and have no leadership role at all. Administratively, functional offices and departments are at the same level and have no hierarchical relations. But, in practice, an excessive concentration of power was in the hands of the university functional offices.

The bottom level is the department, the research and teaching front of the university, where the administrators worked directly with faculty and students. Unfortunately, departments

had almost no power in the decision-making on financial, personnel, and academic affairs. For instance, when a department head tried to replace an employee or purchase equipment, he had to ask the favor of a functional office member, consequently, nothing could be done.

Even though the majority of teaching and research work of universities were conducted at the department level, the department heads had little power but very vital duties and responsibilities. Whatever the matter whether it be important or not, had to be reported to the authorities above for permission and instruction, and the functional office could veto the decisions of department heads very easily. They were just playing a role of "transfer station" or "office of receiving and dispatching", and they couldn't work independently. As functional offices got used to intervening and restricting the department's work, departments became the subordinate of functional offices.

So far we can find that the micro-administrative model in this period was also a very rigid and single vertical command chain. The higher the level, the more power was distributed.

## ii) Changes In University Administration During This Period

Between 1950-1978, there were changes and reforms taking place in the leadership system at the institutional level. The core of the change was the flowing of decision-making power and chief executive power between the university party committee and the president/university council.

In 1952, according to a law issued by Ministry of Education, China established a "presidential responsibility system" for university administration, where the university party committee and president were parallel - the party committee was in charge of party and political affairs while the president had full responsibility for the overall educational administrative work of the university.

In 1956, according to the Party's constitution of 1956, this system changed to a "university council responsibility system under the leadership of university party committee". This new system replaced the former one. The university party committee took all major educational administrative work upon itself and this largely weakened the decision-making and executive power of the university council and president.

Between 1961-1966, the leadership system of the Chinese universities changed to a "university council responsibility system with the president as chief executive and under the leadership of the university party committee", because of a law issued by the Ministry of Education in 1961, called the "60 Articles". This system meant that the party committee held the leadership position in running the university. The major issues were discussed and decided in the university council where the president and vice presidents as chairman and vice-chairman of the council respectively, and the president as chief executive implemented the decisions. The party committee was not in charge of specific and routine administrative matters. The responsibilities between the party committee and the council and president were defined, the decision-making power and executive right of the president were strengthened.

During the Cultural Revolution, every thing was in disorder. In 1967, "Revolutionary Committees" were formed as the authority and the power of university administration was handed to politically active workers, peasants and soldiers. From 1971-1976, the situation changed to a "unified leadership of the party committee" system instituted in universities. This meant the party secretary was also the president, one person taking two positions and having full responsibility both for party affairs and educational administration.

After the overthrow of the 'gang of four', the Ministry of Education revised and reissued the "60 Articles", which required all universities to set up a "presidential divisional responsibility system under the leadership of the university party committee". This system was very important as it enabled the higher institutions to recover from the disordered situation of the cultural revolution. But, the university educational administrative system was still not a strong and independent work system. In practice, the problems of lack of separation between the job responsibilities of the university party committee and the president/university council, and of excessive and rigid control by the university party committee had not improved much.

From above we can see that the changes mainly took place at the institutional level in decision-making with executive power flowing and shifting between the university party committee and the president/university council, but no final solution for the problems was reached. In addition, the changes were never concerned with the expansion of the decision-making power down to department level and there was no awareness of scientific decision-making procedures, democratic administration, and the participation of academic personnel in administration.

## Part Two

The Administrative Reforms Of Chinese Higher Education and Western Influence Since 1978

### I. Background

The year 1978 is historically a significant time for China. After the overthrow of the 'gang of four', the Cultural Revolution, under which the nation suffered for ten years and was isolated from the outside World, came to an end; China began to open her door and look at the outside World. She was surprised to find that she lagged far behind others in economy and technology. The Third Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party opened a new chapter in Chinese history, that is the new period to drive for the Four Modernizations based on the socialist system.

It is generally recognized that the drive for economic development to the end of the century depends on how successfully the economy is managed. Therefore, the government has announced and introduced a series of economic reforms since 1979. These reforms began on a national scale with the introduction of the peasant responsibility system in agriculture in about 1979. Since October 1984, the reforms have also affected the urban economy with a general loosening of controls over enterprises, greater freedom in pricing and related decisions and a number of financial reforms designed to increase financial flows for

investment. The success of these adjustments in economic management has been impressive. The reforms in the urban and rural economies, put a premium on improved economic management, so this also led to changes and reforms in the management of the education system.

Science and technology have been seen in China as the key knowledge areas for the Four Modernizations since the late 1970's. Management science came to be seen as equally important in the early 1980's. Up to May 1983, the State Economic Commission had only five institutions for management training with a total of 100 teachers and 2,000 students. Two years later seventy-six insitutions were in place, with a teaching staff of 3,700 and over 10,000 graduates. (R. Hayhoe, 1989). The Party's "Decision on the Reform of the Economic Structure" in October 1984 emphasized management science and called for drawing on the world's advanced methods of management, including those of Western countries.

The Third Plenum of the 11th Central Committee of the CCP has had important implications for all major policy issues, including educational policy. To adopt a policy of being open to the outside is an integral part of this new policy. As early as May 24, 1977, in his discourse on "Respect knowledge, respect trained personnel," Deng Xiaoping stressed that the key to achieving modernization was the development of science and technology; and it would be impossible to develop science and technology unless education was given its attention. He believed that China was fully 20 years behind the developed countries in science, technology and education.

In October 1983, Deng stressed that education should be oriented to modernization, to the world and to the future. This became the guidelines for Chinese education since then. One of its implication is a call for learning from foreign, including Western countries, what is advanced, relevant and valuable for China's endeavors in educational reform.

## **II. Administration Theories**

The drive for Four Modernization, especially the Modernization of science and technology, brought the spring of science of education. It has been widely believed that education is a science and educational administration is science too. In the higher education level, it has been recognized that there are general laws to govern university management and that the old, experiential models of educational management, ignoring the general laws of education and its management, are very limited, narrow and subjective and can not cope with the challenges of the Chinese society in the present time. In order to meet the needs of Four Modernizations, higher institutions must prepare qualified personnel and specialists. Therefore, their quality must be raised and the management must be greatly improved. On the other hand, after the open door policy, both the government and people were aware that China lags for behind Western countries not only in science and technology, but also in management and administration. Under this social climate, various schools of thought from the West on management and educational administration were introduced in China. Many terminologies have become very popular in the Chinese higher education, such as efficiency, scientific management, democratic management, modernization of administration, democratic decision-making, scientific decision-making, competitive mechanism and so on. All these words are respectively related to different theories.

The following theories from Western countries are well-known in China: Systems theory, information theory, control theory, behavioral theory, scientific management theory, structural theory, bureaucratic theory, rational theory, democratic theory and hierarchical theory. Amongst the above, most of them, according to Bush (1986), belong to formal models which regard administration as a science and their purpose is to discover the general laws in administration. Therefore, these are called in China as "scientific management theories", which do not necessarily mean Frederick Taylor's theory. These theories treat organizations as systems, typify universities as goal-seeking organizations and assume that managerial decisions are made through a rational process.

Many discussions and articles by educators and higher education administrators have used some of these theories to analyze the problems of administration and to explore scientific system of administration in higher education. For examples, an information approach was used to analyze the old administrative structure as an inefficient one because the information flow was impeded, and was decreased in quantity and in speed (Song Baozhong and Tiantao 1985). One article showed the success of the academic research management in a university by a study and practice of the theories of system, information and control. (Peng Zhenxing and Fan Peiqing 1988). Another article showed the same success with the same theories practiced in the education and management of college students. (Zhao Wenbao 1990). In Sun hongpan's article (1986), he discussed the ideal administration of higher education insitutions. Amongst eight kinds of management, three are related to Western formal models -- MBO (Management by Objective), DM (Democratic Management) and IM (Information Management). In a well-known Chinese textbook for training university administrators, "The Administration of Higher Education (Gaodeng Jiaoyu Xingzhen Guanli)" by Wang Yapu (1983), several chapters are greatly influenced by western system theory and behavioral theory.

Since the early 1980's, the study and development of administrative theories on higher education have been on the upsurge. Research associations have been established at national, regional and provincial levels. Many universities have set up research institutes of higher education or of higher education administration, with their own academic journals. Hundreds of articles and a number of books or textbooks on administration of higher education have been published to discuss and explore the nature, laws and principles of higher education management. The field of higher educational management has began to be treated as a science in China. Conferences has been held for the same purpose. The conference, "scientific management of China's higher education", held in 1986 in Lanzhour, discussed specifically the concept and the content of scientific management. Through the above activities and channels, Western educational management theories have been introduced, studied and spread.

In October of 1982, the central party and the government made a decision on cadres training in order to raise the quality of cadres and to meet the demand of overall tasks in the new period. Cadres, including administrators in universities have asked to be armed with Marxism, to be younger, to have a high education level and to be professionals. As to professionalism, university administrators have been strongly recommended to learn and to be knowledgeable in Pedagogy, History of Higher Education, Psychology, the Administration of Higher Education, and the "Three Theories" (information, control and

system theories). At one central training center and six regional training centers for administrators in higher education, a variety of professional courses are offered for presidents of universities, department deans or directors of university functional offices. Western administrative theories and practices are introduced into the related courses. In addition, several training centers have offered courses on comparative higher education administration or administrative theories and practices in Western countries.

However, Western administrative theories have not played the function of filling the blanks in administrative theories on higher education in China. Rather they have been playing an important part in helping to develop and form Chinese theories of higher education administration. Chinese believe that there are no ready made foreign models to be copied and we must develop and form our own.

Up to now the development and formation of higher education administration theories is considered to be in its primary stage. In this process, there are four elements to be emphasized. (See Figure 4). First, Marxism and Mao's thoughts are regarded as the foundation of Chinese scientific management. Marxism and Mao's thought serve as the theoretical basis and guiding principles and this world-view and methodology provide a framework to explore specific laws of higher education. In addition, many of Mao's writings deal directly with administration. His administrative principles are very valuable and practical to higher education administration today, principles such as "to emphasize investigation and research", "to shoot the arrow at the target" (with a definite object in view), and "to learn to play the piano" (the harmonization of various tasks).



From 1978 to present time, the development of higher education administration theories has been in its primary state. In this process, there are four elements to be emphasized. Western administrative theories do not play the function filling the blank. They have been playing a part in developing China, own theories and only the scientific part has contributed to the development.

Figure 4

The second element is to summarize China's own experience in higher education management. It is regarded that the development of administrative theories is based on administrative practice, which is the source and motive force of the former. Because new problems, new solutions and new experiences occur all the time, this helps to develop theories. Therefore the lessons or the success of administrative experiences and practices are worth summarizing for the further development of theories. Furthermore, foreign theories based on foreign experience and the introduction of foreign theories must take into account what fits in Chinese reality and must combine with Chinese administrative

experiences and practices in higher education in order to enrich Chinese administrative theories.

A third element is to learn the quintessence of the Chinese classics. It is believed that there is much to learn from Chinese classical philosophy and classical science. For examples, there are administrative principles in Confucius's writing, "If the ruler is personally upright, all will go well even though he does not give orders. But if he is not personally upright, even though he gives orders, they will not be obeyed." (P10, A Collection of Confucius' Sayings). There are administrative ideas discovered from Sun Tzu's Art of War. For instance, "to win, a king must delegate powers to capable generals" (from Chapter 3) means that to be successful, you should delegate authority to capable subordinates. These classical administrative ideas will form part of the modern ones.

The last element is to learn from foreign models. The purpose of learning Western models is to have Chinese administration of higher education modernized. This purpose is based on the assumption that administration is a science, and therefore there must be some general laws and common characteristics among different nations. The other assumption is that theories are based on practice, different countries have different administrative practices and different contexts so China cannot copy Western models and cannot "cut the feet to fit the shoes". The key point is to learn the real "scientific" things and valuable things that fit the needs of China's higher education reality. As a result, Chinese educators and scholars have been so enthusiastic to introduce Western theories which are regarded as "scientific" management theories. Even though "subjective models", developed by Thomas Greenfield in criticizing the "scientific" ones, were given a very brief introduction in Tao Zengping's book (1984), little attention has been given to them. The same goes for "ambiguity models". The introduction of Western models into China and the responses toward Western models are quite selective.

### **III. Macro-Administration After 1978**

#### **1) Changes In Administration Of Higher Education At The Macro Level**

Beginning from the early 1980's, the old model of macro-administration of higher education has been criticized extensively for its extreme rigidity, for its highly centralized concentration of power without any concern about the autonomy of universities, and for its vertical administrative structure without any horizontal connections with other parts of society. All these weakness and limitations of the old model are regarded as key barriers for higher education to meet the demands of economic reform and social development. On the other hand, there has been criticism of the fact that the State did not work effectively in macro control but did so much unnecessary micro management affairs which are not state responsibilities.

Since China's higher education has the responsibility for training advanced specialized personnel and for developing science, technology and culture for China's Four Modernizations, the State should strengthen her macro control in areas such as the basic policies, decrees, and plans, while the institutions of higher education need to be granted a much broader range of decision-making powers to enable them to be more

responsive to the needs of social and economic development. Therefore, a major voice was given to administrative reform in higher education.

The "Decision of the CCP Central Committee on the Reform of the Education System" initiated in May 1985 opened up a whole range of reforms in higher education administration. With regard to administration, the document placed emphasis on two areas. One was to strengthen the leadership at the central level. The Ministry of Education was abolished because it had the same rank as other Ministries and had difficulties in coordinating work among the various departments and in developing an overall plan for education. Meanwhile, it was replaced with a newly created State Education Commission (SEC), an entity with maximum power headed by vice-Premier, being a comprehensive department under the State Council, equal in rank to the State Planning Commission, the State Economic Commission, and the State Scientific and Technological Commission. SEC has been given the responsibility for setting educational principles and policies, formulating education regulations, guiding, organizing and coordinating educational work and unifying educational reform.

Another important policy change was to increase the autonomy of institutions of higher education. This meant to shift the management system of excessive government control over to the universities; to expand the decision-making powers of higher education institutions; to strengthen their horizontal connection with enterprises, research institutes and other social organizations, under the guidance of unified educational policies and plans of the State, so that the universities are able to have the initiative and capacity to meet the needs of economic and social development. The former relatively tight administrative control system has been changed quite significantly as a result of the 1985 reform decision. Change is in the general direction of greater autonomy for academic institutions. Newly authorized functions of universities include:

- a) to have greater flexibility in enrollment plans and graduate assignment, such as the power to enroll students at the request of employers and to enroll students who pay their own expenses;
- b) to have greater autonomy in the management of programs, such as to formulate teaching plans and compile curriculum materials;
- c) to accept or cooperate in the development of various scientific research and development projects;
- d) to suggest the appointments and removals of various administrative personnel;
- e) to exercise greater control over the use of funds allocated by the State;
- f) and the power to use their own funds to develop international education and academic exchanges.

After the "1985 Decision", the administration of higher education at the macro level began to change. On one hand, progress and some breakthroughs have been made; on the other hand, the reform also faced difficulties and caused new problems. However, in the

educational community, people don't think that the reform has gone far enough and there is a call to strengthen the reform. The hot issues are centralization and decentralization, the autonomy of universities, and competitive mechanisms. A lot of researches and studies have been done in recent years on these issues. Questions that arises are: What is the relationship between the centralized control by government and autonomy of universities? Why does a university need more autonomy? What should the government control? To what extent should the government control? How should the government control?

## ii) The Influence Of Foreign Models On The Changes

During the course of the changes and reforms in the macro-administration of higher education, Western models have been considered as an important reference to compare with and to learn or to draw certain experiences from. In the process of drafting the document of the 1985 "Decision", nine Chinese-American scholars were invited to be present at a forum and were asked for comments on the document. This document stressed the need to give attention to developed countries' experiences in developing their own educational system. In order to deepen the reform, SEDC, the Chinese Commission of UNESCO, and the China International Educational Exchange Association together organized a conference in 1988 on "Contemporary Reform Policies of Higher Education". Well-known foreign scholars were invited from 11 countries, and with them, Chinese participants had a very profound discussion on issues of higher education reform. Amongst these, the important one was the "relationship between macro-control by central government and the autonomy of universities during the reform of the administrative system at higher education level".

Since 1978, a great deal of research has been done on the hot points - centralization versus decentralization, the autonomy of universities and increasing competitive mechanisms. Therefore, the Western models were explored and studied.

As to centralization versus decentralization, the studies analyzed the strengths and limitations of the models of France, Japan, USA, UK, and Germany as case countries. These studies generalized the overall trend in advanced countries. First, centralized advanced countries, by increasing provincial and local power and university autonomy, by establishing advisory councils and evaluation/supervision system, limited central control and powers, and increased the scientific level of central decision-making and administrative democracy. Second, decentralized advanced countries, by the establishment of a central Ministry of Education, by educational investment and legislation, strengthened macro control at the central level to have the higher education system meet the needs, demand and priorities of the whole nation. The USA is a typical example of this trend and there are many articles in favour of the USA Federal government's indirect control and leadership over the whole country's higher education system.

Most of this kind of researches have been done by Chinese comparative educators. Such as "Comparative Studies on Administrative System of Higher Education" (Li Chunsheng, 1991), "New Trends in the Administrative Reform of Higher Education in Four Developed Countries" (Zhou Maosheng 1990), "Trends in the Development of Educational Administration in Major developed Countries" (Chen Yongming, 1990), "The Basic

Characteristics of American Higher Education Administration" (Min Weifang 1988), etc. Other Chinese scholars use these findings in their studies to prove the correctness and importance of Chinese administrative reform of higher education. For instance, Xong (Xong Shouwen, 1986) commented that the "1985 Decision" not only fits into China's reality, but was also identical with the world trend of an administrative model away from centralization. In another article titled "The Structure of Power-Distribution in Chinese Higher Education System" (Chen Jikun 1986), the author argued that the reconstruction of structures of power distribution should borrow the experience of advanced countries and should go along with the world trends of the time. In Qi Fumin's article in 1988, "The Direction of the Reform of the Higher Education Administration System in China", world trends were discussed and it was demonstrated that Chinese reform should follow world trends.

As the increase in autonomy of higher education become one of the significant parts of administrative reform since the "1985 Decision", a means to enhance the ability of the universities to adjust to the needs and demands of economic and social development, the delegation of decision-making power to institutions of higher education has been given much place in educational forums and many discussions and studies have been focused on this topic. For example, the history of university autonomy in Western European countries from the Middle Ages to contemporary times, university autonomy in United Kingdom have been studied. However, much more attention have been given to American universities and colleges, which are regarded as having much more autonomous powers than those in other Western countries and are regarded as the model of autonomy. Therefore the range (or confines) of autonomy has been discussed deeply and in detail. Along with the continuing appeal for more autonomy by institutions of higher education in China, the advantages of autonomy in American colleges and universities are highly evaluated. Autonomy is seen as good for competition, flexibility and the ability to respond quickly to the needs of society.

Another point is that related to increasing competitive mechanism. Competition and efficiency were economic terms introduced into education in the early 1980's. The purpose of advocating competition is to increase efficiency and to change the structure where "everybody eats from the same big pot". "No competition, no efficiency" is quite widely believed in China. The Premier indicated in the recent National Higher Education Work Conference that "we must introduce competitive mechanism into higher education institutions as it is a key point to deepen higher education reform." (Zhang Zhenkun, 1988). Up to now, this has caused wide concern in our society. An upsurge of theoretical studies has emerged and some reforms on competitive mechanism in higher education have taken place. The significance of competitive mechanism is emphasized by leaders of the central government. The Chairman of the State Education Commission, Li Tieying said in a meeting that "By these reforms we must build up a system with competition capacities. Basically speaking, economic competition depends on the competition of science and technology, and this competition is determined by educational competition, which is a fundamental task to make China prosper." (Li Tieying 1988 p.4-5). Under these circumstances, comparative educators have been busy in searching for information on competitive mechanisms in Western models and have found that the higher education system have no much competition in West European countries, but the American system is characterized by this. Therefore, a lot of articles and research papers and investigation

reports discussed the competition between institutions for better students, for better teachers, for more funds, for higher academic quality; and the relationship between manpower needs, supply and competition in the American higher education system. They analyzed the preconditions (such as university autonomy) of introducing it into China and explored ways of combining it with Chinese reality and the adjustments that need to be made. The Chinese higher education system wants to introduce competitive mechanism so as to increase its quality and efficiency. Thus the comments and points of view toward American higher education competition are more positive.

From the above, we can find that, as to the macro-administration of higher education, Chinese have looked at different models from Western countries to try to explore the world trends and there are some very positive reactions to American models. This situation does not mean the American model is an ideal one for China but it does mean that several characteristics of the American model are supportive of administrative reform at the higher education level in China.

### **III. Micro-Administration After 1978**

Since the New Period began in 1978, the administrative changes and reforms of Chinese universities have been characterized by the following three aspects -a "President Responsibility System under the Leadership of University Party Committee (PRS under LUP) and "President Responsibility System (PRS), scientific decision-making procedure and democratic administration, and the expansion of decision-making power down to department level, with the influence of Western models differing in degree.

#### **i) The "Presidential Responsibility System under the Leadership of the University Party Committee" vs. "Presidential Responsibility System".**

As I discussed in Part I, after the overthrow of the "Gang of Four", Chinese universities, according to the revised and reissued "60 Articles", set up a "presidential divisional-responsibility system under the leadership of the university party committee", in which, the university party secretary often held the position of president or vice president. The committee held decision-making power and the president as well as the vice presidents only implemented the decisions respectively according to their responsibilities of implementation. This system was very significant in regaining the party's leadership in higher institutions and in restoring Chinese universities from the disordered situation of the Cultural Revolution. However, the defects of this system have come under criticisms since 1983. It is recognized that if the universities are to do the task expected of them in educating important personnel for the modernization program, they must have an efficient and effective administrative style. But the system has certain weaknesses and limitations, such as the lack of separation between party affairs and administrative affairs; the work of the party committee substituting for that of the university administrative system (where almost every important administrative decision is made by the party committee); no clearly defined roles and responsibilities among administrative personnel; separation of powers, position and responsibilities. All of these have caused the inefficiency and ineffectiveness in university administration and have made universities unable to cope with the demand in the present period.

After the 1985 Decision, two new models, the "presidential responsibility system under the leadership of university party committee" and the "presidential responsibility system, were created to replace the former one, with the purpose of "separating university party affairs and university administrative work" and "raising efficiency". The major distinction between the two models is that in the "PRS under LUP" model, the university party committee holds the power of decision making with the president as chief-executive officer; but in the PRS model, the decision making power is shifted to the president and the party role is to guarantee and supervise. Since 1985, most universities practiced the "PRS under LUP" model with about one hundred universities practising the PRS model.

In the higher educational community a very intense debate has been going on about the two models. Both in the theoretical studies and in practice, the two models have tried to explore the most efficient and scientific way of university administration and the most scientific way to identify itself with the general laws of university administration. Under this situation, both sides also use "scientific management theory" to prove the correctness of their respective models. Advocates of the PRS model argued that university administration is more academic and professional and therefore laypersons are unable to make decisions scientifically. Therefore, they say, the position, power and responsibility must be identified with the president in order to raise the administrative efficiency and practise scientific management (Zen Delin 1985). But advocates of the "PRS under LUP" model believed that decision-making by the collective discussion of the university party committee is the more scientific decision making procedure. In addition, there is some evidence to show the failure of PRS's practice (Wang Xizhong, 1991). Meanwhile, the practice and experience of university administration in the West has been taken seriously, especially in relationship to the decision-making power, executive power among board, council, committee and president of universities in USA, France, Germany, and Japan. For example, a research paper (Wu Xiaoping, 1986) discussed American university administration and showed that a "president responsibility system" is practised and the administration models are identical with the principles of system theories. The author stated that in an American university there is a decision-making center, an implementation center and an information center makes up a dynamic source of the administrative machine of which the president is the essence. However, there are not many Western models that uses the two models. They are much more directly related to the political status quo, changes or reforms in political system.

## **ii) Scientific Decision-Making Procedures And Democratic Administration**

"Scientific decision-making" and "Democratic administration" are the other two principles of university administrative reform. The principle of scientific decision-making emphasizes a rational process of discussion, information, review, consultation and supervision, and the voice of experts, professionals and academic authorities. This principle requires a regulation of the procedures and rules of making decisions, such as what items should be reviewed before decision making, and what items should be voted on in corresponding committees. In addition, this principle requires regulated procedures and rules of decision-making, as well as the results of decisions being open to the public. The principle of democratic administration stresses wide participation by university personnel, especially

professors, other than leaders and administrators, in decision making, review, consultation and supervision; it stresses that decisions in different aspects and levels should be made through different committees. The major practices of scientific decision-making and democratic administration are as follows:

Each university has an Administrative Council. Within the PRS model, it is composed of a small number of prestigious people often with about sixty present professors, the university party secretary, representatives of other democratic parties and of students and graduate students, and the chairman of the teachers union. This Council has been established to exercise the power of review. The president must propose every important issue to be reviewed and discussed in the council meeting. This council plays a function in reviewing, influencing or creating consensus before decisions are finally made by president.

The Congress of Teachers and Staffs, has been set up to ensure more democratic management and supervision. The congress influences and supervises decision-making at the university level by listening to the annual work report given by the president, by discussing the revision of university rules and regulations, or promulgation of new ones, by evaluating and supervising the performance of university leaders and administrators, and by putting forward suggestions and appeals on behalf of teachers, staffs and workers. After the 1985 Decision, the congress system has been widely practised and conventions held once or twice each year.

Various kinds of specialized committees have been established in the Chinese universities, such as Examining and Evaluation Committees for Academic Promotion, Academic Committees, Teaching and Curriculum Committees, Foreign Affairs Committees, Student Work Administration Committees, Financial Affairs Committees. Each committee consists of leaders (president or vice president) and administrators in the functional office, professors, experts, professionals in the area, and/or representatives from related interest groups. Each committee makes decisions within their responsibility boundary.

Consultation and Information Feedback Set Ups are regarded as a necessary part of the unity of scientific management and therefore Chinese universities have established their own higher education research institutes or policy study offices one after another to play a function in consultation and information feedback for decision-making at their universities in order to raise the scientific level of decision making.

From above, we find that Chinese university administration has changed in the "scientific decision-making" and "Democratic administration", from "up and down" command chain into the combination of "up and down" and "cross" organizations, characterized by more rational processes and more participation in university administration.

The principles of scientific decision-making and democratic administration and their practice are under much influence by Western models. Because so many official and non-official study groups visited Western universities, and so many reports and research papers have published by Chinese returnees from Western universities, Chinese universities believe that Western university's administration is effective and efficient through a scientific way in making decisions and a democratic way of operating the institutions, with specific emphasis to the role played by professors in academic decisions.

### iii) The Expansion Of Decision-Making Power Down To the Department Level

The old model of Chinese university administration before 1978 was, a highly-centralized reversed pyramid with a very rigid single vertical power distribution line. At the bottom of the reversed pyramid is the department level with almost no powers of decision-making on financial, personnel and academic affairs, even though department heads has very vital duties and responsibilities.

This situation caused inefficiency and the initiative of administrators could not be brought into full play. As Chinese universities are operated by a two level leadership system, departments are regarded as the level of leadership and as grassroots units, as well as teaching and research front. The efforts to improve and reform management at the department level are imperative. As early as 1982, Changhai Jiaotong University initiated reforms to allow department heads to assume full responsibility. The guideline was to overcome the drawback of an excessive concentration of power in the directors of the university functional offices. Soon there were a number of universities following Shanghai Jiaotong University, such as Northeast Engineering College, and Tongji University. The expansion of decision-making power down to department level has the following impact. First, with regard to decision-making power on teaching, on the basis of this requirement by the State, a department can put forward the number and the content of the courses to be offered, and the teaching hours. Second, with regard to decision-making power on research, a department can decide the priority of research projects, key discipline and the experiential base. Under the condition of completing research tasks given by the state, a department can accept and undertake research projects from enterprises, research institutions and other work units. Third, with regard to decision-making power over personnel, on the basis of the fixed staff, a department head has the power to schedule work for all staff members in the department. In accordance to the needs of teaching, s/he has the power to invite people from outside of the university to give lectures and participate in research projects without putting them on the staff. She also has the power to hand over superfluous teachers to the university for reassignment. Fourth, with regard to decision-making power on finance, the universities can transfer the expenses for equipment, research materials teaching materials, and teaching experiments to the department in accordance with the annual budget.

The reform of distributing more decision-making powers to the department level follows another principle of Chinese university administrative reform: "Simplifying the administration and the delegation of powers to lower levels". This reform has also been influenced by Western models. To increase efficiency, to increase autonomy, to follow the principles of scientific management (such as position, responsibilities and powers should be identical) are also the basic calls in administrative reform at the department level. The North American model of university administration, as a pyramid in which decision making powers are mainly down at the bottom of institutions, has influenced the drive for autonomy of departments within Chinese university system.

Since 1985, there are six principles that guide the administrative reform of Chinese universities:

- a) Separation of party affairs and the university administrative work;

- b) Simplifying the administration and delegating power to lower levels;
- c) Scientific decision-making;
- d) Democratic administration;
- e) Making and perfecting rules and regulations;
- f) Increasing efficiency;

These principles have reflected a good integration of Western models with China's goal of Four Modernizations and the reality to Chinese universities.

## **Conclusion**

### **1. Internal Factors to Adapt Western Administration Models for Chinese Universities.**

There are four internal factors for the adaptation. First, it is the Open Door Policy, which has been carried out since 1978, that has made the influence of Western models on Chinese universities possible. Second, the Four Modernizations as a goal of socialist construction in the new period, especially the adjustments in economic management and economic reform, have led to the changes and reforms in higher education administration; therefore to draw from certain experiences and theories of Western models as examples is needed. Third, the "three orientations" -- education should be oriented to modernization, to the world and to the future, as the guidelines for Chinese education in the new period -- has stimulated and encouraged Chinese universities to know Western models and to borrow something from the models. Fourth, on the march toward Four Modernizations, the administration of the Chinese higher education system and of each university had old unsolved problems and have faced new problems, occurring in the search for solutions.

### **2. Responses of Chinese Universities to Western Models**

The approach of Chinese universities to Western models has been very active and highly motivated, but at the same time it is selective and purposeful, in order to catch up with the Western/advanced countries in the sense of educational level, academic level, and management efficiency and to form China's own model of higher education administration.

Chinese universities have not copied any Western models but have only reacted to certain things from what they understand about the Western models according to the needs and the reality of Chinese universities and the demands of society on the changes and reforms of higher education administration. So far, the beneficial portions of the Western experience and practice in university administration have been melted in the changes and development of higher education administration in China, and the "scientific" parts of

Western administrative theories have been integrated and reinterpreted into China's newly developing models for Chinese universities.

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