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Educational Change in the P.R.C.: On the Incorrect Handling of Contradiction— The Case of the Middle School

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Since 1978, educational change within the People's Republic of China has been premeditated, swift, and decisive. Many of the country's educational reforms first initiated during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) have been criticized and have now been abandoned, as authorities attempt to strengthen the government's Four Modernization Campaign within the realm of education.¹

Designed originally to lessen social stratification and redress rural-urban inequity through restricting the power and influence of formal schooling while expanding nonformal educational opportunity, the promotion of Cultural Revolution educational efforts as reported in the Chinese press is now thought to have contributed to the miseducation of millions of children through excessive reliance upon political rather than educational considerations. We are told that as a result, teacher authority was abused and student achievement declined, so that there was little incentive to teach well and even less incentive to learn.²

This article will examine the most recent attempts to rectify these perceived ills with specific reference to the middle school. It will focus upon recent reform efforts in five areas: schooling structures and their interrelationships, teacher role, student role, curricular change, and ideological or philosophical incongruity. After discussing the problems policy planners face in each of these areas, this article will offer two alternative explanations for the policy decisions which have already been made.

Upon even a cursory look at the Chinese educational system, one notices its extremely stratified nature. Kindergartens and preschool centers, which are not compulsory, take in 7.86 million children until the age of six or seven. Formal primary schooling, which enrolls 146.24 million children for five years, is compulsory and approximately 90 percent of the children attend. Over 65 million children, or 44 percent of the primary school population, enroll in middle school, a five-year course of study divided into junior (three years) and senior (two years) levels (although in many rural areas, a four-year junior level curriculum is the highest level of schooling provided). About 6 to 7 percent of this student population graduates senior middle school, with about 5 percent of the middle school graduates continuing into higher educational institutions, principally through passing a series of national examinations. Students who do not attempt to get into a college or university through this route may try instead to enroll in a secondary technical school, which usually has a curriculum stressing applied scientific and technical training for a three- or four-year period. Because the senior level middle school is not compulsory, many junior level graduates apply immediately to the secondary school instead of continuing on to the senior level.³

Spare-time and nonformal educational programs act to relieve some of the pressure endemic to the formal educational system, although the popularity of these programs has never been consistent during periods of political change or retrenchment.⁴

One must also note that the Chinese educational model historically has been influenced by the American, British, Russian, Japanese, and traditional Chinese educational structures, so that the differentiation into primary, middle, upper middle, and higher educational structures with the accompanying stratification that this system invites has had some cross-cultural significance.⁵

While the middle school plays an important role in the smooth functioning of the entire system, the conflicting pressures and responsibilities placed upon this specific institution are intense. Certainly, the imposition of a national examination system in 1977 has directly affected senior middle school curriculum, and we will explore this situation in more detail later. In addition, because the general level of schooling during the Cultural Revolution has been the subject of scathing criticism, current assessments as to the quality of a particular middle school experience are frequently tied to the performance of the school's graduates on the national examinations.⁶ Because prospective senior middle school graduates must first pass their individual school final exams before taking the national tests, increasing pressure is being exerted upon the respective middle school administrations to prevent as many candidates as possible from registering for the national examinations, because the variability of performance is so extreme and since so few test takers will actually pass.⁷

A second conflict the middle school faces concerns its relationship to the secondary vocational school. Some 530,000 students each year choose the secondary school over the senior middle school in order to obtain specifically vocational education (primary school teachers are also taught at this level). In addition to the curricular advantage, the secondary vocational school offers concrete and usable skills in teaching for the workplace, the secondary school extends training for an extra year or two in comparison with the amount of training offered by the senior middle school, offering a program which is less immune to the criticism that graduates are ill prepared to handle work responsibilities. It would seem obvious that the secondary school graduate would be in higher demand for a factory job in the city than the senior middle school graduate who failed the national examinations. Thus, pressures are increasing for the senior middle school to conform to the secondary school model, to increase to three years its curricular training and to offer a more relevant vocational educational program.⁸

The middle school is also in competition with the primary school for increased funding by provincial and by local organizations. Because the number of general middle schools expanded during the Cultural Revolution, a reallocation of funding is now being suggested. First, the Chinese press is arguing that the expansion of middle schools, along with the closing of secondary vocational schools and the lack of growth of primary institutions, all resulted from political decisions made during the Cultural Revolution when followers of Lin Biao and the Gang of Four were in power. During the early years of the Cultural Revolution, when the secondary vocational school fell into disrepute, the general middle school, with its shorter four-year curriculum (senior level designations were eliminated), provided for a politically more visible but educationally mediocre program. The lack of expansion of primary schooling, it is now being argued, in spite of increasing enrollments, has placed an unfair burden upon the primary school. Thus, more and more junior middle schools are now being closed or are being turned into primary schools, while as we have mentioned, the reestablished senior middle school level is quickly adapting to the secondary vocational educational model.⁹ In a sense, the attack upon the middle school occurs vertically in two directions, from top down and from bottom up.

But internal conflicts exist within the middle school structure as well. Until now, junior and senior middle schools enrolled prospective students from primary and junior middle schools by quota. Students were ideally selected on the basis of their strong moral, intellectual, and physical character. In reality, the process has been decidedly political. The combining of a number of senior

and junior middle schools into the four-year general middle school thus made some sense if seen as a method for reducing unfair advancement among cadre children.¹⁰

Now as in the past, however, the lack of fixed criteria for determining questions of access and promotion to the junior and senior levels encourage conflict among students and staff.¹¹ New calls for replacing the junior and senior middle school quota systems with standard and formalized examinations can be seen as attempts to redress the problem.¹²

A second internal conflict which exists among the middle schools themselves is the designation of certain institutions to be key schools. Key schools receive a disproportionate amount of funding and resource allocation from the provincial government so that they may serve as models for the other schools, they are, in turn, expected to draw a student body from all over the province, attracting choice students in the process. While this policy, which was instituted after the National Conference on Education In April 1978, has been rationalized as a method for promoting the more able 9 student quickly and efficiently, since their talents are in extreme demand given the modernization imperative, the elitist overtones inherent in the policy are quite obvious, although the existence of elitism is denied.¹³

The policy planners' proposed solutions to these problems are not totally clear, although as we have mentioned, the expansion of middle school, from five to six years (by adding an additional year onto the senior level) is now being discussed. Such an expansion would answer charges that graduates are being ill prepared for advanced training and it would allow for a conversion of those schools offering only a junior or general level of middle school education into primary schools. All of this would occur without a significant increase in the capital construction of new facilities. The danger of such a policy is that in the long term, by increasing years of schooling, drop-out rates also increase, and stratification tendencies are exacerbated. Of course, these pressures have had profound implications for the middle school teacher. On the one hand, the general perception that undue stress upon politics prevented teachers from providing adequate instruction during the Cultural Revolution has had a positive effect upon members of the profession. It is now recognized that teachers should be allowed to teach freely in an apolitical fashion for their work is productive rather than anti-red.¹⁴

At the same time, salaries have been increased and teachers are being rewarded by gaining special grade status, once every three to five years, when their efforts are judged to be outstanding. The special grade teacher is awarded a stipend for his/her efforts, is often invited to attend special provincial and regional conferences and is sometimes invited to party meetings.¹⁵ The designation, first introduced by Teng Hsao Peng at the National Conference on Education, while designed with the purpose of rewarding merit to deserving teachers, invites the question as to how teacher excellence is assessed in the People's Republic of China. In Hunan province, for example, all seven of the teachers awarded special grade status for the year had taught for thirty years.¹⁶ Seniority obviously plays an important role in evaluating teacher expertise, possibly to the detriment of purely meritocratic standards of excellence.

The demand for more and better education, especially among out-of-school youth seeking part-time tutoring, is creating the curious phenomenon of teacher moonlighting, at least within Heilongjiang Province. Thus, teachers are now being advised not to take more than three extra sessions daily (two extra sessions is the limit for key middle school teachers) and the teachers must have the prior approval of the school principal before engaging in such activity. The hope is that the institutions themselves will create special classes for out-of-school youth, and the provincial authorities will allow a special fee to be collected so that expenses can be covered. Until such classes are organized, authorities have ruled that teachers be paid by standard rates as determined by the provincial education, finance and labor bureaus, raising speculation that there has until now been some abuse of the private contracting system between teacher and client.¹⁷

If teachers are being rewarded financially and psychically for their teaching inside and outside of the classroom, their job expectations and responsibilities have been expanded as well. A

primary teaching responsibility now includes increasing student assessment through examination. We have previously mentioned that there is the call for eliminating the quota system and in so doing, regulating access channels to junior and senior levels within the middle school. But in addition, there has also been the call for compulsory assessment at every grade level. A Xinhua reporter thus argues, "As shoddy products are now not allowed to leave factories, so unqualified students should not be allowed to advance one grade or to graduate."¹⁸

Of course, the examination which has the most significance is the national examination system, given in the middle of July. Already, a number of instances have been reported where teachers, in collusion with local cadres and administrators, have been caught helping students to cheat on their secondary school exams, giving out questions ahead of time.¹⁹ While there is no specific evidence of cheating on the national exam, one would expect that pressures from teaching to the content of those exams, which are achievement rather than aptitudinally oriented, would be severe.²⁰

Since the end of the Cultural Revolution, ability grouping has been introduced as early as in the primary grades so that the talented student will not be held back from progressing at a superior rate.²¹ The practice has provoked some controversy, however, as teachers are being admonished for teaching to higher curricular content standards, rather than teaching to individual ability levels, and for their neglect of the slower student. One letter from a disgruntled cadre from the Yueyang County Culture and Education Bureau is quite revealing.

Some schools are now getting a firm grasp of the key classes and ignoring the ordinary classes. They grasp the classes for smart pupils and ignore the classes for slow pupils. They grasp the elite and ignore the ordinary pupils. Students whose academic achievements are not too good are ostracized and discriminated against and allowed to do whatever they like during teaching periods. Not much attention is paid to their other activities either. In order to increase the percentage of pupils going on to higher education, some schools prevent large numbers of backward pupils from rising in grade. As a result, some of them become dispirited and have no ambition to improve themselves. A very few of them prefer to play around all day or to miss school entirely. The parents of these pupils are very critical of this situation.²²

While middle school teachers have been instructed to raise the general level of education as quickly and as efficiently as possible, they are still expected to communicate principles of appropriate moral behavior to their students. This is especially stressed for students judged to be delinquent, who are studying part-time, in the hope of reforming their behavior and then gaining satisfactory employment.²³

As if the difficult task of being both "red and expert" were not enough, teachers are also expected to increase their own expertise in the appropriate subject matter by enrolling in part-time, after-hour study course. For this reason, the instructional programs offered by the Central Television University are extremely popular, so much so, that as of February 1980, 150,000 out of the 600,000 enrollees were middle school teachers.²⁴

However extra hour coursework does not in itself totally relieve the popular perception that those middle school teachers who were either trained during the latter stages of the Cultural Revolution or who obtained their teaching positions during the GRCR are inadequately prepared. It is this segment of the teaching population which feels the most severe pressure as junior middle schools are closing or are becoming primary schools while the senior level middle schools expand and imitate the secondary vocational education model. The most recent teacher training graduates have the "certified expertise" to teach on the middle school level, for they are successful products of an examination system. Older, more senior teachers have proved their expertise through their years of experience.²⁵ Thus the middle school teacher who obtained his position during the Cultural

Revolution, often after having taught on the primary school level, is the first to be in danger of being reassigned to the primary level. In Hubei Province, for example, sixty-two senior middle schools and 100 junior middle school classrooms have been closed, as 700 teachers were returned to the primary level.²⁶ Such a reassignment on a massive level across the country would initiate considerable conflict amongst the middle school teachers, given the traditionally lower level of status afforded to the primary level teacher.²⁷

We have seen that the institutional pressures placed upon the middle school structure are frequently transferred to and experienced by the middle school teacher, and to a certain extent, this is what one would expect. But these pressures also are experienced by the students. Criticized for abusing teacher authority during the Cultural Revolution, students are expected to conform to new nationwide regulations which define the boundaries of acceptable student behavior on the primary and middle school levels. Such regulations were previously administered in 1955 and 1963, but fell into disrepute during the Cultural Revolution.²⁸ In reaction to the initiation of these regulations, there have been some reports of teachers viewing the regulations as a license to abuse students with overwork and with harsh disciplinary methods. A report from Hunan Province is illustrative.

... some teachers think that those pupils who have violated the regulations should be severely punished. We should also note that a small number of teachers have severely punished pupils. This is worthy of serious attention by the education departments at all levels. They have numerous ways of punishing the pupils. It is correct to set strict demands for pupils to observe regulations. However, it is definitely wrong to simply punish pupils who are weak. It is necessary to carefully perform ideological and political work and persist in educating them with positive examples.²⁹

If there are general pressures for increased student discipline, the pressures placed upon students requiring academic success would appear to be enormous, the simple reinstatement of exams, and the introduction of ability grouping as well as key vs. non-key school designations in themselves, would serve to heighten the pressure for individual achievement. Given the abnormally low rates of success, as measured ultimately by the miniscule percentage of the student population which is able to advance onto higher educational training, the problem is exacerbated. When one considers the very real factor of rural-urban standard of living differentials, it becomes clear that success on the education ladder can guarantee not only employment but also urban employment. Student performance on the examination supposedly measures the worth of the education offered at a particular school; it definitely has consequences for the student's family. It is not surprising that the depression accompanying the internalization of academic failure is often severe.

...Since taking the high school finals, many young examinees have been studying diligently day and night. This is necessary in order to make a high grade on the examination. However, many young people feel that in trying for a high grade, they have their backs to the wall; if they pass the examination, they have a way out, but if they fail, all is lost, even taking an oath that they will do thus and so if they fail the examination...

Some young people are far too anxious in their thoughts and emotions, which has a great deal to do with excessive requirements by parents and close friends, and excessive social pressures. Around the time of the high school finals, and particularly after grades are published, is the time of relatively intense mental conflict for examination candidates, and the focus of ideological and political work by departments concerned with education and recruiting of students should be directed at the candidates for their examination and their parents. Parents, teachers, classmates, coworkers, close friends and neighbors of candidates should have a correct understanding of examining for the university and attending the university, should support the candidates' "One grain of red heart, two seeds of

preparation," behave warmly toward candidates awaiting entrance, and certainly not discriminate against, mock or attack those candidates who fail. The young candidates themselves should have a correct attitude toward promotion and should resolutely resist the pressure of excessive censure and public opinion. Failure to be selected is not something unbearable, but is a normal occurrence, not only with regard to the present, but for the future. The total number of those attending university is a small minority, and most young people will take other paths depending on self-study to get scientific and cultural knowledge.³⁰

While it may be claimed that an examination system which is centrally administered reduces the possibility for unworthy candidates to succeed and gives more applicants a chance of success, the unevenness of the quality of schooling which exists within the PRC serves to create its own unfairness within the educational system, as students are subjected to standardized assessment. In addition, for some students, aged 11 to 16, who are known to have unique intellectual ability, the examination process is waived and they go directly on to university training.³¹

It may be reasonable to hypothesize that student competition is heightened in other ways as well. Given the discrepancy in quality of education during and after the Cultural Revolution, older middle school students who have received their background primary school training during the GPCR would be at a disadvantage. Younger students would conversely seem to have a better chance at succeeding more rapidly in the middle school environment than their older counterparts. If this is the case, with the imposition of compulsory testing and therefore compulsory failure, the possibility of conflict between different student age groups is always present and is increasing.

For those students who are not accommodated by the formal educational system, the spare-time work-study continuation middle school is an alternative. More of these nonformal educational programs are being planned for drop-outs and delinquents, as well as within the factory for workers wanting to improve their level of education. The basic question is whether such programs offer real alternatives to the formal educational system. In spite of the examples of delinquent students who have rectified their behavior with teacher encouragement and through work-study and have found suitable employment afterwards,³² a number of problems exist.

The spare-time middle school is usually funded locally and does not have resources comparable to the formal middle school. Problems of teacher quality and lack of consistent student attendance persist, so that the resulting educational gains are often extremely uneven.³³ It is clear that like so many Third World countries with nonformal educational programs, the Chinese currently view nonformal efforts as a convenient method of offering support for the formal system through sponsoring a second-rate alternative education to those who can no longer successfully compete within the formal system.³⁴ In fact, it is doubtful that many spare-time middle school graduates could ever hope to compete successfully for occupation, status, or social position with a middle school graduate. Yet the myth that increased education guarantees increased social mobility, or in the Chinese context, an important urban job, continues.³⁵

The pressures for educational change within the formal system also surface in curricular areas. The centralized distribution of textbooks is a recent phenomenon (1978) with the first grades of primary and junior middle schools having received their new texts. It is interesting to note that foreign language texts include an eight-year course of study beginning in the third grade of primary school or a five-year course beginning in the first year of junior middle school.³⁶ While such a centralized approach emphasizing the sequential mastery of skills serves to regulate content, its insensitivity to differences in quality of schooling or even individual ability differences among students within the same classroom can threaten to subvert the intended positive outcomes of such a structured approach.

A more specific area of conflict centers around the nature of the curriculum itself. In view of the country's expressed need to modernize rapidly, it is certainly not surprising that the math and science subject areas are being stressed. Science and math students are able to achieve a lower passing grade on their national examinations than do their liberal arts colleagues.³⁷ Indeed, in spite of the pressures created by the policy planners to offer a more technically oriented upper middle school curriculum, there have been official warnings against the overemphasizing of science and mathematics to the detriment of the liberal arts subject areas.³⁸

It is not surprising to see many of the incongruities we have mentioned manifest themselves, in general terms, with respect to the current ideological view of education. Increased education will provide the country with the skills its people need if the country is to experience rapid modernization by the turn of the century. It will select the best and most deserving for additional educational training, yet provide for equal opportunity of access. It will furnish moral training to those in need, yet be essentially apolitical. In short, it will work to perpetuate national expertness without sacrificing the country's redness.³⁹ A loyalty to this view allows policy planners to offer similar solutions to the needs of the juvenile delinquent or the undereducated factory worker without tampering with the formal educational process. Yet, within that formal process, pressures which are artificially generated in order to insure accountability to task, reward merit, or punish failure often subvert their intended goals. One is exasperated that Chinese policy makers don't admit openly that a series of sacrifices are made when efforts to centralize authority and rationalize accountability occur.

There are two possible explanations for the adherence to an educational policy which on every level invites conflict. If one were to focus upon the national examination as a key to new policy, with its accompanying pressures for greater centralization of curricular authority and its increased emphasis upon the selection of able students for advancement, one would notice the immediate parallel with the traditional examination system of Ch'ing China, which was also buttressed by a vigorous, if supplemental nonformal educational system, which provided literacy efficiently to approximately 45 percent of the adult male population.⁴⁰ Seen in this light, current policy would reflect a commitment to the traditional past rather than to intensive modernization.

From a purely political perspective, the renunciation of students and teachers trained during and identified with the Cultural Revolution era obviously benefits those elites who acquired power and social position before the Cultural Revolution and have since retrieved it. The use of schools as mechanisms to provide credentials which perpetuate elitist control while restricting popular access to political power is a common phenomenon, both in industrialized society and in the Third World.⁴¹ Such a view of schooling necessarily downplays the educative function of the school and, if applied to the Chinese context, would also lead one to reject the claim that educational policy has been formulated in order to carry out the Four Modernizations.

The problem with viewing educational policy solely according to either of these models is that they fail to take into account the willingness of the Chinese leadership to build upon gains made during the Cultural Revolution. Nonformal educational institutions, used extensively during the GPCR, while now being regulated to a second-class status, nonetheless are viewed as important tools in increasing the general educational level of the people. A general goal, at least to some extent, is to expand access, especially at the lower levels of schooling. Thus there is the contradiction of policy planners criticizing the Cultural Revolution era and yet attempting to build upon gains accrued at that time.

An alternative and perhaps more plausible explanation is that policy planners have picked idiosyncratic models upon which to base the educational component within the modernization drive. Being ever remindful that much of the current educational leadership was previously in power during the period of Soviet borrowing, practices such as early ability grouping, centralization of authority, and emphasis upon science and mathematics subject areas are remarkably similar to those used within the Soviet educational system. On the other hand, the emphasis upon the national

examination system, with its low passing rate and with the external pressures placed upon student performance, reminds one of the Japanese educational model. Having perhaps borrowed models which stress the inevitability of conflict within an educational system as a necessary byproduct on the road to increasing the expertise necessary for rapid modernization, one could conclude that myopic vision rather than pernicious intent is the culprit responsible for the existence of so many anomalies within the educational system. If this is the case, then there is hope that as the Chinese continue to redefine modernization in their own terms, increased attention will be paid to the relief of existing tensions within that system.

NOTES

¹ For a discussion of the practical nature of the Cultural Revolution reforms in education, see Marianne Bastid, "Economic Necessity and Political Ideal in Educational Reform during the Cultural Revolution," *China Quarterly*, No. 42 (April-June 1970), pp. 16-45. For a discussion describing the nature of the reforms and their ideological overtones, see Donald Munroe. "Egalitarian Ideal and Educational Fact in Communist China" in John Lindbeck, *Management of a Revolutionary Society*, Seattle, U. of Washington, 1971, pp. 256-301.

² The best single evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of Cultural Revolution educational reform is Suzanne Pepper's "Education and Revolution: the Chinese Model Revisited," *Asian Survey*, Vol. XVIII, NO.9 (September 1978), pp. 547-590. Susan Shirk's work is also helpful and is germane to much of this article, i.e., "Educational Reform and Political Backlash: Recent Changes in Chinese Educational Policy," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 23, No.2 (June 1979, pp. 183-217). An example of a model teacher who helps a bright student overcome his negative behavior engendered during the Cultural Revolution is found in "The Way Every Teacher Should Be," *Chino Reconstructs*, Vol. XXVII, No. 11 (November 1979), pp. 50-52.

³ Enrollment figures come from "China's Education: The Type of People it Brings Up," *Beijing Review*, No.1 (January 7, 1980), and are based upon 1978 population figures. On the total number of applicants taking the examinations in 1978, see *Beijing Review*, Vol. 3, No. 31 (August 4). For general statistics on the 1978 exams see "China Adjusts Science and Education Policies" in *China Exchange Newsletter*, Vol. 7, NO. 4 (August 1979), p. 2. The 90% primary school enrollment figure was obtained from "Renmin Ribao Article on Coordinating Education, Economy" in *FBIS*, April 21, 1980. L8-9.

⁴ The half-work half-study school, for example, initiated during the Great Leap Forward, fell into disrepute during the early 1960s and was resurrected during the GPCR. See Robert Barendson, "The Education Revolution in China," OE 73-19102, Office of Education.

⁵ R.F. Price, *Education in Modern China*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979), pp. 96-104.

⁶ Jiang Nanxiang, the current Minister of Education, is quoted as criticizing this practice in "China Adjusts Science ...", p. 2.

⁷ Stan Rosen has informed me that officials are working on increasing prior selection mechanisms so that only 70% of the applicants will fail the national exams. See also, "Xinhua Interviews officials on Beijing Students, Examinations," *JPRS #74193*. August 29, 1979, p. 74; "Hunan Cadres Expose

Problems of Overwork, Elitism in Schools," Chagsha Hunan Provincial Service in FBIS, January 2, 1979, H4.

⁸ The proposed expansion of general middle school to six years is mentioned in Beijing Review, No.1 (January 7, 1980), p. 18; on the transfer of general senior middle schools to secondary vocational schools in Fuxin, see "Guangming Ribao Reports on Vocational Schools in Fuxin City," Xinhua, reported in JPRS #74875, December 10, 1979, p. 88. For a discussion of a similar trend in Shanxi, see Guangming Ribao, "Secondary Education Said in Urgent Need of Reform." July 19, 1979, in JPRS #74163, pp. 78-82.

⁹ JPRS #74165, p. 79.

¹⁰ The best discussion of this problem prior to and during the Cultural Revolution is found in Stanley Rosen. The Origins and Development of the Red Guard Movement in China, 1960-1968, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, UCLA, 1979.

¹¹ For a discussion of student conflict based upon the changing norms of political activity within the Middle School before the GPCR, see Susan Shirk, The Middle School, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, MIT, 1974.

¹² Xinhua, April 9, 1980, in FBIS, April 10, 1980, L6

¹³ Beijing Review, No. 1, p. 18. For the necessity of operating key schools, see "Some Questions on Correctly Handling Relationships in the Development of Educational Tasks," Bureau of Education, Shanxi Province, as reported in Guangming Ribao, January 23, 1978 in Chinese Education, Vol. XII. No. 1 (Spring-Summer 1979). pp. 59-61. For a discussion of the expansion of schools in Sichuan Province see "Sichuan Meeting Discusses the Issues of Key Schools," Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in FBIS, January 10, 1979.

¹⁴ Guangzhou, Guangdong Provincial Service in FBIS, January 24, 1979. ¹⁵ NCNA, "Official Bodies Call for Selecting Special Grade Teachers," December 30, 1978, in FBIS, January 9, 1979.

¹⁵ NCNA, "Official Bodies Call for Selecting Special Grade Teachers," December 30, 1978, in FBIS, January 9, 1979.

¹⁶ FBIS (Briefs), March 29, 1979.

¹⁷ Heilongjiang Provincial Service, January 5, in FBIS, January 10, 1979, Ll.

¹⁸ Xinhua, "Report on Primary and Middle Schools," in FBIS, April 10, 1980. The factory symbol of the school is extremely interesting for it closely follows the Bowles and Gintis neo-Marxist view of capitalist schooling which, it is argued, reproduces existing class inequality within the marketplace. See Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America (New York: Basic Books, 1976).

¹⁹ "Cases of Wrongdoing in Cao County School Entrance Exams Handled," Junan Shandong Provincial Service in JPRS #73941, June 18, 1979. p. 72 and JPRS #74611, October 17, 1978, p. 65 (Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service Brief).

²⁰ The exam questions themselves often call for decidedly factual regurgitation. For example, the geography exam for 1979 includes questions such as, "____, is our country's largest auto industry center." "The capital of Australia is ____." And, on the chemistry exam: "A molecule is a small particle that makes up ____; it is a basic particle which maintains the properties of a substance." Many of the questions are in short answer, fill-in, or multiple choice form. See "The 1979 National Unified Entrance Examination for Institutions of Higher Education" in *Chinese Education*, Fall 1979, pp. 37, 53.

²¹ See Shirk, "Educational Reform ...", p. 196

²² FBIS, January 2, 1979, H 4-5; see also FBIS, April 10, 1980. L6.

²³ For a typical discussion on the necessity of giving equal attention to promoting moral, intellectual and physical abilities of students without sacrificing one attribute over the other, see "Persist in All-Round Moral, Intellectual and Physical Education," *Beijing Renmin Ribao*, April 10, 1980, in FBIS, April 24, 1980. L 5-6. For a discussion of implementation of policy designed to encourage the moral education of delinquent youth, see, "Wuhan Municipality Does Ten Good Things for the Youth to Strengthen Their Moral Education," *Beijing Zhongguo Qinqian Bao* in JPRS #74922 #49, October 6, 1979, pp. 72-74.

²⁴ "The T.V. Tube _ China's Biggest University," *China Reconstructs*. Vol. XXIX, No.2 (February 1980), p. 67.

²⁵ "Guangming Ribao Article Stress Importance of Primary Schools." *Xinhua*. November 13, 1979, in JPRS 74625, p. 56. See also, *Guangming Ribao*, "Second Edition . . .", pp. 79-82. It is interesting to note that in spite of complaints concerning the expansion of middle schooling, seventy-seven new teacher training colleges have been recently initiated. See FBIS. January 10. 1979, Ll.

²⁶ "Guangming Ribao . . .", in JPRS #74625, p. 56.

²⁷ See Joel Glassman, "The Political Experience of the Primary School Teachers in the People's Republic of China, *Comparative Education*, Vol. 45. No. 2 (June, 1979)_ pp. 159-174

²⁸ "Education Ministry Issues Circular on Regulations for Students," *Xinhua*, in JPRS #74193, August 31, 1979, pp. 66-68, 69, 73.

²⁹ *Changsh Hunan Provincial Service*. October 11, 1979, in JPRS #74595, pp. 83-9.

³⁰ "One Grain of Red Heart for Contribution to the Four Modernizations and Two Seeds of Preparation for a Broad Outlook" in *Tianjin Ribao*, July 18, 1979. p. 2 as quoted in JPRS #74165, pp. 83-4.

³¹ "Be Careful to Discover and Select Outstanding People through Extraordinary Procedures," *Guanming Ribao*, February 7, 1978 as stated in *Chinese Education*, Spring-Summer, 1979, pp. 87-90 and Pierre Perrolle, "Engineering Education in China: A Report of the U.S. Engineering Delegation to China," September 8-Oct. 2, 1978, p. 5.

³² "Rehabilitation of Unruly Youths Viewed as Important Task," *Beijing Ribao*, October 16, 1979 and "We Must Pay Attention to Educational Rehabilitation of Youths who Commit Errors," JPRS #74714, pp. 47-9.

³³ "How Our Plant Launched Sparetime Education for Staff and Workers," October 15, 1979, Tianjin Ribao, JPRS #74875, pp. 90-2.

³⁴ See John Bock, "The Institutionalization of Nonformal Education: A Response to Conflicting Needs" in *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 20. No. 3 (October 1976), pp_ 346-67.

³⁵ This dilemma is certainly present in the operation of the Central Television University as well. With over 600,000 students enrolled, about 150,000 take a full course load and will be granted a graduation degree after passing examinations at the end of three years. But will that degree have the same significance as a regular university degree? The question is very much an open one. *China Reconstructs*, February 1980, pp_65-7,

³⁶ "New Teaching Materials Ready for Primary Middle Schools," *Kwangming Daily*, 18....in FBIS. August 23, 1978; "NCNA Reports on Introduction of New School Textbooks," FBIS, September 14, 1978, E22.

³⁷ *Xinhua*, August 20, 1979, in JPRS #74193, p. 74.

³⁸ "Peng Chong Addresses Shanghai Education Conference," *Xinhua*; February 25. 1980. FBIS 04; "Report on the First National Seminar on Foreign Education." *Kwangming Daily* in FBIS, August 8. 1980. E 16-17.

³⁹ "Some Questions .. in Chinese Education, Spring-Summer. 1979. pp. 53-7.

⁴⁰ See Evelyn Sakalida Rawski, *Education and Popular Literacy in Ch'ing China* {Ann Arbor: U. of Michigan, 1979}.

⁴¹ On the Third World, see Ronald Dore, *The Diploma Disease* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: U. of Cal. Press, 1976); on industrialized world see Randal Collins, *The Credential Society* (New York: Academic Press. 1979).