# THE CONCEPT OF TIZHI (SYSTEM) IN CHINESE EDUCATION

中国教育体制论

◆ 孙绵涛

著

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## CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

China is a huge country, with a civilization extending for more than five thousand years. During this long period, many specialized concepts have arisen out of Chinese culture, which have had a very high degree of influence on Chinese education. *Tizhi*-sometimes understood as "system"--is one of these concepts. What is the meaning of *tizhi*? And how do the Chinese people use this concept in the field of education? This dissertation attempts to provide a theoretical and practical understanding of the concept of *tizhi* in Chinese education. It also attempts to develop and defend a notion of *tizhi* that can be used in a normative way to prescribe directions for educational reform.

The introduction begins by outlining the research topic. It then turns to the question of its theoretical and practical significance, and to a discussion of research methodology. Finally it concludes with an outline of the structure of the dissertation.

## 1.1 Research Topic

#### 1.1.1 The aim of research

The aim of study is to describe and justify a new conceptual model of education *tizhi* (*jiaoyu tizhi*) so as to provide a coherent account of education *tizhi* reform in China.

In China, many research studies on education have focused on the reform of education tizhi (e.g. Yao, 2000, p.101). Recently, more studies have focused on the reform of educational administration tizhi (jiaoyu xingzheng tizhi), and also on the reform of higher education tizhi (gaodeng jiaoyu tizhi) (e.g. Wu, 1999, p.23 & Yao, 2000) However, there are currently no specific studies into the meaning of the concept of education tizhi despite its obvious importance in policy and research on reform of education tizhi. The principle focus of this research is to develop an account of what counts as an appropriate meaning for education of tizhi in China. To achieve this aim, the study is not just a better definition of tizhi, but a better theory that will provide a framework for effective reform of education tizhi in China. A revised framework may improve people's understanding and more importantly, may help us to establish a conceptual model of education tizhi which will provide a coherent account of education tizhi reform and to clarify thinking about the

reform of education tizhi so as to make that reform more effective.

#### 1.1.2 Research question

The questions, which I hope to clarify and answer in the process of this research, are as follows:

- (1) What are the main current ideas on educational tizhi reform?
- (2) What are the status quo and main problems in current education tizhi reform?
- (3) What are the advantages and disadvantages of ideas of education tizhi reform and why?
- (4) What is a better theory of education tizhi and why?
- (5) How can this better theory of education *tizhi* be applied to the practice of education *tizhi* reform in China?

## 1.1.3 Research design

In order to answer these questions, the following sequence of inquiry shall be adopted. First, I want to locate and investigate current ideas on educational tizhi reform in the period of time from 1978 to 2000. The reason for concentrating on this period is that China has opened its door to the world and has initiated economic reform from 1978. In order to match the steps of economic reform, the Chinese government placed an extraordinary emphasis on education tizhi reform since the 1980s (although admittedly the Chinese government had undertaken reform of the education system (jiaoyu zhidu) before this period of time). Of course, in order to make clear the original meaning of education tizhi, I will sometimes review literature over a wider span of time and examine education reform from 1949 to 1978. Reviewing the literature and conducting interviews are central to this stage of the research. To understand the status quo of education tizhi reform, I will survey of education reform in China. Relevant Department of the Ministry of Education, Hubei province, Wuhan city, Huanshi city, several counties, several universities, kindergartens, primary and secondary schools will be selected as areas of investigation. There are two reasons for my selection. One is that it covers macro-aspects (relevant department at nation level), medium-aspects (province, city and county), and micro-aspects (school), as well as rural areas of education, urban areas of education, education in developed areas (Tongxiang country in Zhejiang province) and education in less developed areas (Yangxing county in Hubei province). The other is that I have ready

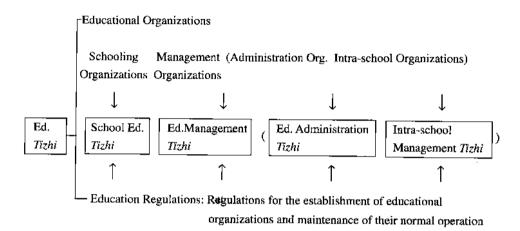
access to the data and policies concerning with these areas. To gain current ideas on education *tizhi* reform, official documents, academic writings, and other sources, such as dictionaries, encyclopedias, etc. will be reviewed, and some education officials, principals, and some scholars will be interviewed.

Second, I will determine the advantages and disadvantages of current ideas on education *tizhi* reform by using theories which relate to this research. These theories are mainly to do with the analysis of education policy, understanding organizations as systems, and the use of conceptual analytic techniques from philosophy of education, theory of construction of institutional reality and some ideas from formal logic. The relationship between this research and these theories is very close. For example, the reform of education *tizhi* is actually one of the most important education policies in China, so of course we can use ideas drawn from education policy analysis to analyze the education *tizhi* reform. We can also take education *tizhi* as a sort of social system and organization, making it reasonable for us to adopt ideas from systems and organization theory to discuss education *tizhi*. Finally, how to reform the education *tizhi* involves understanding this and related concepts, thus drawing us into the use of conceptual analytic techniques. In order to analyze how to reify any proposed conceptual model of education *tizhi*, we need a deductive process. We also need an inductive process to go beyond cases, and a dialectical process, like abduction, that fits induction and deduction together.

Third, based on the analysis of the second step, by using a suitable method for definition, I will propose a revised definition of education *tizhi* in the context of what makes for effective reform. This revised conceptual definition will focus on exploring the basic factors which are part of the formation of education *tizhi*, and on the relationships among these factors. In order to establish this conceptual model of education *tizhi* during the process of making a revised definition of *tizhi*, I will examine the following questions: What kind of factors of education *tizhi* should be included? Why should the education *tizhi* include these factors? What is the relationship among the factors of the education *tizhi*? Why is there such a relationship among these factors?

In an earlier investigation, I concluded that the following conceptual model of education *tizhi* would be a fruitful starting point (Sun, 1994, pp.10-12):

Figure 1.1 A conceptual model of education tizhi in China



Let me give a simplified explanation of this conceptual model of education tizhi.

Education tizhi is the integration of education organizations (jiaoyu jigou) and education regulations (jiaoyu guifan). It includes two parts: 1) the organizations of education (jiaoyu jigou) and 2) the regulations that govern education (jiaoyu zhidu). The organizations of education include schooling organizations (xuexiao jiaoyu jigou) and management organizations of education (jiaoyu guanli jigou). The organizations of education are educating organizations (jiaoyu shishi jigou). Management organizations of education are educational administration organizations (jiaoyu xingzheng jigou) and intra-school management organizations (xiaonei guanli jigou). The regulations that govern education include rules and regulations (guizhang zhidu) which can ensure that education organizations run well. Education organizations adopt certain regulations to formulate school education tizhi (xuexiao jiaoyu tizhi). The management organizations of education adopt certain regulations to formulate education management tizhi (jiaoyu guanli tizhi). Among these, education administration organizations adopt certain regulations to formulate education administration tizhi (jiaoyu xingzheng tizhi). The intra-school management organizations adopt certain regulation to formulate intra-school management tizhi (xiaonei guanli tizhi).

Why is education tizhi an integration of the education organization and the education regulation components? Although this issue will be dealt with in more detail later, the

general answer is that from the perspective of institutional theory, which is the broad theoretical framework adopted here, much regulation is of the constitutive variety, and so play a role in defining the nature of an organization. This means that we cannot separate regulation, in this sense, from considerations of organization.

There are two primary components of the education tizhi: the school tizhi and the education management tizhi. There are two sub-components in the education management tizhi, namely the education administration tizhi and the intra-school management tizhi. The school education tizhi is the presupposition of the education tizhi. The education management tizhi is the guarantor of the education tizhi. The delivery of education within education organizations is the reason for the existence of the school tizhi. The education management tizhi is the mechanism by which the delivery of education is guaranteed. Thus, these two tizhi are closely related. There is also a relationship between the two sub components of education management tizhi. The education administration tizhi functions as a macroscopic management tizhi while the intra-school management tizhi must deal with the problems which the national government and the local government face. The intra-school management tizhi must deal with problems faced by the educational institutions. Thus, these two tizhi are also closely related.

Fourth, I will apply the conceptual model of education *tizhi* to the practice of the current reform of education in China. The application includes two levels: state level, and school level. I choose these two levels because I take both the national level and provincial level or county level as concerned with macroscopic level, and take the school as concerned with the microscopic level. As claimed above, education *tizhi* includes two factors: education organization and education regulation, and includes three sub-education *tizhi*: school education *tizhi*, education administration *tizhi* and intra-school management *tizhi*. With these distinctions in mind, we can clarify ideas concerning reforms aimed at education *tizhi*. The reform of the education *tizhi* can be viewed in two lights: 1) a two-factor reform (*liangge yaosu gaige*) focusing on educational organization and regulation; or 2) a three-sub-*tizhi* reform (*sange tizhi gaige*) focusing on the school *tizhi*, education administration *tizhi* and intra-school management *tizhi*. Reform efforts, either the two-factor reform or the three-*tizhi* reform, must be simultaneously applied to all relevant components of the education *tizhi*, so as to respect their interconnected relationships. The purpose of applying this model to practice is not to experiment at state level and school level. Instead, I propose

to provide a prescription of education *tizhi* reform for the state and for the school and to further explain how to use this model in practice. Of course, this model can be used to guide school reform. (My application of the model in a secondary school in Wuhan will be described in Chapter Eight). So with regard to the state level, I want to explain how to reform education organizations and education regulations, and how to reform the school education *tizhi* and education administration *tizhi*. But with regard to the school level, I also want to illustrate how to reform management organizations and management regulations and how to reform the sub-management *tizhi* within school.

#### 1.2 Research Ground

The issue of *tizhi* is a very important one in China. The reason for this is because, from the view of Chinese traditional culture, when Chinese people talk about management and reform, they usually hope to use a framework which is called *tizhi* to guide their activities. In its educational aspects, that is the reason why the term *tizhi* is frequently referred to in Chinese education reform. However, while *tizhi* is generally understood as a Chinese equivalent of "system", there is evidence that this could be inaccurate and even misleading.

In the reform of education in China today, the Chinese government considers education reform, including the reform of education tizhi, as necessary to economic and political development. In January 1985, the Chinese government promulgated "The Decision on Reform Education Tizhi Made by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party" which initiated the reform of education tizhi as a part of the whole reform movement of education. The reform of education tizhi has thus become an important agenda item for the Chinese government. In order to make the reform of education tizhi effective and successful, it is necessary for policy-maker to have clear ideas about education tizhi reform. Failure to do so could leave the reform of education tizhi ineffective and unsuccessful. In order to begin this task of clarification of education tizhi, the first thing for us to do is to construct a satisfactory conceptual model of education tizhi. However, this issue has seldom been studied in detail. In spite of the fact that the Chinese government has deemed reform of education tizhi an important agenda item, for various reasons, the general climate has remained unfavorable to the reform of education. That is there are currently many problems inherent to the reform of education tizhi. For example, when the Chinese government began to reform the education tizhi, emphasis was placed on the reform of power and

responsibility of the administrative organization of education, thus ignoring the reform of education for the organization of education. In the past few years, the central government gave more autonomy to the local government and allowed the local government to set up higher education institutions according to the needs of local economic development. As a result, the structure of the education *tizhi* for these institutions of education was loosened. A number of higher education institutions were upgraded from the college level (which had unqualified teachers and a shortage of facilities) to the university level. The number of universities increased from 758 in 1984 to 1703 in 1995, (*Guojia jiaoyu weiyuanhui*, 1996), a phenomenon which greatly influences the quality of higher education. Why are there such problems in the reform of education *tizhi*? The main reason, I claim, is that the basic concepts behind the reform of education *tizhi* are not clear. By seeking to clarify basic concept and integrate them into a systematic and comprehensive understanding of education *tizhi*, this research can have practical significance in China by promoting the effectiveness of the reform of education *tizhi*. This is the first reason for me to pursue this research project.

Secondly, this research is not only of practical significance for education, it also has theoretical significance. For instance, in the study of educational administration there is uncertainty and disputation in the question of what relationships exit among the concepts of educational organization, the concept of educational regulation, the concept of education tizhi, the concept of school tizhi, the concept of education administration tizhi and the concept of intra-school management tizhi, and in the question of what differences exit between the education administration tizhi and education management tizhi. The results of this research, based on developing the conceptual model of education tizhi, will not only explore the meaning of this concept itself, but also will clarify the relationships among these concepts.

Besides its theoretical significance for education, this research may also have a broader theoretical significance, for instance, if we explore the structure of education *tizhi*, it probably helps us to understand the structure of the social system or social organization from a new aspect. (See Chapter Nine for further discussion of this point).

# 1.3 Research Methodology

The basic methodological approach of this research is a philosophical reconstruction

of a range of concepts associated with educational uses of the term *tizhi* and their justification. This is an exercise that cannot take place in an empirical vacuum. It requires an analysis of actual organizational structure and process. For this purpose, in common with the majority of researchers who are interested in conducting social research projects, I prefer to adopt qualitative methods for the collection and analysis of data. In qualitative studies, data collection and analysis go hand in hand to promote the emergence of a substantive theory grounded in empirical data (Glasser and Strauss, 1967).

### 1.3.1 Data gathering

The fundamental methods relied on by qualitative researchers for gathering information are (1) participation in the setting, (2) direct observation, (3) in-depth of interview, and (4) document review (Marshal & Rossman, 1995, p. 78). Broadly speaking, I used these four methods to gather data in the process of this research. Because I myself am a participant in both the reform of education and this research project on the reform of education in China, I am not only participating in this reform, but also observing and experiencing some reform events. However, the formal research methods I want to mainly use are the interview and literature review inasmuch as, for my purposes, the document review actually belongs to the literature review. Each of these methods is discussed below.

#### 1.3.1.1 Literature review

The literature review provides the framework for the research and identifies the area of knowledge that the study is intended to expand. It demonstrates the underlying assumptions behind the general research question (Marshall & Rossman, 1995, p. 28). In particular, by reviewing literatures in both Chinese and English, this research study hopes to gain evidence for answers to a range of questions, including:

How many documents, promulgated by the national government, related to the reform of education *tizhi*? What are the key documents? And what are the contents of these documents?

What is the earliest literature which advances the concept of tizhi?

How is the education connected with the term tizhi?

What is the approximate meaning of the concept of education tizhi?

What is the relationship between the education tizhi and education system?

What is the relationship among the tizhi, education, system and organization?

What is the relationship among regulation, law and rule?

What is the relationship between the *tizhi* and the terms of regulation, law and rule?

The questions above concentrate on three main issues, i.e., how people understand education *tizhi*, what kind of theories lies behind these understandings, and what is the relationship between the education *tizhi* and its related aspects. In order to gain clarity on these issues, I want to review the policy documents, and other sources, including scholars' writings and dictionaries, in which the ideas on education, scholars' understandings, and some theories related to this research, and terms related to education will also be reviewed. Of course, besides the literature above, in the process of literature review, I also want to review newspapers and some statistical materials so that an overview can be obtained.

#### 1.3.1.1.1 Review of policy documents

The policy documents to be reviewed here are not the documents published by the local government and by the schools; rather they are the documents promulgated by the national government since the reform of education *tizhi* is a policy of the national government.

Although the Chinese government has actually engaged in reforms of education before 1980s, the term tizhi in the policy documents of education reform has been seldom used. Instead, "education system" (jiaoyu zhidu) and "school leadership and management" (xuexiao lingdao yu guanli) have been frequently used in the documents (Liu, 1993 pp. 35-65; pp. 609-702; pp. 1088-1096). There may be two reasons for this. The first is that people probably think that tizhi is equal to zhidu, so to reform education zhidu is equal to reform education tizhi. The second is that people may think that tizhi refers to administration and management issues, i.e., how to deal with the issue of running a school between the central government and the local government, how to deal with the issue of the relationship between the government and schools, and how to deal with issue of organization within the school. The time when the Chinese government formally started to use the term tizhi in the policy documents of education reform really begins in 1985 when the Government promulgated its policy document on education tizhi reform which was called Decision on Reform of Education Tizhi Made By the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (hereinafter called Decision ). From then the term tizhi is frequently used in government documents and in scholars' writings. The reason for this shift, I think, is that along with economic reform gaining momentum, the main issues faced by the Chinese government in