

Social Transformation
and
Private Education
In China

JING LIN

**Social Transformation
and
Private Education
in China**

This page intentionally left blank.

Page iii

Social Transformation
and
Private Education
in China

JING LIN

PRAEGER

Westport, Connecticut
London

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Lin, Jing.

Social transformation and private education in China / by Jing

Lin.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-275-95590-7 (alk. paper)

1. Private schools—China. 2. Education and state—China.

3. Education—Social aspects—China. 4. China—Social conditions.

I. Title.

LC54.C6L56 1999

371.02'0951—dc21

98-56632

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data is available.

Copyright © 1999 by Jing Lin

All rights reserved. No portion of this book may be reproduced, by any process or technique, without the express written consent of the publisher.

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 98-56632

ISBN: 0-275-95590-7

First published in 1999

Praeger Publishers, 88 Post Road West, Westport, CT 06881

An imprint of Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc.

www.praeger.com

Printed in the United States of America



The paper used in this book complies with the Permanent Paper Standard issued by the National Information Standards Organization (Z39.48-1984).

This book is dedicated to my parents and my grandmother,
whose love for me is profound and unconditional.

And to my two lovely children, Erica and Eirene Wang,
who fill my heart with joy and love every day.

This page intentionally left blank.

Contents

Acknowledgments	ix
Terms and Measures	xi
Introduction	xiii
PART 1 OVERVIEW AND CONTEXT OF PRIVATE EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT	
1 Private Education Development: An Overview	3
2 Economic Reform and Social Transformation since 1978	17
3 Chinese Culture and Society and Dilemmas in the Public School System	33
PART 2 PROFILES AND CHARACTERISTICS OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES	
4 Elite Private Schools	51
5 Ordinary Private Schools	69
6 Private Universities	87
PART 3 CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS AND MORAL AND DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS	
7 Characteristics and Culture of Private Schools	107

8	Moral and Democratic Education in Private Schools	125
PART 4 PRIVATE EDUCATION: RESPONSES, ISSUES, PROBLEMS, AND THEORETICAL REFLECTION		
9	Response from the Public, Scholars, and the Government	141
10	Issues and Problems	157
11	Equality and Choice: Theoretical and Practical Concerns	169
12	Significance and Future Prospects	181
Appendix: Regulation on Education Run by Social Forces		187
Bibliography		197
Index		209

Photo essay follows page 124.

Acknowledgments

This book was made possible by three research grants which supported my trips to China and allowed for the hiring of research assistants. The research grants are from the Spencer Foundation Small Research Program, the Spencer Foundation Major Research Program, and the Social Science and Humanities Research Council in Canada. This book, however, does not represent the opinions of the funding organizations.

Many thanks to Yanyu Zhou, Chao Pei, Stephen Scarff, Steve Bossy, James Que, and Fang Wang. They have helped a great deal in the process of data collection and translation and literature search and review.

Thanks to Dr. Terrence Tice, who spent valuable time in reading and making comments on the manuscript.

Thanks to many of my local guides: Su Cai, Deng Lihua, Zhou Manshen, Wang Jianchao, Lin Qing, Pang Xiaojun, and Lin Pin. Without their crucial help in setting up connections and accompanying me to schools, I would not have been able to collect so much firsthand data. I also want to thank the principals, teachers, and students I interviewed in private schools in China. Their willingness to share information has made this project possible.

Thanks also to my parents-in-law, who helped take care of my two children and allowed me to be away doing fieldwork for months. Finally, heartfelt thanks to my husband, Wuyi Wang, who is always supportive of me in my professional pursuits.

This page intentionally left blank.

Terms and Measures

Yuan: The Chinese unit of currency, also called “renminbi.” The official rate of exchange in 1970 was \$1 = 1 yuan; in 1980, \$1 = 1.5 yuan; in 1985, \$1 = 2.4 yuan; in 1987, \$1 = 3.73 yuan; and in 1990–1995, \$1 = 5.4 yuan. As of 1998, the exchange rate is US\$1 = 8.3 yuan.

Mou: Measurement of land. 1 acre is about 6.07 mou.

Xiang: Formerly called “communes,” xiangs consist of 5–8 brigades, each of which will contain 3–8 villages. A xiang can have a population of from 10,000 to 100,000 people. In some densely populated regions, a xiang can contain over 150,000 people.

Teachers’ grades: Chinese teachers have these ranks: primary grade, middle grade, senior grade, and special category (superior) grade, which is given to only a very few exceptional teachers. Salaries are not necessarily commensurate with the grades. Seniority and achievement are the two most important criteria in evaluation.

Schools: China’s public schools are divided into key schools and ordinary schools at the senior high level. In the 1980s, primary schools and junior high schools were also categorized as key or ordinary schools; although today they may not be so called, conditions in these schools basically remain unchanged. China’s formal higher-learning institutions are also divided into key universities and ordinary universities.

This page intentionally left blank.

Introduction

Until the early 20th century, virtually all schooling in China was private. However, since 1949, when the Chinese Communist Party took power, up to the early 1980s, private schools disappeared throughout the country. Under the communist government, educational policy-making, curriculum design and teaching, school finance, and personnel management were all centrally controlled. While the state provided over 85 percent of funding for urban schools, the rural schools, called “minban” schools or “people-run” schools, received little to no financial support from the state and had to rely on local governments and fees charged to students.

Private schools resurfaced in China after 1978, when the Chinese government led by Deng Xiaoping embarked on economic reform for modernization. Reform has thrust private ownership and competition into the state-planned economy, and consequently profound changes have taken place in culture and values in the society. Private education has developed in the changing social, cultural, and economic context of the reform era, catching national and international attention and raising hopes but also many new questions.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND FIELDWORK

My interest in doing research on private education in China was aroused during the summer of 1993, when I met a former university president from a province in northern China. He and a few other former university administrators had just set up a private university in the northeastern city of Shengyang. He and his co-founders were planning to enroll more than 700 students during the

first term, offering courses in accounting, international trade, foreign languages, hotel management, and so on. According to him, applications to the school were three times greater than the number of students they could admit. Then, during June and July of 1993, I made a trip to the southern province of Guangxi, where I learned that more than half of the kindergartens in the city of Guilin were privately owned and also that a number of private vocational schools and regular secondary schools were being set up each year. In a local county of the same province, I learned to my surprise that four private secondary schools had sprung up. Colleagues and friends informed me that in provinces like Sichuan, Guangdong, and Hunan and in municipalities such as Beijing and Shanghai, private schools were developing at a fast pace.

This rapid change prompted me to want to know more about private school development in China. Sponsored by three research grants—a Spencer Foundation Small Research Program grant, a three-year grant from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council in Canada, and later a portion of the Spencer Foundation Major Research Program grant that Professor Heidi Ross at Colgate University and I received in 1996—I visited schools in China in four years—1995, 1996, 1997, and 1999. The nearly 40 schools I visited were located in cities such as Beijing, Shengyang, Dalian, Shanghai, Guangzhou, and Guilin and a local county in Guangxi province. The schools included elite private schools, ordinary urban/township private schools, rural private schools, and private universities. I also visited some elite public schools (called “key schools” hereafter) and ordinary public schools for the sake of comparison.

To obtain as much information as possible, I constructed the following list of questions as a guide for interviews, which were to be conducted in an informal manner:

1. What type of private school is this? Is it a general or vocational school? Is it a boarding school? Is it a single-sex school or a co-ed school?
2. What purposes does the school serve? Who are the clientele: the rich, the salaried class, or rural peasants?
3. Who set up the school? What are their visions of education? What tuition and fees are charged? What standards are adopted for student admission and teacher hiring?
4. How is the school administered? What are the roles and responsibilities of the principals and teachers? What are the teachers’ training and qualifications? What kind of expectations do they have of students? What is their relationship with students?
5. What are the learning and living conditions for students? What are their motivations and future aspirations? How is the school equipped? More specifically, are there computers, televisions, and pianos in the classrooms? Is there audio/video equipment to assist foreign language learning?
6. What kinds of curricula does the private school teach? What new teaching approaches are adopted by teachers? Are there any teaching innovations going on? Does the core requirement for students entail English and computer science?

7. To what extent do parents participate in school activities and administration?
8. What are the differences and similarities between private schools and local public schools? What are the special problems facing private schools?
9. At the present fast rate of development, what roles will private schools play in Chinese education? Will they facilitate inequality in the society? Will they help with economic development?

To gain access to schools, I relied on connections set up by friends and colleagues in China. On most occasions, they also accompanied me to schools. The friendly introductions they made before questions were asked reduced uneasiness on both sides and broke down reluctance to share information with a stranger.

I usually stayed in a school for half a day or sometimes for a whole day. Activities included talking with principals and founders for a couple of hours, interviewing teachers and students, and touring the schools' teaching facilities and student dormitories. Afterwards, there was usually a lunch meeting or dinner together with school founders, administrators, and some teachers. These occasions provided opportunities to ask further questions about the school. Several times, I also participated in activities organized by the schools, such as celebrating Children's Day (June 1) or attending an arts festival. Because I am of Chinese origin and because I had been referred to the schools by friends and colleagues, the principals and teachers were quite open and frank with me. They sometimes discussed extensively their philosophy of education and described their teaching experience in private and public schools. In exchange, I was often asked to make comparisons of Western and Eastern education since I have lived and taught in both China and North America.

I returned to revisit some of the schools afterward in order to update myself on their new development. I also maintained contact with some of the founders and principals who continued to supply me with new information. On all occasions, I tried faithfully to record conversations, interviews, and my own observations of events. I took numerous pictures and collected dozens of school brochures and advertising materials, school newsletters, and other publications. Whenever it was convenient, I would also visit government offices and exchange ideas with officials in charge of private education. Daily encounters with ordinary citizens also provided invaluable information about the public's attitudes toward the development of private education.

These visits produced hundreds of photos, eight notebooks and boxes of Chinese scholarly articles, school brochures, and publications. With the help of several research assistants, the notes were reorganized and translated into English according to the following categories: school purpose, clientele, admission criteria, tuition and fees, curriculum, living and learning environment, teacher qualifications, teaching approaches, teachers' responsibilities, student motivation, principals' responsibilities, school administrative structure, teacher hiring and salary, special problems facing the school, and so forth. While these notes

form the foundation for the book, I also draw from articles written by Chinese scholars.

OUTLINE OF THIS BOOK

As a comprehensive study of development, context, characteristics, problems, issues, and future prospects of private schools in China, this book attempts to provide rich contextualized information on several types of private schools, accompanied by varied analyses. I intend this book, largely based on my fieldwork, to be a systematic, comprehensive study of the rise and development of private schools in modern China.

The book contains four parts. Part 1 (Chapters 1–3) contains an overview and explains the context of private education development. Part 2 (Chapters 4–6) profiles the characteristics of three major forms of private education. Part 3 (Chapters 7–8) reports on distinctive features of private schools, notably elite private schools, and examines moral and democratic education in these schools. Part 4 (Chapters 9–12) considers social and government reactions to private schools and discusses issues and problems facing private schools, equality issues arising from private education development, and the significance and future prospects of private education development in China.

Specifically, Part I provides an overall picture of private schools at the primary, secondary, and university level; it then examines the economic, social, and educational context of private school development. Part 2 describes the characteristics of different types of private schools, ranging from elite private schools (called “elite schools” hereafter) for children of very wealthy families to ordinary private schools of all kinds and private universities.

In Part 3, Chapter 7 attempts to identify distinct characteristics and an organizational culture of private schools; Chapter 8 adds a glimpse of moral and democratic education in the schools. In Part 4, Chapter 9 reviews the social response and government reactions to private education development, Chapter 10 discusses issues and problems facing private schools, and Chapter 11 reflects on the issue of equality and choice. Finally, the significance and future prospects of private education development are focused upon in Chapter 12.

PRIVATE EDUCATION: DEBATES AND ARGUMENTS

The 20th century has been marked by a great expansion of public school systems throughout the world, based on the belief that private schools had served mainly the rich and powerful and that education is a fundamental right for all children. However, private schools continue to operate in many countries. In the United States, private education has been argued to be a fundamental right of choice for parents, who should be able to send their children to private schools if the public school system does not provide what they want (Ravitch, 1992; Levy, 1986).

Private education has been closely related to the issue of social equality.

Research reveals that many private schools feature exclusivity and elitism, serving only, or largely, the children of economically advantaged families. Because children's access to private schools has been closely connected to parents' political and economic power, private schools have been criticized for helping to reproduce social hierarchies (Kane, 1992; Griggs, 1985; Cookson and Persell, 1985; Baird, 1977).

Private schools tend to provide decentralization and competition. They have been found to produce higher achievement by children of comparable ability to students in public schools, partly because they possess a different organizational culture (Kane, 1992; James and Levin, 1988; Powell et al., 1985; Coleman et al., 1982). On the other hand, private schools may also be underfunded, serving a rural clientele in remote areas and with a quality of teaching and learning much worse than that found in public schools (Kwari, 1991).

In general terms, private schools can be boarding schools, single-sex schools, or co-ed schools. Distinguishing features of private schools include self-governance, self-support, self-defined curriculum, self-selected students and faculty, and small size (Kane, 1992, 1). Richard Barbieri (1992) notes that private schools have the freedom not to follow state mandates and that they can have their own distinct missions. However, the freedom and autonomy private schools possess are conditioned by the marketplace. What they offer is closely connected to needs within the economic system.

In developing countries, the rationale for the existence of private education tends to be very different from that in more developed countries. Carnoy and Samoff (1990) see private education in developing countries as an inescapable solution to the demand for education, particularly at the secondary level. Parents who send their children to private schools are not necessarily exercising a constitutional right of choice but rather solving personal problems or using a system that increases their children's chance for social mobility.

Thus, the major issues and concerns centering on private and public education have been those pertaining to school autonomy, choice for parents, access to quality education, and the democratic ideal of equal opportunity for all, which is supposed to be fulfilled by public education. In China, these issues are more acute than in any other country, perhaps save India. First of all, China has a huge population. In 1988, within a total population of 1.1 billion persons, a total of 200 million students were studying in schools, 125 million of them in primary school, 40 million in junior secondary school, and 13 million in senior secondary school; about 2 million students were enrolled in universities (Cheng, 1992, 14–15). This enormous student population has engendered a mammoth school system. In 1988, China had 800,000 primary schools, 180,000 secondary schools, and 1,075 universities. The number of teachers totaled 10 million, of whom 5.5 million were primary school teachers, 2.4 million were junior secondary school teachers, and 1.1 million were senior high school teachers; about 390,000 were university teachers (Cheng, 1992, 15). In 1996, there were 960,653 schools across the country.

The extensive demand for education has led to a great shortage in funding,

and public schools in China have not been able to meet all the demands for kindergartens, elementary schools, secondary schools, and higher education. We will detail this aspect later in the book. Meanwhile, under the economic reform, the Chinese people have had more autonomy in private entrepreneurship, such as running one's own school, which has become possible. A new class of people has arisen from the new market economy. These people want better education for their children and are willing to pay high tuition. As the demand is so great, running a private school can become a profitable business. Finally, especially in the rural and township areas, students who fail to pass the highly selective admission exam to secondary schools but who still want a chance to obtain a higher education (as the university is still the main avenue of social mobility in most rural areas) also yearn for an alternative form of school in which to continue their education.

Private schools in China have come to life again in the era of economic reform and opening to meet new social demands. The diversity and plurality in their orientation and organizational features have markedly altered the overall picture of China's educational system. The facts that elite private schools charge very high fees and offer a superior learning environment have occasioned concerns over equality of education, especially regarding students' access to quality education. In time, private schools will also present a challenge to the public school system, in that they have a different organizational culture and greater decision-making power. Private schools and universities might have a positive impact on the country's economic development, as they try to respond to needs in the economic system and as they enlarge access to primary, secondary, and postsecondary education.

Private education has caused heated debates in North America and has been a congruent part of many educational systems. At present, it is too early to draw firm conclusions about the impact of private education in China, though there is a firm base for some pointed diagnosis and prognosis, the latter depending on what circumstances prevail. This book is an attempt, then, not only to record this significant change in patterns of education but also to explore important issues relating to social equality, public school efficiency, and plurality in Chinese education.

The reappearance and rapid development of private schools open a new stage in Chinese education. Questions they raise touch on equality of educational opportunities, public school reform, and diversity in the education system. Private schools provide an alternative to public education, give parents more choices, and may provide stimuli to public schools, in effect linking schools more closely with society. It would seem that, as a developing country, China needs the supplement of private education to solve the great societal demand for education.

PART 1

OVERVIEW AND CONTEXT OF PRIVATE EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT

Page 2

This page intentionally left blank.

Private Education Development: An Overview

This chapter first reviews the history of private education in China and then presents an overview of private education development since 1980, summarizing the features of several types of schools that have appeared in large numbers in the 1990s.

ORIGINS AND HISTORY OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS IN CHINA

China has a long history of private education. The first private school was founded 2,500 years ago by the great philosopher Confucius (551–479 B.C.). In his lifetime, Confucius taught over 3,000 students and developed rich educational thoughts that still influence educational practice in China today. Other famous philosophers of Confucius's time were Mencius and Sun Zi, both of whom had hundreds of students and spread their intellectual thoughts through private teaching.

During the Warring Period (475–221 B.C.), private education became a major form of education. Scholars representing different strands of thoughts used private schools to criticize and influence each other. During the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.–220 A.D.) private education entered a prosperous stage, with individual scholars teaching Confucian classical cannons and some scholars having thousands of students in their schools.

During the Sui Dynasty (581–618), the imperial civil service examination was adopted to select talents from all sectors of the society to assist the emperors in governing the country. Those who passed the examination were richly awarded

with power, personal wealth, and high social status. Private education was always the main vehicle preparing individuals for the imperial examination.

During the Tang dynasty (618–907), both government schools (*guan xue*) and private schools entered a new stage of development, existing side by side to provide both vocational and academic learning. During this period, Buddhism was being actively integrated into the Chinese way of life. Thousands of temples that had been erected as a result of the popularity of the religion also became private teaching places for literacy.

The Wudai Shiguo (907–979) and Song dynasties (960–1279) saw the academies (*shuyuan*) becoming the most significant form of private higher learning. Of the 714 known shuyuan in the Song dynasty, the most famous were the Yuelu, Zuiyang, Haoyang, and Bailudong shuyuan. Scholars gathered in the academies to review lessons for the imperial examination and to listen to known scholars discussing intellectual and political issues. According to Borthwick (1983), these schools had not only an established teaching program but also a good administration system. Shuyuan were utilized by an erudite scholar, Zhu Xi (1130–1200), to ponder on philosophical issues, leading to the formation of neo-Confucianism, which later dominated the functioning of the Chinese society. During the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), Shuyuan were placed under the control of the government, which exercised rigorous political control over shuyuan scholars, turning these academies into places devoted only to preparing scholars for the imperial examination.

While higher learning in Chinese history always involved the government, primary education at all times took a private form. *Sishu*, a type of one-teacher private school, was the primary form for teaching literacy and preparing scholars for the imperial examination. Students were taught individually or in groups, with the teacher being hired by individual families or a village or operating the school himself. Teachers relied on fees and tuition for survival, and some simply ate or lived in a student's home. Textbooks were classical canons that embodied moral teachings and scientific and commonsense knowledge. Rote learning was universally adopted, and corporal punishment was not only accepted but encouraged. Sishu continued to operate in China's vast rural areas until 1949, when the People's Republic of China was established.

After the Opium War in the 1840s, national defeat and humiliation caused reformers in China to call for educational development, which was deemed to be vital for the survival and strengthening of the country. Conscientious intellectuals and citizens demanded the abolition of the imperial examination system and the popularization of education. "New learning" was prescribed as the panacea to cure the ills of the traditional teaching of classical canons, which turned out "bookworms" good only at taking examinations. Many schools were set up, including general primary and secondary schools for boys and girls, vocational technical schools, military and marine training schools, commerce schools, and liberal arts schools. They appeared to spread literacy and teach Western science and technology. In higher education, Fudan University and China University were established in 1905. A famous entrepreneur, Chen Jia-

geng, founded Xiamen University in 1919 in Fujian province. That same year, Zhang Boling set up Nankai University in Tianjin. Both Xiamen University and Nankai University became well-known institutions, turning out thousands of students, some of whom played important roles in China's contemporary history. For example, the late premier Zhou Enlai was a graduate of Nankai University. By 1931, there were 47 private universities in China, while state-funded universities totaled 56. In 1947, of the 207 universities in the country, 79 were private institutions of higher learning.

Private primary and secondary schools also occupied an important place in contemporary China. In 1906, one year after the imperial examination was abolished, the country had 59 private secondary and primary schools, with a teaching staff of 606 and a student body of 3,855. The private schools carried out 79 percent of the teaching. In 1928 only in the city of Beijing, the total number of secondary and private primary schools reached 317, forming a 5:1 ratio with the number of government schools. By 1947, statistics collected in just five cities (Beijing, Tianjin, Nanjing, Shanghai, and Wuhan) revealed the significant number of private schools in the country: The five cities alone had a total of 1,452 private primary schools, comprising 56 percent of all primary schools teaching 307,400 students; a total of 439 secondary schools, which comprised 84 percent of all secondary schools teaching a total of 136,200 students in these cities (Mei Ruli, 1994, 20–22). Overall, private schools comprised 40 percent of all schools in the country by 1949 (Zhang Zhiyi, 1995).

Although private schools had played a key role in China's contemporary education, they disappeared altogether after the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) seized power in 1949. Transforming China into a state-ownership system, the government devoted the first part of the 1950s to eliminating private businesses and institutions in the country. By 1956, nearly all private schools had been closed down, combined, and turned into public schools. In the rural area, a form of schools called *minban*, or people-run schools, were developed to provide basic education to the peasants. Although they relied on collecting fees from peasants to survive, they were not private schools in that they had neither administrative autonomy nor academic freedom (Deng, 1997, 107). In the centralized system, all schools in the country were to adopt the uniform curriculum compiled by the Ministry of Education, and educators had to follow a highly political agenda for training students into socialist new persons. Development in education was centrally planned to serve the state-controlled economy. Neither urban nor rural schools had any autonomy in curriculum and administration. By 1976, when the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) came to an end, there were literally no private schools in China.

THE RISE AND RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Private schools reappeared shortly after the CCP's control on the national economy and political system was relaxed. At the beginning, that is, in the early

1980s, private schools consisted mainly of short-term, remedial classes offered to prepare students to pass the national university entrance exam (the “University Entrance Exam” hereafter). In the middle and late 1980s, however, the number of private schools and universities grew significantly. They operated as evening classes or weekend schools, offering learning opportunities to those who sought to improve their educational credentials or to learn specialized vocational/cultural skills. A small number of schools eventually became established, formal institutions of learning.

Private education development went into a phase of explosive growth in 1992, after the late paramount leader Deng Xiaoping toured south China and reaffirmed China’s staunch stand for economic reform and opening, dispersing much of the doubt about where China was to go after the crackdown on the student movement in 1989. The first private school to thrust private education into the spotlight was the Guangya Primary School, set up in August 1992 in the city of Chengdu in Sichuan province. Dubbed the “first school for [training] aristocrats in China,” it caught national and international attention for its high tuition and fees, promise of high teaching quality, and superior learning conditions (such as computers, color TVs, and pianos installed in air-conditioned classrooms). Other features of the school, such as small class size, comfortable living conditions, foreign teachers teaching all subjects in English, and standard running tracks, also aroused much curiosity.

Following Guangya, private schools of similar types sprang up throughout the country, especially during the period of 1992–1995, when the country’s economic development was heated up to an unprecedented degree. By 1997, Guangdong province alone had over 70 private schools, which charge high tuition with fees and feature excellent learning conditions. Thirty of these schools have over 100 million yuan invested in them. Beijing city had more than 40 elite private schools by 1999 (Zhang Kuan and Wang Wenyan, 1998).

Private schools charging moderate fees have also appeared in earnest. In Zhejiang province alone more than 40 private schools were opened in 1993, doubling in one year the total number of private schools that had existed in the province over the previous decade. In the underdeveloped province of Guangxi, an astonishing 400 private schools were reported in 1993. Nationally, by 1993 the development of private education had reached an impressive scale. Over 20,000 private schools of different types were operating in the country (including kindergartens). Some 700 were middle schools enrolling a total of 130,000 students, nearly 900 were elementary schools with 50,000 students, and 13,800 were kindergartens taking care of 530,000 children. Ten institutions of higher learning were accredited to award degrees approved by the State Education Commission. Forty-odd degree institutions of higher learning were set up by social organizations in conjunction with government agencies or enterprises, as well as more than 500 non-degree institutions of higher learning that provided training, counseling, or scholastic assistance, which were examined and approved by provincial education administrations. Over 10,000 non-degree schools