

# Non-termination of policy of bonus point for the minority groups in China's college entrance examination based on advocacy coalition framework

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## Abstract

Policy termination is the special form of policy change, including whole termination and partial termination. The policy of bonus point to the disadvantaged groups in China's college entrance examination has aroused much controversies in implementation process, especially whether the policy of bonus point to minorities maintains or cancels. The suggestion on policy of bonus points in the college entrance examination at the end of 2014 has abolished the rewarding policy and on the contrary maintained the preferential policy, manifesting policy of bonus points just realized partial termination. The study makes clear the key factor of influencing basic attitude is policy goals and value preferences rather than interests or institutional attributes, which form the different coalitions due to differences in beliefs, thus making the policy maintain. Support coalition and opposition coalition are the two basic coalitions. The advocacy coalition framework has strong fit in a few problems that how to explain why the policy of bonus point to minorities keeps stable, whether to terminate in the future and how to terminate it etc.. We hope to contribute to a better understanding of preferential policy in general and of the stability and change and variation, thus prompting the whole termination of bonus-point system, improving the reform of China's college entrance examination and realization of education fairness and equality.

**Keywords:** Advocacy coalition framework, Policy of bonus point to minorities, Policy change, Non-termination

## 1. Introduction

The policy of bonus point to minorities in China's college entrance examination has become a hot topic recently, which aroused the high public attention<sup>1</sup>. At the end of 2014, <The suggestion on further reducing and normalizing items and scores of bonus points in the college entrance examination (hereinafter refer to suggestion on bonus points) jointly issued by the Ministry of Education and other four departments, has pushed the policy at the forefront of the public opinion<sup>2</sup>. The suggestion clearly states as follows: from January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2015, five items of bonus points including sports-talented, Olympic competing games of middle school, science and technology competing games, provincial outstanding student and outstanding moral characters would be abolished, still retaining some preferential items including minorities, returned overseas Chinese and their children, children of Taiwan candidates and martyrs etc.. From the above, the Ministry of Education etc. just cancelled rewarding policy of bonus points, and policy of bonus point to minorities has still been maintained, which represented partial termination of bonus-point system in the college entrance examination. Policy termination is the special form of policy change, including the whole termination and partial termination. Partial termination (Brewer, DeLeon, 1983) is that a few aspects of the policy have been changed or excluded, sometimes with vague for current situation, and difficult to classify into termination or non-termination<sup>3</sup>. In the process of policy termination, partial termination as the way of stable and gradual approach is always used to reduce resistance and promote policy implementation, because the policy is a systemic project concerning many aspects, and directly relates to vital interests of policy stakeholders. In the reform of bonus-point system, one of the hardest-fought issues is the maintenance or abolition of policy of bonus point to minorities. Nonetheless, why and how the policy has been stable. Compared with the termination of rewarding policy, what are the obstacles of policy of bonus point to the disadvantaged groups, whether the policy of bonus point to minorities in the college entrance examination will terminate in order to further prompt the whole termination etc. are worthy of further in-depth investigation.

1. Yang Fang. (2010). Study on the justice of policy of adding points to minorities in the college entrance examination. *National research*, 6

2. Ministry of education of the People's Republic of China, (2014), Sharp fall and strict control: answer to reporters' request about reducing and normalizing items and scores of bonus points in the college entrance examination for principal from Department of College Student Affairs. [Online]. Available: <http://gaokao.chsi.com.cn/gkxx/zc/moe/201412/20141217/1416019975.html> (December 17,2014)

3. DeLeon, P. (1983) Policy Evaluation and Program Termination. *Review of Policy Research*, 4, 631-647

At present, domestic scholars mainly focus on three aspects: one is the evolution of policy of bonus point to minorities in the college entrance examination. Generally, scholars (Ma Xiaorui, 2014<sup>1</sup>; Sun Ping, 2012<sup>2</sup>) believe the change process could be divided into four stages: germination and exploration period(1949-1965), stagnation period(1966-1976), recovery period(1977-1998) and comprehensive development period(1999 to now); the second is to analyze effects and rationalities of the policy by some scholars such as Wu Cinan<sup>3</sup> (2013) , Gao Yuehan<sup>4</sup> (2014) etc.; the third is to discuss the legal foundations and value orientation of policy, briefly analyzing some problems caused by its implementation and put forward proposals for improvement, such as college entrance examination immigrants, fake identity of ethnicity and reverse discrimination(Xu Xuewei<sup>5</sup>, Song Xiangjun<sup>6</sup>, 2012 etc.). Particular scholars also select a certain area to empirically study attitude difference of bonus-point system (Liu Yanfei<sup>7</sup>, Hong Qiao<sup>8</sup>, 2014). Besides, foreign scholars study policy of bonus point to minority groups, of which mainly includes the United States, Australia. Among them, most is “Affirmation Action” that a preferential policy giving the priority of special admissions consideration for the black and other minority students under other similar conditions. The contents involve development process, legitimacy, reasons for rise and fall, negative influences, policy change and termination process by theories of utilitarianism, equality, interest analysis etc.. Additionally, a few scholars (Shi Peipei, 2014<sup>9</sup>; Wang Fanmei,2012<sup>10</sup>; Zhang Xueqiang<sup>11</sup>,2008) also do comparative studies on the policy of bonus point to minorities both in China and the United States, analyzing their implementation backgrounds, development process, policy contents, problems and disputes, as well as reference values. Above the all, a review of the literature on the policy of bonus point to minorities shows the foreign and domestic scholars conduct relevant studies from perspectives of politics, policy and law etc..

In summary, scholars generally use benefit analysis and organization analysis to explain policy value orientations and impacts of the policy of bonus point to minorities believe ethnic composition is the basic influencing factor of public attitudes and divide social members into support-termination and oppose-termination on basis of ethnic difference, namely Mandarin Group and Minority Group. However, with the advance of policy of bonus points in the college entrance examination, on one hand, both Mandarin Group and Minority Group have a clear differentiation in views of policy of bonus point to minorities, that is to say, policy of bonus points to achieve equal national education is not only treated as an unfair design by some of the Mandarin members, but also does not help to enhance equal education for some minority groups<sup>12</sup>. On the other hand, scholars studying policy reform of bonus points in the college entrance examination and education institutions, the media also have a new understanding and different views, which affect policy change of policy of bonus point to minorities in the college entrance examination to some extent. Some scholars have been aware of this phenomenon, but failed to explore in-depth reasons. The traditional method of interest or organization analysis cannot explain influencing factors of policy change of bonus point to minorities radically. And there are almost no study from perspectives

- 1.Ma Xiaorui (2014). The perfection of preferential policies of minorities in universities. *Master thesis of Huazhong Normal University*
- 2.Sun Ping. (2012).The existing problems and adjustment about preferential policies for minorities in the college entrance examination. *Master thesis of Southwestern University*
- 3.Wu Cinan. (2013).Study on implementation validity of mark adding for minorities in the college entrance examination—a case of candidates from Guizhou. *Science research management*, 34,11
- 4.High Yuehan. (2014) Study on effect of mark adding policy for minorities in the college entrance examination. *Education science*,5
- 5.Xu Xuewei. (2012). Study on treatment of fraud minority candidates from the perspective of administrative law. *University of electronic science and technology (Social science edition)*, 5
- 6.Song Xiangjun. (2012).The analysis about legal principles of mark adding policy for minorities in the college entrance examination. *Knowledge economy*, 9
- 7.Liu Yanfei. (2014).The differences of attitudes about mark adding policy for minorities in the college entrance examination from students of different ethnic groups—a case of some universities from Inner Mongolia. *Journal of Inner Mongolia Normal University: Philosophy and Social Sciences*, 1
- 8.Hongqiao. (2014).The investigation on cognitive situation in ethic areas of mark adding policy for minorities in the college entrance examination—a case of students from Inner Mongolia. *Inner Mongolia education*, 4
- 9.Shi Peipei. (2014). Difficult to realize balance—comparative research of affirmative action policy between China and US. *Journal of Gansu Institute*, 3
- 10.Wang Fanmei. (2010). On the dilemma of Italy American in affirmative action. *Journal of Southwest University for Nationalities*, 5
- 11.Zhang Xueqiang, Che jifei. (2008). Study on development of the national basic education course in recent years. *Research of the noble ethics*, 2
- 12.Yang Fang. (2010). Study on justice of mark adding policy for minorities in the college entrance examination. *National research*, 6,9

of policy change and policy termination. It is found the key factors that affect the social public's basic attitudes to policy of bonus point to minorities are policy objectives and value preferences of different groups, namely different advocacy coalitions formed by differences in beliefs, rather than interests or organization attributes, thus made the policy still maintain. This hypothesis has strong fit with Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith's advocacy coalition framework. This paper analyzes the two coalition structures of support-coalition and oppose-coalition, attempts to explain why the policy of bonus point to minorities in the college entrance examination maintain long-term stability, whether to terminate in the future and how to terminate eventually etc..

## **2. Change of policy of bonus point to minorities in China's college entrance examination (1950-2014)**

In 1950, the Ministry of Education released <Regulations on recruiting new students of higher school in summer>, proposed "minorities should be admitted leniently although examination results are lightly worse". The above has always been stressed afterwards. From 1953 to 1961, the Ministry of Education proposed "priority admission of minority students once faced the same score". In 1962, the Ministry of Education and the State Ethnic Affairs Commission jointly issued <The notice on preferential admission of minority students in institutions of higher learning >, and put forward the idea that "to give more preferential to minority groups". Until the 1980s, <Regulations on enrollment of ordinary institutions of higher learning> made by the Ministry of Education put forward the idea that "minorities from the frontier, mountainous, pastorals and minority inhabited areas are appropriate to reduce score requirements under the deliver scores of institutions of higher learning decided by the Provincial Admission Committee, thus decided by school whether to admit through censorship. According to regulations, no more than 20 points can be entitled." In 2002, the Ministry of Education first made clear dropping standards down in the admission requirements, which provided deliver of bonus points and admission of reducing points for minorities. According to the provisions of the State Council and the Ministry of Education, the provinces and autonomous regions in accordance with the actual development make their policy of bonus point to minorities (this situation is also called double decision). Every province for policy of bonus point to minorities in the college entrance examination is different, and constantly changes. At the end of 2014, with the appearance of <Suggestions on policy of bonus points>, the Ministry of Education still retained policy of bonus point to minorities from the frontier, mountainous, pastorals and minority inhabited areas. Since then, various provinces and cities have introduced policy of bonus points in the college entrance examination in 2015, in response of the central government. However, they have shown different types: one is not to give any bonus points, just as reference when priority of admission for institutions of higher learning, such as Shanxi, Gansu province; the second is to give bonus points discriminatively, setting up different scores according to different nationalities and residential areas, such as Hunan, Qinghai province; the third is to give bonus points unconditionally for minority groups inhabited areas and diaspora, such as Guangxi province. On August 17th, 2015, the State Council issued < The decision on accelerating the development of national education >. The decision clearly declared maintaining and further improving the policy of bonus point to minorities in the college entrance examination from the frontier, mountainous, pastorals and minority inhabited areas, according to the uniform requirements on the national examination and enrollment system reform. On August 21st, Mao Li, the director of Department of National Education, said the ultimate objective of reform of bonus-point system in the college entrance examination is certainly not an extra points, but there is no clear timetable for its cancellation. The policy of bonus point to minorities will continue to retain, and on the contrary further to reform. Therefore, from change process of policy of bonus point to minorities in the college entrance examination, it changes a little compared to the termination of rewarding policy of bonus points, and the scope of application is relatively stable.

## **3. The theoretical lens: Advocacy Coalition Framework**

Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) developed by Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith as a theoretical lens is always used to analyze long-term policy change and stability. Policy termination and non-termination are the forms of policy change, which is suitable for this framework. Sabatier believes the dominant role in the process of policy change is the belief systems shared by coalitions rather than interests of decision makers, including deep core beliefs, policy core beliefs and secondary beliefs. Policy core beliefs are the basic glue that binds coalitions together, including basic value preferences, problem severities, tactics of core values of subsystem, the optimal government level appropriate to deal with problems and the most basic policy tools made, which is not stagnant in a certain extent. However, adjusting this belief is very difficult. Secondary beliefs refer to understanding of some instrumental information of specific policies, which is relatively easy to change. Mutual learning of policy beliefs often occurs at this level<sup>1</sup>.

The mechanism of policy change is as follows: actors with different beliefs would form different advocacy coalitions in policy subsystem, and coalitions would absorb reasonable factors of opposition-coalition's beliefs in order to gain competitive advantages, also called policy-oriented learning. Policy learning always changes the dominant coalition. Besides, external events such as natural resource distribution, social and cultural values, and

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1.Wang Chuncheng. (2013). The logic of public policy process: advocacy coalition framework analysis, application and development. *Beijing: China social sciences press*, 65

other relative stability of system variables and the political, economic and other external events would affect the core beliefs of policy subsystem, and then create conditions for policy change. Sabatier (1993) believes external events include as follows: one is the change of social economic conditions, namely, the disruption of economic development or social movement. Second is major change of public opinion, which affects people's judgment of problem severities and the priority of policy means. Third is change of dominant coalition, which includes major changes of alliance system aroused by election and change of alliance members. Third is decision and effects from other subsystems. The policy output of a policy subsystem has spill-over effect, and may even affect the structure and resource of other policy subsystems. Particularly, members of coalitions may come from government organizations, interest groups, legislative bodies, and possibly from research institutions and media, and may be individual actors or collective actors (branches).

#### 4. Non-termination of policy of bonus point to minorities in China's college entrance examination

In ACF, the description of advocacy coalition and its behavior is based as two foundations: one is policy beliefs of coalition, another is coalition resource. Based on analysis of coalitions' beliefs and resource, the interactive relationship between coalitions and influencing factors of policy change are explained. The following is an example of policy of bonus point to minorities in China based on ACF.

##### 4.1 Advocacy coalition's definition and distinction

Support termination coalition and oppose termination coalition are two basic coalitions of this policy change of bonus points. Advocators and opponents of policy termination can be divided into four categories (see Table 1), based on the division of members between two coalitions from Bardach<sup>1</sup>(1976:126) and Lin Yongbo, Zhang Shixian<sup>2</sup>(2006:327).

##### 4.1.1 Advocators of policy termination

Advocators of policy termination include as follows: one is policy opponents that those disagree or even overthrow the policy believe the policy is sufficient to affect due rights and interests, along with the gap among policy values, and then advocate policy termination. Second is active policy reformers, who have varieties of ways and means to put forward negative impacts of policy and spread their ideas that policy termination is the important condition for successful implementation of new policy. Third is to focus on policy economizers, who posit policy performance is not good for lack of resource or uneven allocation of resource, and shouldn't continue implemented. The fourth is policy assessor, who can be official agencies, semi-official institutions or the independent third party. In terms of the policy of bonus point to minorities in the college entrance examination, opponents of policy making include Mandarin Group who believe policy is not equal and rights are damaged or discriminated, and the disadvantaged group; positive reformers refer to scholars taking on reform of bonus points, who would put forward passive arguments base on their expertise, and propose policy suggestions on reasonable direction, or spread concepts of policy reform or improvement by publishing papers, interviews through the media etc.. Economizers refer to those people who believe policy of bonus point to minorities do exist inequality. Policy assessors refer to those who tend to terminate policy when they think policy effectiveness declines after evaluation.

##### 4.1.2 Opponents of policy termination

Opponents of policy termination include as follows: one is vested stockholders who are the direct beneficiaries. In this case, the majority of minorities and families with power are included. Second is adopters who are the original supporters, that is, the local education authorities, universities and secondary schools. The third is policy implementers, namely government agencies appraisal of policy of bonus point to minorities, such as the State Ethnic Affairs Commission, Provincial Admission Committee. The fourth is interest balancers who could be experts or education institutions, namely policy termination should secure all stockholders, not to sacrifice some people's interests.

Table 1 Specific categories of two coalitions

Advocators of policy termination		Opponents of policy termination	
Policy opponents	Mandarin Group; The disadvantaged group	Vested stockholders	Majority of minorities; Families with power
Positive reformers	Scholars taking on reform	Policy adopters	Local education authorities; Universities; Secondary schools
Economizers	Those who believe policy inefficiency	Policy implementers	The State Ethnic Affairs Commission; Provincial Admission Committee
Policy assessors	Government or search organizations	Interest balancers	Experts; Education institutions

1.Eugene Bardach. (1976). Policy termination as a political process. *Policy science*, 2,123-131

2.Lin Yongbo, Zhang Shixian. (1982). Public policy. *Taiwan: Taiwan Wunan publishing company*, 354

The above table 1 about the classification of advocacy coalition can be clearly distinguished between policy opponents and vested stockholders, but the position of coalition members in termination process cannot be made the judgment, not covering the NPC representatives, CPPCC members, the media and others. Because reform of bonus-point system is a systematic action, involving varieties of stockholders, the classification method of actors through policy networks can be used (see Table 2)..

Table 2 Actors types in the policy network of policy of bonus point to minorities

Actors types	Actor origins	Discourse power	Interest correlation	Relationship strength
The core actors	the Ministry of Education, the State Ethnic Affairs Commission, the local education authorities, Provincial Admission Committee, the NPC representatives, CPPCC members, universities, families with power	important	strong	strong
The important actors	Mandarin group candidates and their parents, majority of minorities and their parents, secondary schools	unimportant	strong	weak
The edged actors	scholars, education research organizations and mass media	unimportant	weak	weak

Note: the important actors could be transformed into the edged actors due to change of discourse power, and vice versa.

The above table 2 manifested actors can be divided into three types: the core actors, important actors and edged actors by discourse power, degree of interest correlation and relationship strength. The core actors are the organizations, individuals or groups who have important discourse power and interests in policy decision-making; the important actors are those who have insignificant discourse power but strong interest correlation; and the edged actors are neither discourse power nor interest correlation. In terms of policy of bonus point to minorities in the college entrance examination, the core actors include the Ministry of Education, the State Ethnic Affairs Commission, the local education authorities, Provincial Admission Committee, the NPC representatives, CPPCC members, universities, families with power; important actors include Mandarin Group candidates and their parents, majority of minorities and their parents, secondary schools; the edged actors include scholars, education research organizations and mass media etc.. It should be stated if the views and suggestions of scholars and education research organizations can be paid attention and applied by the core actors, they would transform into the core actors.

Summarily, combined with the specific analysis of advocacy coalition and policy network theories, it is not difficult to conclude the discourse power of opposition-termination members is stronger than advocacy-termination, and also the same to policy impacts. If advocacy-termination coalition would like to play roles, they should actively seek support for oppose-termination coalition, besides strengthen their discourse power.

#### 4.2 Belief systems of two advocacy coalitions

The division of belief systems between advocacy-termination coalition and oppose-termination coalition is “whether stick to policy of bonus point to minorities in the college entrance examination”, namely the fundamental point is “whether give priorities and preferential to minorities”. The two advocacy coalitions’ deep core belief is to secure equality of higher education between Mandarin Group and minorities through bonus point to minorities. However, they are clearly different in policy core beliefs and secondary beliefs (see Table 3).

#### 4.3 Resource of two advocacy coalitions

The coalition resource would affect its action. Comparing resource would help understand particular conducts and outcome of policy change completely. Coalition resource, namely the set of all relevant resource affecting policy used by policy participants, includes legal decision-making authority, public opinion, information, mobilize power, financial resources and effective leadership. Information refers to problem severities and reasons, and cost-benefit of policy solutions. The greater a coalition’s relative power is, the more likely it will dominate the subsystem and ensure policy outcome is consistent with its belief systems and policy objectives (Sewell, 2005). Some political resources are more important to coalitions than others in gaining influence in the policy process (Sabatier and Weible, 2014; Sewell, 2005; Nohrstedt, 2011). From table 4, it was found the resource structures of two coalitions were different. In general, advocacy-termination coalition owns information advantages decided by its members, namely policy reformer, economizer and assessor grasp more policy information; on the contrary, oppose-termination coalition has strong resource advantage mainly from decision-making authority and financial capital, which had a correlation with obvious advantages of the coalition.

Table 3 Three belief systems both advocacy termination coalition and oppose coalition

Belief system	Advocacy-termination coalition	Oppose-termination coalition
Deep core	Secure equality of higher education between Mandarin Group and minorities through bonus points to minorities	
Policy core belief		
Problem definition	Inequality to Mandarin Group	Preferential to minorities
Fundamental tendency of policy conflict	Equal chance	Compensatory equality
Choice of basic policy tool	Take other alternatives	System norms and severe punishment
Ideal decision participation	Citizens, experts and organizations play more important roles	Attach great importance on opinions about governments, universities and parents etc.
Relationship between governmental agencies	Equal treatment of all ethnic groups	Stress caring of vulnerable groups
Secondary belief		
Cost-benefit ratio	Cost outweigh the benefit: affect national unity and stability	Benefit outweigh the cost: maintain national stability and cultural diversity
Necessity of system reform	Serious policy alienation, poor performance	Policy legitimacy and historical dependence
Government preference	Equal treatment of all groups	Ethic stability and regional economic development

Data source: according to the three layer belief systems of advocacy coalition framework by Sabatier.

Table 4 Resource comparison between advocacy termination coalition and opposition coalition

Resource	Advocacy coalition	Advocacy termination coalition	Oppose termination coalition
Formal decision-making authority		0	1
Public opinion		0.5	0.5
Information		1	0.5
Mobilize power		0.5	0.5
Financial capital		0.5	1
Effective leadership		0.5	0.5

Note: Figures 1, 0.5, 0, respectively, represent strong, middle and poor levels of resources.

#### 4.4 Strategies and interactive process of two advocacy coalitions

The interaction process between coalitions is the core of ACF, and also the description of strategies and specific ideas of actors in policy change from micro-perspective. In terms of policy of bonus point to minorities in the college entrance examination, policy maintenance is the result of failure to reach the compromise at large extent between the two coalitions under current conditions. Specifically, the first are the adopters who support policy initially, whose strength will be weakened by the action of policy opponents. With the support of the Ministry of Education and the State Ethnic Affairs Commission etc., local education authorities have absolute power to make education and examination policy, considering factors including serving for regional development, maintaining regional social stability when formulating policy of bonus points, and universities also enjoy independent right of recognizing policy of bonus point to minorities. However, with the changes of internal and external environments, the unfair problems caused by the policy are increasing prominent, part of Mandarin Group candidates and their parents, scholars who support reform will oppose policy of bonus point to minorities through papers or the media etc., believing the policy is unequal treatment to Mandarin Group candidates, exerting pressure on policy makers and adopters, thus weakening the power. The second is the support of policy adopters from vested stockholders has been weakened by policy opponents and reformers. Specifically speaking, majority of minority candidates and families with power support the policy of bonus point from education authorities, but this policy was opposed due to the threat to the vital interests of the Mandarin Group candidates. Some scholars advocating reform posit cancelling the policy of bonus point to minorities. The third is the interaction between vested stockholders and policy opponents weakens the support of policy adopters, and increases opposition gained by policy economizers. For example, the view that policy will fail would be supported by the weakening of support from policy adopters.

#### *4.5 Influencing factors of policy non-termination*

The coalition resource and strategies restrict coalition action and effects, the policy-orientated learning and coordination between coalitions will affect policy change. Additionally, it also includes external factors and internal shock of subsystem. The external factors include the relative stable parameters and the active external events. The former rarely changes during the ten years, involving the basic attributes of problem, basic distribution of natural resource, basic social cultural values and social structures, and basic constitutional structures or rules. The latter includes the change of social economic condition, the major change of public opinion, change of dominant coalition, policy decision and influence from other subsystems, which often have a major change in the ten years. Because policy change is more reflected in minor repairing, conventional change, gradualism and path dependence, policy change aroused by policy-oriented learning may be a fundamental breakthrough only in the condition of reaching negotiated agreements through the external events, internal shocks or policy deadlock. Therefore, the below will explain the influencing factors of non-termination of policy of bonus point to minorities in the college entrance examination.

##### 4.5.1 Basic distribution of natural resource

For a long time, minority regions has unbalance with Mandarin groups' in economic level, especially education level due to differences in geographical environments, languages and cultures, and education foundation is rather weak, thus the system of higher education has not yet been established. This objective unbalanced natural resource is the important cause of policy of bonus point to minorities. It is very difficult to change the policy fundamentally unless improving the unbalanced resource distribution.

##### 4.5.2 Fundamental sociocultural values and social structure

Equity and government intervention are the basic cultural values of Chinese tradition, the government tends to emphasize the equality between social classes, and carry out effective redistribution. In the early liberation, the original intention of implementing policy of bonus point to minorities was to help minorities enjoy the same higher education as the Mandarin Group, so as to protect the ethnic stability and regional economic development. Until now, the policy goal has still not changed.

##### 4.5.3 Basic constitutional structure of political system

Policy of bonus point to minorities in the college entrance examination fits with legitimate requirements of policy, for example, policy of bonus point to minorities have been regulated in <the Constitutional Law of the Republic of China>, <the Regional Nation Autonomy Law> and <the Higher Education Law>. Because changes of relevant policy, especially adjustment of < the Constitutional Law> is more complex, related to systematic adjustment among local, regional and central governments, referred to construction structure of the core administrative organization, namely the Regional Nation Autonomy System, and the history, organization inertia and dependence are large, and concerned with more complex relations and process. Besides, the current policy of bonus points in the college entrance examination implements "double decision", that is, the Ministry of Education and various provinces and cities are entitled to right of policy making. If the policy is to be terminated, the coordination between the Ministry of Education and local authorities will also be an important part.

##### 4.5.4 Changes of social and economic conditions

With the change of social and economic conditions, the economy of minority areas has indeed improved, and plays a certain role in promoting policy change. However, the differences among nationalities are not likely to be changed in short time. Policy of bonus point to minorities is to compensate for the disadvantaged groups. Only changes of social and economic conditions could improve the disadvantaged groups, and affect the two advocacy coalitions' beliefs and resource, the policy is likely to achieve change.

##### 4.5.5 Changes of public opinion

From the beginning of 2000, the media has begun to disclose passive events, namely bonus points by malicious use of identity of minority. In June, 2009, 31 candidates including a top scorer from Bashu middle school of Chongqing were been exposed to fake identity of minority, which made policy of bonus point to minorities become the query by the public opinion. The results of the sixth census in 2010 showed the proportion of minority students in Beijing college entrance examination accounted for almost 4.1% per year, far greater than the proportion of minority ethnic minorities in Beijing, which is common in other regions. In the meeting of National People's Congress and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference of 2010, the CPPCC member, president from Fudan University called Yang Yuliang posited the idea that support the policy of bonus point for children inhibited minority regions, and not need to give bonus point to minorities lived in big cities from childhood or fake identity. We could see the shift of the public opinion toward fake identity of minority. In addition, "reverse discrimination" and "stigma" put forward by some scholars could also be negative effects of policy of bonus point to minorities. The shift makes this policy of bonus point seriously questioned, and faced strong demand for abolition. Thus advocacy-termination coalition gets important coalition resource such as the public opinion, and oppose-termination coalition is subject to more constraints on the contrary. However, oppose-termination coalition with resource advantage still makes it become the dominant position.

#### 4.5.6 Policy decisions and impacts from other subsystems

System of direct admission students, autonomous enrollment system, bonus-point system are the important contents of system reform of college entrance examination. They are faced with similar problems and contradictions, a field of decision-making will naturally affect other domains, such as the ecological circle based on these policies have strong policy inertia, and policies in a certain extent are alienated, etc.. In fact, system of direct admission students and autonomous enrollment reform will naturally exert demonstration pressure on policy of bonus points, catalyzing the reform of bonus-point system in the college entrance examination. However, these interrelated policies are still in continuous change.

### 5. Conclusions

The policy of bonus point to minorities in China's college entrance examination has been a public policy issue. ACF provides a good analysis framework, analyzing the reasons for policy non-termination through the description of belief systems and resource structures between the two coalitions. Through above analysis, some conclusions could be summarized as follows: (1) Oppose termination coalition has advantaged position compared with advocacy termination coalition, resulting from the core actors and resource advantages such as decision authority and financial resource; (2) Deep core of the two coalitions is to secure equality of higher education between Mandarin Group and minorities through bonus point to minorities, but policy core beliefs and secondary beliefs are obviously different. The policy change lasting decades just stay in secondary beliefs, not to touch policy core beliefs, and policy change still continues; (3) Advocacy coalition and its resources decide their strategies and interactive process, policy opponents, vested stockholders and policy adopters are hard to make compromises through mutual weakening; (4) Policy change depends on prompt of external factors such as change of social and economic conditions, public opinion etc., far enough to depend on internal factors. Both pressure from external factors and prompt from internal factors could help realize policy termination.

### 6. Suggestions and future research directions

#### 6.1 Suggestions

The policy of bonus point to minorities in China's college entrance examination needs to focus on policy core and secondary beliefs. (1) Advocacy termination coalition should seek the upper-building support from the central government and top leaders, rather than limit to conflicts with oppose-termination coalition, and thus promote policy termination from up to down;(2) Comprehensive and detailed regulations on policy of bonus point to minorities should be made, promote local governments make implementation details, and seek other alternative equity measures to improve executive power, and thus form the substantive constraint. For example, differences in regionals, economic development, culture, social classes and minority beneficiaries to integrate into mainstream should be considered in determining the scope of bonus points, rather than ethic identity;(3) The Ministry of Education and the local education institutions should be excluded the scope of policy supervision and assessment, so that policy of bonus points could make substantial progress; (4) Advocacy termination coalition could strengthen the cooperation between scholars and education research institutions, expand their influence, establish a broad public opinion, and form the strong appeal to terminate the policy from down to up, thus forming the joint force with support from upper-building, to prompt gradual termination of policy of bonus point to minorities in the college entrance examination.

#### 6.2 Future research directions

Due to the aggravated distrust generated by lots of flaws from the formulation and implementation of bonus-point system in China's college entrance examination, whose negative effects are gradually prominent, to normalize, adjust or cancel the policy has still been an endless discussion, especially its exit mechanism. In future, we could combine with other policy process theories such as institutional and analysis development to study impacts of specific institutional arrangements, decision system, hierarchical structure on policy termination of bonus points, or explore termination tactics and channels of policy of bonus point through empirical research, or analyze roles of individual actor rather than coalition in details etc..