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中国中等教育改革综述

The Reforms of Secondary Education in China

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“NO PART of China’s educational system has undergone more deep-going reforms since 1976 than secondary education”.⁽¹⁾ This article tries to review the changes, achievements, and challenges affecting Chinese secondary education since the launch of the “reform and open-up policy” in the late 1970s.

Secondary education can narrowly refer to general junior and senior secondary schools under the national basic education system.⁽²⁾ It can also broadly mean the entire educational system between primary education and tertiary education, including both regular training and adult training. Moreover, a middle-of-the-road usage refers to regular secondary education, which covers: 1) specialised secondary schools (secondary technical schools and teacher training schools); 2) skilled worker schools; 3) vocational secondary schools (junior and senior); 4) general secondary schools (junior and senior); 5) secondary schools or classes for special education; and 6) correctional work-study school for juvenile delinquents.

Specifically, this article focuses on general secondary education and the regular secondary, vocational and technical schools, as these two elements form the main body of Chinese secondary education. The basic structure of current, general secondary education consists of a six-year program that includes three years of junior and three years of senior school. In essence, both are under the basic education system, but only junior schooling is part of the compulsory education system. The objectives of junior and senior schools are quite different. “Junior secondary school further enhances the cultural and scientific knowledge of the student, and his or her psychical, moral and physical development after primary school. It prepares him or her for enrolment in higher level institutions or for employment.”⁽³⁾ The objectives of senior school, on the other hand, are two-fold: “One is

1. Stig Thøgersen, *Secondary Education in China after Mao: Reform and Social Conflict*, Aarhus, Aarhus University Press, 1990, p. 11.

2. China Education and Research Network, (CERNET), *Chinese Basic Education*, <http://202.205.10.1/20010823/208327.shtml>, 2001.

3. Jin Yiming ed., *Zhongguo jiaoyu leibie yu jiegou de yanjiu* (A study on the typology and structure of Chinese education), Shanghai, Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 1999, p. 25.

“自 从1976年以来,中国中等教育经历了不断的改革,其深远程度超过了其它任何一部分教育系统的改革。”⁽¹⁾本文试图简要总结20世纪70年代末以来的中国中等教育改革所经历的变化、所取得的成就以及所面临的主要挑战。

狭义而言,中等教育是在国家基础教育体系下的普通初中和高中学校教育。⁽²⁾它也可以宽泛地涵盖初等教育和高等教育之间的整个教育体系,包括普通中学教育和成人中学教育。此外,在一般意义上,它通常也指代普通中学教育,其中包括:

1. 专门的中等学校
(中等技术学校和师范学校);
2. 技校;
3. 职业中学(初级和高级);
4. 普通中学(初中和高中);
5. 中等特殊教育学校,以及
6. 工读学校。

由于篇幅的限制,本文侧重于论述普通中学和普通中等职业技术教育。因为它们构成了中国中等教育的主要部分。当前中等教育的基本结构包括六年的课程,即三年的初中和三年的高中教育。它们在性质上都属于基础教育体系的组成部分,而且初中属于义务教育体系。初中和高中的目标有所不同。“初中教育是在小学教育的基础上,进一步提高学生文化和科学水平、促进德智体的发展。它为学生就读高级学校 and 就业做准备。”⁽³⁾与此同

时,高中教育的目的有两方面:“一是为一部分学生进入高等教育院校做准备,另外是为另一部分学生中学毕业后的就业提供职业和技术的培训。”⁽⁴⁾

本文首先辨别了从毛泽东时代到邓小平时代中等教育所面临的不同社会背景。然后,阐述了20世纪70年代末以来的不同发展阶段,以及数量与质量的变化。最后,文章分析了中等教育目前和未来面临的结构和文化方面的挑战。

背景:从毛泽东到邓小平的教育理念

中国共产党在1978年12月举行的十一届三中全会是一个里程碑式的会议,它标志了国家政策从政治斗争转向社会主义现代化的建设。它通常也被视为中国中等教育发展的战略转折点。1978年以前,突出阶级斗争的毛泽东的教育思想主导中等教育的发展。1978年之后在邓小平的领导下,中等教育的方针转向了为国家经济发展服务。

毛泽东教育思想的政治特性很清楚地体现在他1957年提出的教育方针里。“教育必须为无产阶级政

1. 曹诗弟(Stig Thøgersen),《毛泽东时代之后的中国中等教育:改革与社会冲突》,阿赫斯(Aarhus),阿赫斯大学出版社,1990年,第11页。
2. 中国教育可科研计算机网,“中国基础教育”,<http://202.205.10.1/20010823/208327.shtml>, 2001年。
3. 金一鸣主编,《中国教育类别与结构的研究》,上海,上海教育出版社,1999年,第25页。
4. 同上。





to allow some students to be admitted to tertiary education institutions. The other is to develop the vocational and technical skills of some students for after their graduation.”⁽⁴⁾

We analyse first the social context underlying the expansion of secondary education from Mao Zedong’s to Deng Xiaoping’s era. We then detail the key developmental stages of the quantitative and qualitative changes that have taken place since the late 1970s. And we finally analyse the structural and cultural challenges facing secondary education today.

Contextual changes

The Third Plenum of the Eleventh National Party Congress of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) held in December 1978 marked a milestone of drastic changes in national policies, departing from political conflicts to enter an era of socialist modernisation. It is also commonly accepted as the turning point for the strategies guiding the transformation of secondary education in China. Before 1978, Mao’s ideology

4. *Ibid.*

治服务，必须和劳动生产者结合起来。”⁽⁵⁾这一项方针贯穿了从1949年至1978年间社会主义建设和发展的整个历史时期。在主要的历史事件中它都发挥了作用，例如改造知识分子思想、学习苏联的经验、大跃进运动以及文化大革命。毛泽东认为，“社会主义改造包括两个方面，有社会制度的改造和人的改造。”在改造的过程中，“学校教育和文学都属于意识形态和社会上层建筑，都是具有阶级性的。”⁽⁶⁾

当邓小平重返政坛时，非常巧合的是，他的首要工作就是关于科学和教育的发展。他的教育思想非常清晰地反映在他的两条脍炙人口的口号中。1977年，他号召“尊重知识，尊重人才”，这一条口号扭转了对知识份子、研究人员和教师的国家态度。另一条口号在1983年提出，更加与中等教育相关：“教育必须面向现代化、面向世界和面向未来。”⁽⁷⁾“三个面向”强调了新的社会和经济的发展、世界观念和历史的视角，它们都和毛泽东的政治观念决然不同。自此之后，“三个面向”被视为指导中等教育改革的战略方针。

这场社会背景的转变涉及到两个核心价值观的改变：即如何看待知识份子和教育的价值观。毛泽东处于旧中国和社会主义新中国转变的历史阶段，他担心资产阶级知识分子危害社会主义统治，因此试图改变他们的思想观念。教育也自然

成为一种改造思想的有效工具。对比而言，邓小平的时代连接了初步建成的社会主义制度和现代化的中国社会。他采取了一种实用主义的态度对待知识分子和教育。因为他认识到，“科学技术也是第一生产力。”⁽⁸⁾具体到中等教育发展，毛泽东时代已经初步建立了一套低标准但是平等的中等教育体系。邓小平更多的是期望中等教育能够培训更多的人力资本，以促进国家的改革和开放。因此，在他的时代，中等教育实施了义务教育的普及工程，以及扩张中等职业学校教育。

历史：中等教育改革的四个主要阶段

从1978年到1998年，中国中等教育改革的历程一般可以划分为三个主要历史阶段。⁽⁹⁾

第一阶段是1978年到1984年，是针对文化大革命期间的教育政策和实践的调整阶段。这个阶段的主要的工作包括：开发和实施新的国家中等学校课程，改革教育结构，

5. 毕诚与程方平著，《中国教育》，顾明远引自梁忠义主编《世界教育大系》，长春，吉林教育出版社，2000年，第397-448页。

6. 同上，第406页。

7. 同上，第432页。

8. 胡锦涛在“人民领袖邓小平百年纪念大会”发表重要讲话，载于天津工业大学学生网站，http://www.eyw.edu.cn/index/index_other/dissertation/bnxp/jndh/jndh2.htm (2005年6月5日查阅)，2004年。

9. 郝克明与谈松华主编，王欣执笔，《中国教育体制改革20年》，郑州，中州古籍出版社，1998年，第1页。

regarding secondary education relied heavily on class struggle. After 1978, under Deng's rule, it was re-oriented to serve the economic development of the nation.

The political significance of Mao's educational ideology appeared clearly in the guidelines drafted in 1957: "Education must serve the political aims of the proletariat, and must integrate with the productive forces."⁽⁵⁾ These guidelines were, in fact, at the heart of socialist reconstruction and development from 1949 up to 1978. They played a crucial role in the major phases of China's transformation during the past 50 years, starting with the remoulding of the intelligentsia, the inspiration derived from the experience of the Soviet Union, the Great Leap Forward, and of course the Cultural Revolution. Mao remarked, "Socialist reconstruction comprises two aspects, the reconstruction of the social system and the reconstruction of the people." In this reconstruction process, "school education and arts both are ideologies and social superstructures, and are by nature tightly linked to social classes."⁽⁶⁾

Upon his return to power, Deng Xiaoping had among his first responsibilities the improvement and development of science and education. His ideological perspective on education is clearly reflected in two well-known sentences. One pronounced in 1977, in which he called on everybody "to respect knowledge and talents," thus re-orienting the relationship of the whole country with its intellectuals, researchers and teachers. And in another sentence, this time more concerned with education proper, he spelled out in 1983: "Education must turn its face towards modernisation, towards the world and the future."⁽⁷⁾ The "three towards" (*san ge mianxiang*) put an emphasis on social and economic development, a world vision, and a historical perspective on the development of education that were quite distant from Mao Zedong's highly political standpoint. Since then, these have been canonised as the strategic guidelines for human development and, in particular, secondary education reform.

Behind the shift lay two core value changes: the way the Chinese intelligentsia was considered, and the value attached to education. Mao stood at the crossroads of old China and the new socialist China, and was fearful that the intelligentsia might endanger the socialist regime, and thus he tried to change its mindset. Education then served as an effective institutional tool. In contrast, Deng's rule vied to modernise the newly built socialist system. He adopted a more pragmatic approach towards intellectuals and education, and acknowledged that "science also [was] the first productivity."⁽⁸⁾ As regards secondary education,

5. Bi Cheng and Cheng Fangping, "Zhongguo jiaoyu" (Chinese education), Changchun, Jilin Educational Publishing House, in Gu Mingyuan and Liang Zhongyi eds., *Shijie jiaoyu daxi* (World Educational Encyclopaedia), 2000, pp. 397-448, here p. 404.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 406.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 432.

8. Official website of Tianjin Technical University for students, "Hu Jintao's speech on the memorial convention for Deng Xiaoping's centenary birthday," http://www.eyw.edu.cn/index/index_other_dissertation/bnxp/jndh2.htm, (read on June 5th 2005), 2004.

增加中等职业教育学校，以及恢复中等教育督导制度。

1985年到1992年的第二阶段也是国家重大教育改革的开始阶段。指导方针是“中共中央关于教育改革的决定”。其中一项关键的措施就是从1986年开始实施义务教育法。根据教育分权的原则，地方政府，特别是乡镇政府负责发展九年制义务教育的工作（其中包括三年初中）。根据国家不同地区的不同发展水平，义务教育的实施采取了务实的和因地制宜的时间表和目标。

从1993年到1998年的第三个阶段是深化中等教育改革的时期。为了纠正在80年代末期出现的保守思潮，邓小平在1992年南巡广东，号召进一步发展社会主义市场经济制度。他的解放思想推动了一项新的教育政策在1993年出台，“中国教育改革和发展纲要”标志了一个教育改革的新的历史阶段。其中关于中等教育的项目有义务教育和中等职业教育的发展。该纲要提出了在20世纪末期在全国85%的口中普及义务教育的目标。此外，它还继续推动中等职业教育的发展，为经济的持续增长提供熟练的劳动力。

除了以上三个阶段，本文认为从20世纪90年代末到目前可以被视为第四个阶段。这个阶段涵盖当前21世纪的教育改革。它以在1999

年颁布的“面向21世纪的教育发展行动纲要”为标志。⁽¹⁰⁾中央政府高度认识科学和教育对国家振兴的作用。有关中等教育的主要内容有：在2010年的时候，在城市和经济发达地区普及高中教育，提出了跨世纪素质教育工程，以及提高教师专业素质的工程。

变化：1978年以来中等教育的数量与质量的发展

中等教育的变化显示在数量上和质量上。

数量的变化。关于数量的发展，本文主要分析在校学生数量和学校数量的数据。首先，图1表明了从1978年到2002年的中等学校在校生数量的信息：

- 总体上看，除了1983年和1989年期间的波动状态，中等教育在校生数量处于增长状态。
- 在初中学校，在校生于1978年达到高峰，因为当时普通中等教育刚刚处于全国范围的文化大革命后的恢复状况。因为开始实施了义务教育法，所以其后数量一直减少，直到1985年才出现上升的转机。随后在校生数量达到四千万人，但是1985年到1993之间又出现了小幅度的波动。这段期

10. 金一鸣，主编，《中国社会主义教育的轨迹》，上海，华东师范大学出版社，2000年，第469页。

Mao's time saw the establishment of a standard and unified secondary educational system. As Deng was expecting to develop better trained "human capital" nationwide in order to facilitate the opening-up and reform policy, his era saw the implementation of compulsory education programmes and the expansion of secondary vocational schools.

The key stages of secondary education reform

Between 1978 and 1998, we can distinguish three key stages in the reform process of secondary education in China.⁹

The first stage lasted from 1978 to 1984, and was merely a period of adjustment for the policies and practices inherited from the Cultural Revolution. The major programmes included: the development and implementation of the new national standard secondary school curricula, structural change to accommodate more vocational secondary schools, and the restoration of the secondary education supervision system.

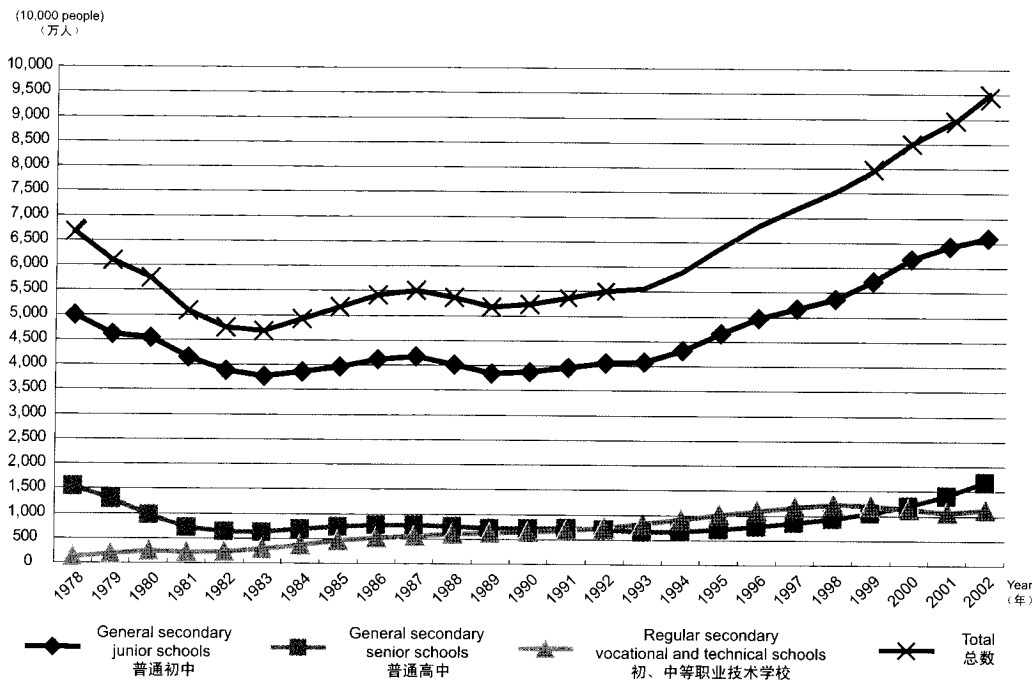
The second stage, from 1985 to 1992, corresponded to the start of the intensive national reform of education that was initiated by the "Chinese Communist Party's Decisions on Educational Reform". One of its landmarks was the implementation of the law on compulsory education in 1986. In line with the principle of the decentralisation of education, local governments, especially rural township governments, were made responsible for undertaking the nine-year compulsory education programme (including three-years of junior secondary school). Pragmatism was to be the key word: varied agendas and flexible goals for the implementation were adopted in order to take into consideration the differences in the level of development between different areas.

The third stage extended from 1993 to 1998 and saw the deepening of the reform. To counter-balance the resurgence of conservative forces in the late 1980s, Deng visited Guangdong in 1992 to call for a fostering of the socialist market economy. His advocacy of liberalism once again allowed the launching of a new educational policy, "The Outline of China's Education Reform and Development" in 1993, later hailed as a turning point in the reform of national education. As far as secondary education is concerned, it extended compulsory education and vocational schooling. The Outline set the goal of making compulsory education universal for up to 85% of the population by the end of the twentieth century. Vocational secondary education was also meant to accelerate in order to provide the skilled workforce of which the booming economy was in dire need.

The fourth stage started at the end of the 1990s and continues into the present. It began with the policy of "The Action Plan for Educational Development in the 21st

9. Hao Keming and Tan Songhua eds., *Zhongguo jiaoyu tizhi gaige 20 nian* (Chinese educational system reform in the past 20 years), Zhengzhou, Zhongzhou guji chubanshe (Central Classical Literature Press), 1998, p. 1.

Figure / 图1 Secondary school enrolments from 1978 to 2002
 中等学校在校生数量的变化：1978-2002年



Sources / 资料来源: Zhongguo jiaoyu shiye tongji nianjian (Educational Statistics Yearbook of China), Beijing, People's Education Press, 1978-2002. 《中国教育事业统计年鉴》, 北京, 人民教育出版社, 1978-2002年。

间出现了严重的中学生辍学的现象, 因为在市场经济的初期, 家长的教育投资回报远远低于让辍学中学生直接参与商业活动的收益。接下来, 新的人口高峰, 义务教育的深入发展和经济持续发展等因素又促使在校生数量继续增长。

- 在普通高中方面, 在校生数量的变化呈现相类似的趋势。1993年后的增长幅度稍微低于初中生的增长幅度。2002年出现的1683万的高峰数量预示着高中教育处于快速增长的时期。

- 在中等职业和技术学校方面, 从1978年到1998年在校生保持持续增长趋势。1978年, 在校生只有127万人, 最终增长到1998年1221万人的高峰值。其后到2002年, 在校生保持持续的增长, 其间也有小小的波动。在1978年, 职业中学和技术中学的在校生数量只占普通高中在校生的8.2%。在1992年到1999年, 前者的数量超过了后者。总而言之, 中等职业和技术教育从1978年以来得到了重视, 导致了整个中等教育结构的调整。

关于学校数量的图2显示:

Century" of 1999.⁽¹⁰⁾ Science and education were deemed crucial for national rejuvenation. The key programmes relevant to secondary education include: universal provision of senior secondary education in urban and wealthy areas by 2010, implementation of a trans-century quality education programme, and improvement of the professional qualifications of the teachers.

Quantitative and qualitative development of secondary education since 1978

Changes in the development of secondary education were both quantitative and qualitative.

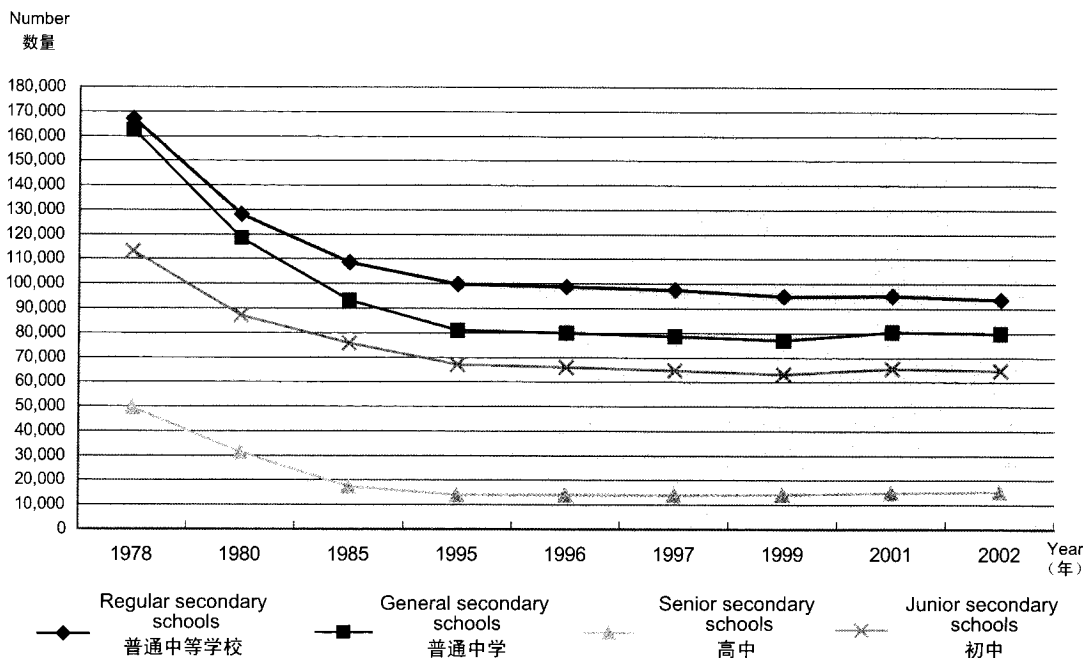
The quantitative changes

Quantitatively, we mainly analysed student enrolment and the number of schools. Figure 1 on secondary school enrolment from 1978 to 2002 suggests the following points:

- Regarding overall enrolment, the figures kept growing throughout the period, except for a fluctuation between 1983 and 1989.
- In junior schools, enrolment started with a peak number in 1978 when general secondary education was restored nationwide after the Cultural Revolution. While it decreased in the following years, 1985 was an upward turning point because of the implementation of the law on compulsory education. Later on, a slight fluctuation appeared between 1985 and 1993, with the number of students stabilising around 40 million. This period was characterised by the worrying phenomenon of student dropouts, and the benefits from an investment in education being downplayed when compared to the easy gains to be made in business in the early years of the move toward a market economy. After that, a growing population, further implementation of compulsory education and economic development kept the enrolment figures going up again.
- In general senior schools, the pattern of enrolment changes was the same. The level of growth after 1993 was, nonetheless, slightly lower than the rate of junior school enrolments. A peak number of 16.83 million students in 2002 was a good indicator that senior secondary education had been increasing rapidly.
- In secondary vocational and technical schools, enrolments grew steadily between 1978 and 1998. In 1978, the number of students in these schools was only 1.27 million, and reached a peak of 12.21 million in 1998. From then onwards, enrolment was steady with minor fluctuations up to 2002. The difference between vocational and technical

10. Jin Yiming ed., *Zhongguo shehuizhuyi jiaoyu de guji* (The path of Chinese socialist education), Shanghai, Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 2000, p. 469.

Figure / 图2 Evolution of the number of general secondary schools from 1978 to 2002
普通中学数量的变化：1978-2002年



Sources / 资料来源: Zhongguo jiaoyu shiye tongji nianjian (Educational Statistics Yearbook of China), Beijing, People's Education Press, 1978-2002. 《中国教育事业统计年鉴》, 北京, 人民教育出版社, 1978-2002年。

- 从1978年到2002年期间, 中等学校的总数量在减少。考虑到以上在校生数量的增长趋势, 平均学校在校生数量也处于增长状况。这种对比暗示了学校的效益提高。
 - 基本上, 普通高中和初中学校数量都在缩减。初级中学数量在1995-2002年期间出现了轻微的上下波动。高中数量在同期则体现出幅度不大但是持续的增长。这说明社会对高中学校的需求正在增长。
 - 1978年到1995年间职业和技术中学经历了明显的增长。此外, 职业和技术学校的总数量的增加值主要来自中等职业学校数量的增加。1995年到1997年, 职业和技术学校的数量处于稳定状态。
 - 1997年到2002年期间, 职业和技术中学的数量出现了急剧的下降。但是, 图1显示这些类型学校的在校生数量只有轻微的波动。通过这二者之间的比较可以发现有意义的结果。首先, 不同于普通中学, 中等职业和
- 图3关于职业和技术学校数量的数据表明:

school enrolments and senior secondary schools enrolments was only 8.2 % in 1978. Between 1992 and 1999, vocational and technical schooling exceeded general senior secondary schooling. This structural reshaping is a direct result of the policy changes of the 1980s, with vocational and technical training being strongly advocated since 1978. Figure 2, on the evolution of the number of schools, shows that:

- The total number of secondary schools decreased from 1978 to 2002. Considering the above growth trends, the average enrolment per school thus significantly increased. This implies that, in most cases, school effectiveness must have been improving.
- Overall, both the number of general senior and junior secondary schools shrank. While junior secondary schools followed light ups and downs from 1995 to 2002, the number of senior secondary schools grew slightly but steadily during the same period. This is a clear indication that demand for senior secondary schooling has been on the rise.

Figure 3, on the evolution of the number of vocational and technical schools, indicates that:

- From 1978 to 1995 there was a significant increase in the number of vocational and technical schools. Moreover, the growing number of secondary vocational schools was the main contributor to the overall increase. From 1995 to 1997, this number, however, was stable.
- After 1997 and up to 2002, there was a sharp decline in the number of vocational and technical schools. Nevertheless, as suggested by Figure 1, enrolment in these schools declined only slightly. What, then, does this mean? Firstly, that, unlike general secondary schools, secondary vocational and technical schools are more dependent on the market economy absorbing their graduates. And, secondly, that school effectiveness was improved because of the increase of average school enrolment.
- Only the number of secondary teacher training schools steadily declined from 1978 to 2002. They used to train primary school teachers, but were gradually dismantled or merged into tertiary teacher training institutions, as the qualifications of primary school teachers were enhanced.

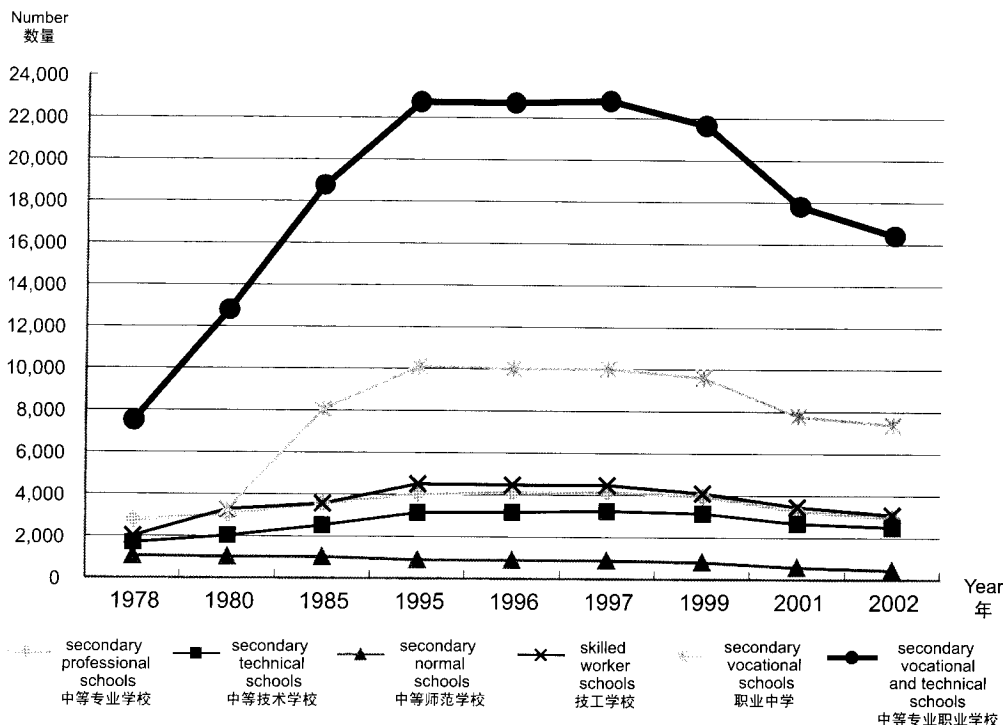
When compared internationally, secondary education in China looks pretty good. Regarding the gross secondary education enrolment rate, the world average jumped from 48.5% in 1985 to 58.1% in 1995. In the meantime, Chinese rates respectively rose from 39.7% to 66.6%. However, when compared with more developed countries, such as those of the European Union (enrolment rate of 111.4% on average), the gap is still undeniable.⁽¹¹⁾

All in all, since the launching of the reforms in 1978, student enrolments have been increasing—particularly in senior secondary schools—, secondary vocational school enrol-

11. National Research Centre for Educational Development Research, *2000 nian Zhongguo jiaoyu lv pishu* (Green paper on education in China, 2000), Beijing, Educational Sciences Publishing House, p. 55.

Figure / 图3 Evolution of the number of vocational and technical secondary schools from 1978 to 2002

中等职业和技术学校数量的变化：1978-2002年



Sources / 资料来源: Zhongguo jiaoyu shiye tongji nianjian (Educational Statistics Yearbook of China), Beijing, People's Education Press, 1978-2002. 《中国教育事业统计年鉴》, 北京, 人民教育出版社, 1978-2002年。

技术学校更容易受到市场经济的冲击, 市场发展特性决定了接受职业和技术学校的毕业生的数量。其次, 因为平均在校生数量增加了, 职业和技术学校效益得以提高。

- 从1978年到2002年, 只有中等师范学校的数量一直在减少。该类学校原来是培养小学教师的, 但是逐步被解散或者合并到高等师范院校中, 因为小学的师资水平的要求也相应提高了。

通过国际比较, 中国中等教育也是取得了令人瞩目的发展成就。在中等学校毛入学率上, 世界平均水平从1985年的48.5%增长到了1995年的58.1%。与此同时, 中国的相应比率是39.7%和66.6%。但是, 与发达国家相比较, 例如欧洲国家的111.4%的中学毛入学率, 中国中等教育仍然有很大的差距。⁽¹¹⁾

11. 国家教育发展研究中心, 《2000年中国教育绿皮书》, 北京, 教育科学出版社, 2000年, 第55页。

ment has gone up dramatically, and, finally, the overall number of schools has gone down. All these figures thus suggest that secondary education in China has undergone changes equally in scale, structure, and level of development.

The main qualitative changes

The reforms affecting the overall orientation of education, curriculum and management are the most noteworthy.

From examination oriented education to quality education

Quality education was officially proposed in "The Outline of China's Education Reform and Development" of 1993. The intent was that "primary and secondary schools should move from an examination-oriented education towards an education, by and large, aiming at improving the level of the population."¹² Although quality education has been a popular theme in recent years, its meaning is still hotly debated. It is usually regarded as a process that should follow a steady and lightly incremental progress, as a kind of educational ideal that aims at the overall development of the students, and as some sort of educational value that insists on student-centred, humanistic and personal development. Finally, it emphasises and nurtures creativity and experience for the students.

It is also essential to consider the opposite approach, namely that of examination-oriented education, if one intends to clearly understand quality education. The educational context for the emergence of quality education is that of Chinese primary and secondary students having long suffered from the excessive burden of academic activities. These activities are meant to prepare the students solely for the examinations present at all levels of school admission (there is even an admission exam between junior and senior secondary schools). Consequently, students are deprived of physical activities and other forms of atheistic, moral, or manual education. A striking piece of data revealed in 1995 that students suffering from myopia account for 55.22 % of all junior secondary students, and 79.34% of all senior secondary students in urban areas.¹³ It is so serious, in fact, that it has become a social rather than a family problem for the individual child and truly a school problem for the individual student.

It is ironic that history somehow repeats itself. Early in the 1960s, Mao had already called for a lightening of the academic burden affecting secondary students. Although the social and historical contexts are different, the over-burdening of students is derived from the exact same Confucian learning tradition, one that is characterised by sedentary and hardworking learning in order to prepare for the examinations. Besides, there is a growing

12. Jin Yiming, *op. cit.*, 2000, p. 568.

13. Yang Jiujun, *Tiaozhan yu duice: jichu jiaoyu gaige lun* (Challenges and counter-measures: study of the basic education reform), Nanjing, Jiangsu jiaoyu chubanshe, 2002, p. 204.

总而言之,1978年以来的改革表明,中等学校的在校生数量持续增长,尤其是高级中学的在校生数量。中等职业学校的在校生数量也急剧上升。整体而言,中等学校的数量在减少。所有的数据都说明中国中等教育经历了规模、结构和发展水平方面的显著变化。

主要的质量方面的变化。在质量的方面,最令人关注的的变化体现在中等教育方针、课程和管理三个方面。

从应试教育到素质教育。素质教育政策正式是在1993的“中国教育改革和发展纲要”中提出来的。它首先提出,“小学和中学教育应该从应试教育转向全面提高国民素质的目标。”^[12]尽管素质教育是近年来一个广为流传的词语,社会各界对它的理解还是处于激烈争论之中。一般而言,素质教育可以被视为一种过程,强调学生稳定的进步;一种教育理念,旨在促进学生的全面发展;一种教育价值观,强调学生中心,人文主义和个性发展。最后,它还着重培养学生的创新意识和实践能力。

为了清楚地理解素质教育的概念,我们有必要也了解它的对应概念:应试教育。产生素质教育观念的教育背景是,中国中小学生长期以来承受了过量的学业负担。这些学业活动都只为各个阶段的升学入学考试而服务(例如,初中毕业生

进入高中的入学考试)。因此,学生们被剥夺了体育和美育、德育和劳动教育的发展。一项在1995年进行的调查揭示了触目惊心的发现,所有城市初中生中有55.22%的人有近视问题,79.34%的高中學生有近视问题。^[13]这些问题如此严重,以至于它已经成为普遍的社会问题,而不仅仅是个别家庭中的个别儿童的问题,或者是个别学校里的个别学生的问题。

让人意味深长的是,历史总是在某种程度上反复发生。早在20世纪60年代,毛泽东已经号召为中学生减少学业负担。虽然社会和历史的背景已经发生了变化,问题的重演都表明了中等教育深受儒家的学习传统影响,强调了安静和勤奋的学习精神,以及为了考试做准备的学习态度。另外,这些年来一个持续的矛盾也可以解释历史的重演。由于中学生数量庞大,有限的教育供给和膨胀的教育需求之间一直出现了巨大的矛盾。学生们不得不参加激烈的考试竞争,从而期望能够录取到重点的高中和大学里。

课程改革:学科知识中心到学生和活动中心。作为中学素质教育的核心部分,中学课程也经历了明显的变化,从以前的以学科知识为中心转变到以学生和活动

12. 金一鸣,2000年,第568页。

13. 杨九俊,著,《挑战与对策:基础教育改革论》,南京,江苏教育出版社,2002年,第204页。

dilemma between the limited educational supply and the swelling educational demand aggravated by the huge population of secondary students: students have been forced to compete fiercely for admission into key senior secondary schools and universities.

From knowledge-centred education to student- and activities-centred education

As a core part of quality education reform in secondary schools, the curriculum has also undergone a significant renovation from one solely focused on subjects/knowledge to one revolving around the students themselves and their activities. Inspired by the Soviet model, the past curriculum had various and far-reaching biases: it over-emphasised the transmission of knowledge and skill training, it centred on subject knowledge, neglecting the life experiences of students, and aimed education at performing a social selection function. It was also highly centralised and standardised as regards curriculum management.⁽¹⁴⁾

The major curriculum reforms after 1978 happened in 1985 and 1992, both providing the curriculum for compulsory education. In 2001, the Ministry of Education issued the "Guidelines for the Reform of Basic Education Curriculum (Trial Version)" that caused evident changes. It was the first time a comprehensive curriculum reform for secondary education had occurred nationwide. Several points deserve to be highlighted. First, it focused on students, and vied for a fuller integration of knowledge content, student life and society. Second, it stressed moral and ethical education, especially for junior secondary students. Third, it streamlined the fundamental knowledge subjects and the core concepts and principles in order to lighten the pressure on students' shoulders. Fourth, it set up for the first time the idea of integrated courses. Fifth, it prioritised information technology courses in order to get closer to the advanced technologies of the world. Sixth and lastly, it decentralised curriculum management by creating a three-level curriculum architecture: national, local and school-based.⁽¹⁵⁾

Decentralisation of secondary education management and its fluctuations

The crucial element in secondary education management is the educational funding system. In 1986, with the implementation of the law on compulsory education, the funding system began to be decentralised, down to the bottom township governments—China's grass root government level. It is commonly referred as the principle of local governments catering for local schools (primary and junior secondary schools). The funds were mainly derived from a township educational surcharge.

In 2001, this radical approach to decentralisation changed slightly. The State Council issued the "Decisions on the Reform and Development of Basic Education", which brought

14. Cheng Fangping and Mao Zuhuan eds., *Zhongguo jiaoyu wenti baogao: rushi Beijing xia Zhongguo jiaoyu de xianshi wenti he jiben duice* (Report on the problems of Chinese education: the practical problems and basic counter-measures for the Chinese education system in the context of the WTO), Beijing, Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2002, p. 168.

15. Yang JiuJun, 2002, *op. cit.*, pp. 152 to 160.



为中心。中国原有的中学课程是从前苏联的模式学习而来的。它的主要问题体现在：过分强调知识的传输和技能的训练，以学科知识为中心，忽视学生的生活经验，为教育的社会选择功能服务，具有高度集权和标准化的课程管理。⁽¹⁴⁾

1978年之后的重大课程改革主要发生在1985年和1992年，都是和义务教育课程相关。在2001年，教育部颁布了“基础教育课程改革方案（试行版）”，开始了规模宏大的课程改革行动。这是第一次在全国范围内实施的综合的中学课程改革。以下几点是值得关注的。第一，

新课程以学生为中心，并且整合了学科内容、学生和社会的知识。第二，它强调道德和伦理教育，尤其是初中学生的德育。第三，它简化了核心的学科知识、概念与原理，因此减轻了学生的负担。第四，它首次开设了综合课程的理念。第五，为了紧跟世界科技发展潮流，它突出了信息技术课程。最后它采取了课程分权的管理，新的三级课程管理包括国家课程、地方课程和校本课程。⁽¹⁵⁾

14. 程方平与毛祖桓，主编，《中国教育问题报告：入世背景下中国教育的现实问题和基本对策》，北京，中国社会科学出版社，2002年，第168页。

15. 杨九俊，2002年，第152-160页。

a change in the rural secondary schools funding system: "Under the leadership of the State Council, local governments are responsible for the management of rural compulsory education. Different levels of governments are in charge of different levels of compulsory education. The county governments act as the main body of the compulsory education management."⁽¹⁶⁾ In the meantime, the township educational surcharge had been officially brought to a halt in order to relieve the peasants of this financial burden.⁽¹⁷⁾ The lowest administrative authority regarding secondary schooling had in effect been "elevated" from township to county level.

The path followed by the secondary school funding system followed a basic trend of decentralisation with a minor fluctuation, from national down to township and then up to county government. While it had extensively mobilised local communities to invest in local secondary schools, it had also provoked arduous problems of funding shortages in rural schools (for example, arrears of unpaid teachers salaries had become a national phenomenon), rural township governments being financially weak.⁽¹⁸⁾ Although funding responsibility was later moved to the higher level of the county, the financial capacity of this echelon of government also greatly varies and the secondary school funding gap between counties of unequal levels of development has continued to widen.

Structural and cultural challenges facing the reform of secondary education

Although secondary education in China has developed substantially since 1978, it still has to cope with numerous challenges during the reform process. The functions of secondary education have been defined in numerous ways.⁽¹⁹⁾ Nevertheless, they can be brought together in two streams: one insisting on social/class reproduction among students, and another one stressing the cultural aspects of national integration. Along with this analytical dichotomy, we wish to highlight the structural challenge of the widening gap between unevenly developed localities and the cultural challenge of ethnic minority secondary education.

Widening gaps between west-east and rural-urban

With the rise of the socialist market economy, economic and social inequalities have broadened due to the phasing out of the highly centralised and nationally planned economy. The widening gaps in education levels are to be found between areas, social classes,

16. Ministry of Education, *Guowuyuan guanyu jichu jiaoyu gaige yu fazhan de jueding* (The State Council's Decisions on the Reform and Development of Basic Education), <http://www.moe.edu.cn/edoas/website18/info3313.htm>, (read on June 1st 2005), 2001.

17. Yang Jiujun, *op. cit.*, 2002, p. 91.

18. Wang Shanmei and Yuan Liansheng eds., *2001 nian zhongguo jiaoyu fazhan baogao: 90 niandai houbanqi de jiaoyu caizheng yu jiaoyu caizheng tizhi* (China education report in 2001: The educational finance and its system in the late 1990s), Beijing, Beijing shifan daxue chubanshe, p. 6.

19. Xie Wenquan, *Zhongdeng jiaoyu: lilun yu shiji* (Secondary education: theory and practice), Taipei, Wunan tushu chubanshe youxian gongsi, 1997, p. 41.

中等教育管理的分权和波动。中等教育管理的根本问题是关于教育经费的问题。从1986年开始实施义务教育法，中等教育的经费管理已经分权到了中国最基层的乡镇政府。基本的原则是地方政府负责地方学校（小学和初中）。主要的经费来源是乡镇的教育附加费。

在2001年，这种极端的教育分权管理得到了适当的纠正。国务院颁布的“关于基础教育改革与发展的决定”，在乡镇中学教育经费问题上引发了变化。“在国务院的领导下，地方政府负责农村义务教育的发展。不同层次政府负责不同层次的义务教育发展。县一级政府担负起发展基础教育的主要责任。”⁽¹⁶⁾为了减轻农民的财政负担，乡镇教育附加费被正式取消了。⁽¹⁷⁾总之，最低一层的教育管理部门已经从乡镇政府提升到了县级政府部门。

中学教育经费的管理制度变化基本体现出了分权和变动的特征，它经历了从中央政府到乡镇政府然后又到县级政府的过程。分权的管理极大程度上调动了地方社区投资地方中学的积极性。但是，由于乡镇政府财力的普遍薄弱，它也造成了农村学校的经费短缺（例如全国范围的教师工资拖欠的问题）。⁽¹⁸⁾现在尽管教育经费责任已经被提升到了更高层的县级政府部门，他们的财政能力也还是具有极大的差别，因此，不同经济发展水平地区之间的中学教育投入差距仍然将继续下去。

讨论：中等教育改革的主要结构与文化的挑战

虽然中国的中等教育从1978年以来已经取得了重大的发展成就，在改革进程中，它也遇到了许多挑战。学术界对中等教育的功能有不同的认识，⁽¹⁹⁾但它们可以被归纳为两大类：社会结构方面的学生的阶层复制功能，以及文化方面的国家融合的功能。根据这个分析框架，本文试图强调结构方面的中等教育发展差距的问题，和文化方面的少数民族中等教育的问题，因为这是本文认为中等教育面临的两个重大挑战。

来自结构方面的挑战：扩大的城乡差别与东西部差别。由于社会主义市场经济的发展，以及随着原来高度集中的国家计划经济的退缩，不同地区的经济和社会发展差距不断扩大。而且，教育发展差距竟然超过了经济发展的差距，这种教育差距主要体现在不同的地区，社会阶层和民族，以及不同教育结构的内部。

一项全国性的研究发现，在不同地区之间，东西部初中生均经费的比率在2002年是3.39倍，而在1995年只是2.65倍。同时，东西部

16. 教育部，国务院关于基础教育改革与发展的决定，<http://www.moe.edu.cn/edoas/website18/info3313.htm>（2005年6月1日查阅），2001年。
17. 杨九俊，2002年，第91页。
18. 王善迈与袁连生主编，《2001年中国教育发展报告：90年代后半期的教育财政与教育财政体制》，北京，北京师范大学出版社，2002年，第6页。
19. 谢文全著，《中等教育：理论与实际》，台北，五南图书出版公司，1997年，第41页。

ethnic groups and within the educational structure. In many respects, these are even more apparent than in the economic realm.

Regarding the unevenness between areas, a recent national study has found that the average junior school student budget in the western part of the country was 3.39 times higher than in the eastern part in 2002, compared to "only" 2.65 times in 1995. Meanwhile, the west-east ratio of rural average household educational expenditure climbed from 3.71 times higher in 1995 to 3.88 times in 2002. The "educational gap" is therefore more apparent than the "economic gap".⁽²⁰⁾

The widening gap of uneven secondary schooling is also remarkable when it comes to the urban-rural division. While the urban-rural gap as regards the average household expenditure ratio was 1.9 in 1995 and 2.34 times higher in 2002, the gap between educational expenditures climbed respectively from 1.87 to 2.97. Furthermore, the urban-rural gap is even more patent in western areas.⁽²¹⁾

With the influx of rural migrant workers into cities, the educational gap between urban and rural areas has become more complicated and marred by other related problems, such as secondary education for rural migrant children in the cities or the lack of it in rural areas where the parents had left for the cities. It is estimated that there are a minimum of seven million migrant children in urban areas, and most of them are marginalised by the urban public secondary schools.⁽²²⁾ Even if they are lucky enough to be admitted in an urban school, they have to pay higher tuition fees because their *hukou* (household registration permit) is not valid in urban districts. Children of migrant workers who have stayed in their home villages are confronted on their part with the absence of parental care. They are more prone to academic failure and other social difficulties.

Generally speaking, the structural challenge is a matter of educational inequality. The liberalisation induced by the development of a market economy can often be blamed. Governments, at different levels, have insufficiently shouldered the responsibility of educational development. Stig Thøgersen remarked that Deng's "three towards" ideology *de facto* overlooked secondary education in rural areas and backward sectors.⁽²³⁾ Cheng Jieming also commented that the radical decentralisation of basic education management caused an exacerbation of education inequality.⁽²⁴⁾ The central government has recently acknowledged this problem and taken more action to close the gaps.

20. Li Bin, "The educational gap is greater than the economic gap in China", http://edu.cyol.com/gb/edu/2005-06/03/content_1083054.htm. (read on June 5th 2005), *China Youth Daily*, June 3rd 2005.

21. *Ibid.*

22. Cheng Fangping and Mao Zuhuan eds., *op. cit.*, 2002, pp. 147-51.

23. Stig Thøgersen, *op. cit.*, 1990, p. 155.

24. Cheng Jieming, *Zhongguo jiaoyu gaige: jinzhan, juxian, qushi* (Chinese Educational Reform: Progress, Limitations and Trends), Hong Kong, Shangwu yinshuguan, 1992, p. 238.

农村家庭平均教育支出在2002年是3.88倍,在1995年只是3.71倍。教育方面的地区差距甚至超过经济发展的地区差距。⁽²⁰⁾

城乡之间的差距也呈现了令人惊心的扩大趋势。在1995年城乡家庭平均支出的差距是1.9倍,到2002年扩大到了2.34倍。教育支出方面的城乡差距更大,1995年是1.87倍,而2002年是2.97倍。此外,西部地区的城乡差距更加明显。⁽²¹⁾

随着广大农村劳动力流入城市地区,城乡之间的教育发展差距还夹杂着其它更加复杂的问题。例如如何为流动人口子女提供中学教育,以及父母在城市打工而子女留守在农村中学的学生问题。有关统计估计目前至少有七百万农村流动人口子女生活在城市里,他们中的绝大部分被公立的中学教育所拒绝。⁽²²⁾就算他们有幸能够就读城市中学,他们还将支付比他们的城市同龄人更高的学费,因为他们的户口不属于当地城市。那些农村留守的中学生也面临着缺少父母管教的问题,因此很容易出现学业失败和其它社会问题。

来自结构方面的挑战常被视为关于教育公平的问题。在市场经济状况下,政府缺乏承担足够的责任去发展教育,包括中等教育。曹诗弟(Stig)认为邓小平的“三个面向”方针在实践中忽视了农村和落后地区的中等教育。⁽²³⁾程介明也提

出,基础教育管理的过度分权,加剧了教育发展的不公平。⁽²⁴⁾最近以来,中央政府意识到问题的严重性,并且采取了更多的行动来缩小这些差距。

文化的挑战:少数民族中学生的国家融合问题。比较而言,中等教育结构方面的挑战是一个容易引起公众、政策制定者和研究者关注的明显问题。而中等教育文化方面的挑战,即来自少数民族的中学教育的问题,往往容易受到大众的忽视。

虽然中央政府从1978年以来已经采取了重大的优惠政策来发展少数民族中等教育,他们的学业成就一般来讲仍然低于主体的汉族人口(也有些少数民族人口的教育成就超过了汉族人口)。根据1990年的普查,在中国14个最大的民族6岁以上的人口中,除了满族和朝鲜族,其他11个人口最大的少数民族在初中教育水平上都低于汉族或者国家平均水平。同样,在高中教育方面,除了满族、朝鲜族和蒙古族,其他10个人口最大的少数民族也都低于汉族或者全国平均水平。⁽²⁵⁾

20. 李斌,“我国教育差距的严重程度比经济差距更大”,载于《中国青年报》,http://edu.cyol.com/gb/edu/2005-06/03/content_1083054.htm (2005年6月5日查阅),2005年6月3日。

21. 同上。

22. 程方平与毛祖桓主编,同前,第147-151页。

23. 曹诗弟(Stig Thøgersen),同前,第155页。

24. 程介明著,《中国教育改革:进展·局限·趋势》,香港,商务印书馆,1992年,第238页。

25. 马戎,《中国少数民族教育事业的发展》,西北少数民族研究,1999年,第1期,第1-21页。

The national integration of minority students in secondary schools

While the structural challenge sounds like a reality that draws much attention from the public, policymakers and researchers, the cultural challenge faced by ethnic minorities in secondary schools appears more muted.

Although the central government has implemented significant preferential policies for the secondary education of ethnic minorities since 1978, the educational achievement level of these minorities is still generally lower than the majority Han group (with only a few exceptions). According to the 1990 census, among the population aged over six years in the 13 largest non-Han ethnic groups, all except for the Manchus and Koreans had lower achievement levels than the Han in junior secondary education. Again, except for the Manchus, Koreans and Mongolians, the other ten largest minority groups had lower achievement levels than the Han in senior secondary education. ⁽²⁵⁾

Current national preferential policies for minority students attending secondary schools focus on quantitative aspects, such as extra funding support, lower university admission grades and special boarding schools. While it seems easier to close the quantitative gap for the minority students within the national secondary education framework, some other demands can be more difficult to handle, especially those pertaining to cultural issues: for example, the relationship between ethnic identities and Han nationalist education, minority language teaching and Han language teaching, minority religions, and ethnic culture and multiculturalism in the curriculum. ⁽²⁶⁾

THANKS to Deng Xiaoping's principles of "respect knowledge and talents" and the "three towards", secondary education has undergone dramatic changes since the late 1970s. The core value behind these changes was and continues to be "pragmatism"—directed towards economic development—, a clear break from Mao's everlasting creed of "class struggle". Intent and policies have often translated into achievements: the implementation of compulsory education and the expansion of technical and vocational education are the most obvious ones. However, problems such the patent widening of the development gap between regions and social strata, and the cultural peril posed to ethnic minorities have become difficult challenges and should be addressed effectively. ■

25. Ma Rong, "Zhongguo shaoshu minzu jiaoyu shiye de fazhan" (The development of Chinese minority education), *Xibei minzu yanjiu* (N.W. Minorities Research), No. 1, 1999, pp.1-21.

26. Wang Jian, *Woguo minzu jiaoyu kecheng gaige jiqi zhengce yanjiu* (A study on the curriculum reform and policies in Chinese minority education), Curriculum Studies of People's Education Publishing House, <http://www.pep.com.cn/200406/ca515918.htm>, 2004.

当前国家对少数民族中学生的优惠政策主要集中在数量发展方面，例如，特别的经费支持、优惠的入学录取分数，以及特殊的寄宿制中学等等。相对而言，在国家教育体系下，缩小少数民族和汉族之间的数量发展的差距似乎相对容易。与此同时，来自少数民族中学生的文化挑战也应该得到足够的重视。关键的问题包括在以下矛盾中：例如发展少数民族学生的民族认同和国民教育之间的矛盾，少数民族语言教学和汉语教学的矛盾，少数民族宗教和国家世俗教育之间的矛盾，以及民族文化课程、多元文化课程和国家标准课程之间的矛盾等等。⁽²⁶⁾

从20世纪70年代末开始，根据邓小平“尊重知识，尊重人才”和“三个面向”的教育理念的指引下，中国中等教育经历了显著的变化。与毛泽东时代的一贯的阶级斗争的教育理念相比较，这些变化背后蕴含着一种为经济发展服务的实用主义的价值观。中国中等教育在过去的二十多年中取得了重大的成就。其中尤为卓著的是义务教育的实施和职业技术教育的扩展。与此同时，发展过程中出现的问题也是明显的。特别值得关注和等待解决的问题包括在不同地区和社会阶层之间持续扩大的教育发展水平的差距，以及来自少数民族中等教育发展的文化方面的挑战等。■

26. 王莹，“我国民族教育课程改革及其政策研究”，人民教育出版社课程研究，<http://www.pep.com.cn/200406/ca515918.htm> (2005年6月5日查阅)，2004年。

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