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## 博 士 学 位 论 文

## 大学公私界限模糊现象探究

A Study for Phenomena of the Blurred Boundary Between Public and Private Universities/Colleges

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### 摘要

大学公私界限模糊现象已经成为一种全球趋势,只不过在每个国家的表现形式和程度有所不同。公私界限的模糊性造成了政策制定的困惑性,甚至在这些困惑下,人们逐渐"迷失"了对大学和高等教育本质的认识。回顾大学发展史,欧洲中世纪大学并无公私之说,但从大学存在意义的公共功能、治理范式的公共参与和利益结构的公共理性中体现更多地是其公共角色。换言之,"公/私"并不是大学源头的固有特征,公共角色才是大学的本质属性。随着民族国家的形成,以德国柏林大学为标志的现代大学开始兴起,浓厚的"国家主义"色彩使其成为"公立"大学的典范。有了"公",也就有了"私"。欧陆国家大学并不在意的公私问题,在美国却对簿公堂,达特茅斯诉讼案使公私联合开始分化,历史上现代大学的公私界限日渐分明。在 20 世纪 80 年代新自由主义的冲击下,现代大学面临前所未有的生存危机,其功能和属性表现出许多"后现代"特征,创业型大学的崛起便是有力的证明。大学公私界限模糊主要表现在:高等教育供给模式的"公私合作"、高等教育财政模式的"资源依赖"和现代大学治理模式的"私法人化"。

在当前大学公私界限日益模糊的现实背景下,种种迹象都将矛头指向高等教育民营化。特别是民营化与全球化的捆绑反应和内在关联,使高等教育民营化的形式和程度更加复杂多变。在全球的视野下,《服务贸易总协定》对高等教育提供者的形式和身份产生了颠覆性影响。跨境高等教育实体机构的流动,使其大学公私界限模糊现象不仅发生在一国之内,而且还出现在跨国之间,这使得那些实体机构的公私属性更加复杂、界限更加模糊。传统的所有权、监管权和资金来源等标准也难以辨别其复杂的公私属性,甚至还引发了像国内有关中外合作大学公私属性的争论,高等教育机构分类再次成为学界关注的焦点。从英国诺丁汉大学两所国际分校的案例中,可以发现公私合作伙伴已成为实体机构的基本特征,超越"公私二元"的"第三类型"和"认证院校"的新型分类将更加具有可操作性。

本研究借助"资源依赖理论"和福柯的"治理术研究",分别从大学的外部环境和内部治理两个维度,以一种相对微观且富有批判性的视角考察大学组织公私属性历史变迁。总体来说,外部资源环境是大学组织得以生存的物质保障,利

益相关者提供资源的稀缺或丰盈决定了大学的公私偏向,甚至影响到大学内部的治理模式和知识体系。基于两大理论的考察和解读,大学公私属性变迁实质指向的是大学与政府(国家)、市场(社会)的三角权力关系,而大学公私界限变化只不过反映了这一关系中大学的偏向。在关注大学外在公私属性变迁的同时,大学内在"主体性"一直与其外部利益相关者进行博弈,这就是大学公共角色的本质要求。作为应对大学财政、管理和质量等体制性危机的民营化策略,却与大学的公共角色形成了悖论关系,并引发了诸如霸权危机、合法性危机等深层危机。

高等教育常识的一再颠覆,促使人们不得不反思高等教育的性质,甚至重新定义高等教育。高等教育产品属性经历了从"公共产品"到"准公共产品"再到"全球公共产品"的转变,大学的营利性与公益性也不是非此即彼,而是可以兼容。显然,高等教育中的"公"与"私"影响着高等教育政策的制定。以法德中三国高等教育公私并举为例,通过考察三国人口状况、收入水平、经费来源、院校变化和学生规模等特征,不难发现三国高等教育在资金、监管、质量和公平等政策问题上具有共同趋向,即资金问题表现在生均成本逐渐增高,特别是私立院校学生的经济压力增大;监管问题表现在三国政府的放权行为,使市场成为院校幕后的施力者;质量问题集中于私立院校的教学质量;公平问题则体现在弱势社会群体阶层对优质教育的选择。基于对大学公共角色的认识,法德两国高等教育公私并举政策对中国的启示有;资金分配的公共性、监管模式的参与性、质量评鉴的自治性以及公平发展的持续性。其实,这些政策背后反映的是大学与政府、市场的关系应保持当前的"应然位序",即政府应在放权的基础上加强责任,市场应在规则下展开竞争,大学应坚守其公共角色。这也是现代大学制度的要求。

本研究根据以上研究理路,以大学公私界限模糊现象为研究突破口,以大学与政府(国家)、市场(社会)的三角权力关系为主线,将研究主体分为四个部分:从历史的图景描绘大学公私属性变迁;从全球的视野呈现跨境实体机构属性;从国家的维度考察高等教育公私并举;从未来的发展预测大学公私属性走势。基于上述分析,本研究得出以下三点结论:一是大学公私属性变迁具有规律性;二是大学公私界限模糊现象具有动态性;三是大学公共角色理论发展具有开拓性。

关键词: 公私界限; 模糊现象; 公共角色; 高等教育民营化; 公立与私立大学

#### **Abstract**

It has been a global phenomenon that the boundary is increasingly blurred between public and private universities/colleges by way of different forms and degrees in each country. Such fuzzy boundary between public and private universities/ colleges leads to the bewilderments of policy-making. It even makes peopleincreasingly feel 'lost' when understanding the essence of higher education and universities/colleges. There were no public and private distinctions for the European Medieval Universities from the history of university development. However, the universities reflected their public character that was embodied in the public function of self-existence, public participation of governance paradigm, and public reason of stakeholders' relationships. In other words, the 'public' and 'private' are not inherent features of universities since their origin, instead the pulic character is the essence of universities. With the formation of nation-state, the modern universities which were the landmark of the Berlin University in Germany started to rise and they set good examples for the 'public' universities with 'nationalism'. Ever since then, 'public 'universities appeared, so did the 'private' universities. The 'public/private' problem that was out of concern in the Continental European counries was sent to the Court in America. It facilitated the differentiation of public-private joint model from the Darmouth Case. Thereafter, the boundary of public and private was gradually clear in historical modern universities. Under the influence of the neo-liberalism in the 1980s, the modern universities were faced with the unprecedentsurvival crisis. The rising of the entrepreneurial universities provided some convicingevidences for their post-modern characteristics in their functions and nature. The blurred boundary between public and private universities/colleges can mainly be summed upas follows: the 'public-private partnership' in the supply pattern of higher education; the 'resource financial dependence' on the pattern of higher education; and the 'private juridical person' in the governance pattern of modern universities.

Currently, under the realistic background of the blurred boundary between public and private universities/colleges, privatlization in higher education is to blame for all the bad situations. In particular, the forms and degrees of privatlization are more complicated and varied in the joint reaction and interal relvance of privatlization and globalization. From the global perpective, General Agreement on Trade and Service (GATS for short whereafter) has a disruptive effect on the forms and identities of the providers in higher education. Due to the flow of transnational higher education entities, the phenomena of the blurred boundaries between public and private univerties/colleges did not only exist within one country but also spreaded across nations. This has resulted in more complex and vaguer properties of these public-private entities. It became very difficult to use the traditional criterion, such as ownership, regulation and funding source, to divide the complex public-private properties of entities. It even triggered the debate on the public or private property of Sino-foreign Cooperation Universities in China. Therefore, the classification of higher education institutions has become the hot topic among the academy again. We can find that the Public-Private Partneship (PPP) has become the basic features of entities from the cases of two international branch campuses of University of Nottingham in the United Kingdom. The new classification of 'the third type' and 'accredited institutions' are more operatable than the 'public-private' dualism.

Under the guidance of 'Resource Dependence Theory' and Foucalt's 'Studies of Governmentality', this study will investigate the historical transitions of public and private universities in the two dimensions of the external environment and internal governance from a relatively micro and critical perspective. In general, the environment of external resources provides the material insurance for university survival. Furthermore, the amount of resource from stakeholders decides the public and private property of universities, and even influences the internal governance pattern and knowledge system of universities. Based on the investigation and explanation of the two theories, we found that the essence of public/private transition actually indicates the triangle power relationship among university, government (or

state) and market (or society), whereas the changes of boundary between public and private universities/colleges just reflect the university's bias in the relationship. While the external changes of the public and private universities/colleges are concerned, the internal 'subjectivity' of universitie/colleges has always been gaming with their external stakeholders, which is the essential requirement of university's public character. However, the privatization strategies, which are to cope with the institutional crises such as university funding, management and quality, have developed a paradoxical relationship with the public character of university, and have also triggered some deep crises such as hegemony and legitimacy.

The common sense of higher education has been subverted time and again, which urges people to rethink its nature, andeven to redefine it. The property of higher education outputs has changed from 'public goods' to 'quasi-public goods' to 'global public goods'. And it is not analternative between for-profit and public interest of university. Instead, they are compatible with each other. Obviously, whether it is public or private has an influence on policy-making of higher education. Taking the public and private higher education in France, Germany and China for instances, it is easy to find that policy-making in higher education in terms of the issues of funding, regulation, quality and equity, has some common tendencies in the three countries by making a survey on the features of polulation condition, income level, funding source, institution change, student size and etc. First, the students' average cost are gradually increasing, especially the students in private colleges are faced with increasing financial pressure. Second, the regulation has been improved, as decentralization has been adopted by governments in the three counties, and markets has been put into effect behind universities/colleges. Third, teaching quality of private colleges has become the focus in terms of quality. Fourth, the choice of high quality education has been provided to the disadvantaged social groups in terms of equity. Based on the cognition of university's public character, the co-existence of public and private policies of higher education in France and Germany could have some implications for China in the following aspects: the publicity in allocation of funding, the participation

of regulation pattern, the autonomy of quality assessment and the sustainability of equity development. In fact, the policies reflected that the relationship between university, government and market should keep the 'sollen orders'. That is, the government should strengthen its responsibilities on the basis of decentralization, the market should compete under the rules, and university should hold its public character. Those are the requirements of the Modern University Institutions.

According to the above research designs, this study can be divided into four parts with the phenomena of blurred boundary between public and private universities/colleges as breakthough and with the power relationship of university, government (or state) and market (or society) as the main clue. Part1 describes the transition of public and private universities/colleges from the historical graph. Part2 presents the attributes of cross entities from global perspective. Part 3 investigates the public and private higher education at the national context. Part 4 predicts the tendencies of public and private universities/colleges from future development. Based on the above analyses, three points can be summarized as follows. Firstly, the transition of public and private universities/colleges has regularity. Secondly, the blurred boundary between public and private universities/colleges has dynamic features. Thirdly, the theoretical development of university's public character is characterized by expansion.

**Key Words:** the boundary of public and private; blurred phenomena; public character; privatization of higher education; public and private universities/colleges

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