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can be admitted based on lower gaokao scores—a process that lessens the importance of the gaokao and gives applicants another chance to be admitted to their institution of choice. However, only students from select top-performing high schools are eligible for this type of independent recruitment. What's more, the MOE stipulates that only 5 percent of incoming students can bypass the process, while the other 95 percent must be admitted to the gaokao. In addition, the MOE in 2019 issued strict guidelines that HEIs have to follow when admitting students that bypass the Gaokao. Held over a two- to three-day period in June each year, the gaokao is an extremely high stakes exam that can have a traumatizing effect on students and parents alike. As the Wall Street Journal describes it, the test can have life-altering consequences for Chinese students: "There are minimum gaokao levels required to attend [most] of China's ... colleges, and only about two-thirds as many available admissions slots as test takers. Sliding into the lower third of marks means, at a minimum, losing a year and going through the whole horrible experience of cramming all over again. At worst, it means dropping the dream of college and taking a low-paying, dead-end manufacturing or service job, or turning to a junior college to learn basic vocational skills. But for those who do well, the gaokao is life-altering. Being among the 8.5 percent of test takers who score high enough to qualify for one of China's ... tier-one universities, means reasonable assurance of eventual high-paying white-collar employment, thereby securing a stable financial future." Students usually take the test in the final year of high school after preparing for it the entire year, but it's possible to retake the exams indefinitely after graduation from high school. There's a large private tutoring industry that assists students in preparing for the exams in after-school cram classes or online courses. Research has shown that 58 percent of Chinese high school students relied on private tutoring in 2017, with students in urban areas spending 10.6 hours a week in after-school prep courses. Given the stakes, there's also a fair amount of cheating—a fact that results in testing facilities deploying security cameras, metal detectors, electronic signal jammers, and drones, as well as iris and fingerprint scanners to prevent hired test takers—so-called "gunmen"—from sitting for the exams in place of actual students. In 2016, the Chinese government even opted to threaten cheaters with up to seven years of jail time. Since the difficulty of the exams varies by province, there's also the phenomenon of "exam migration," that is, students moving to regions like Inner Mongolia where the test is easier to pass. The exam is spread over nine hours and consists of both essay and multiple-choice questions, depending on the subject. Under the new 3+3/3+1+2 system, it will cover Chinese, mathematics, and a foreign language, most typically English, as well as the specialization subjects students elect in high school. In most provinces the final maximum score is 750 (150 each for the compulsory subjects and 100 each for the 3+X electives). Ethnic minority students or athletes may be awarded extra points to facilitate their admission. However, there are big differences in examination and scoring practices in some jurisdictions, so that the gaokao results in different provinces are difficult to compare directly. For example, Shanghai, Hainan province and Jiangxi province currently have different maximum scores (660, 940, and 480, respectively). In addition, minimum score thresholds for admission into universities vary by province. Universities take into consideration the diverging practices in the different jurisdictions when making admission decisions related to out-of-province students. This means that students from Shanghai applying in Beijing, for instance, have different score requirements than students from other provinces. Once the gaokao results are in, admission thresholds are set based on the results; these vary by year and institution. Traditionally, universities have been grouped into three tiers with a different minimum score for each tier. "A matrix of provincial quotas, university quotas, and subject quotas is negotiated annually between universities and national and provincial authorities. Nationally, around 10% of candidates receive a Tier 1 score (allowing them to apply to Tier 1 universities), while a further 20% receive a Tier 2 score," and so on. However, several provinces are currently replacing the tier system with a more elastic approach that will allow for greater flexibility and different quotas from institution to institution. The different jurisdictions also reserve quotas for local students—a practice that advantages students in areas that have a greater concentration of universities and top-tier institutions, such as Beijing and Shanghai. By some accounts, students from Anhui province, for instance, in 2012 had a 40 times lower chance of being admitted into Beijing universities than local students. The total number of students sitting for the gaokao exam, as well as university admission rates, has surged over the years. Consider that in the mid-1980s fewer than two million students sat for the gaokao, and that the overall admissions rate was only 23 percent in 1990. In 2018, by contrast, close to 10 million students took the test with 81 percent of them gaining admission. However, admission rates at top institutions like the C9 group of universities—China's equivalent of the Ivy League—are minuscule at best. The Atlantic reported in 2013 that "China's prestigious Peking University and Tsinghua University, both based in Beijing, will collectively take about 84 students out of every 10,000 Beijingers who took the gaokao." 14 students from every 10,000 who took the gaokao in nearby Tianjin, 10 out of every 10,000 test takers from Shanghai, and only about three per 10,000 candidates from Anhui ... and a mere two from every 10,000 taking the test in Guangdong." Corruption in University Admissions Given the extreme selectiveness of China's top universities, it's perhaps unsurprising that some corrupt university officials take advantage of their gatekeeper position to solicit bribes, while rich families spend considerable sums of money to buy access to top schools for their children. As in other countries transforming from Communist state economies to free market systems, corruption and crony capitalism—dubbed "the dark side of China's rise" by some—have also become endemic problems in China in general. The Chinese education sector is highly vulnerable to bribery, particularly in programs where students have to take non-centralized entrance examinations at individual institutions, such as in fine arts programs. But given the tremendous importance of a top-tier university education in China, bribery is also pervasive in other disciplines, as well as in the school system. In one egregious example, the former admissions director of Renmin University, a prestigious Beijing-based institution, admitted in court to accepting "more than \$3.6 million in illegal payments between 2005 [and] 2013, in exchange for helping 14 students obtain spots ... or to allow students already there to change their majors." The Chinese government has begun to crack down on such practices as part of President Xi Jinping's overall anti-corruption drive. Renmin University, for instance, was barred from admitting students through its own autonomous admissions process. But it remains to be seen how effective Beijing will be in stamping out bribery. As of 2019, the success of Xi Jinping's anti-corruption campaign remains debated. Higher Education Institutions China has a heterogeneous higher education system with no fewer than 2,956 HEIs. These include public degree-granting universities and research institutes, junior colleges, vocational colleges and universities, medical colleges, military institutions, private universities, and adult education institutions. It's important to understand that not all institutions have degree-granting authority. Some institutions only award non-degree qualifications (zhuanke), while others are affiliated with "mother universities" that confer the final degree. Degree-granting authority is mainly limited to universities and research institutes, but there are also 257 independent colleges that can award degrees. These institutions are private colleges affiliated with public universities that have more autonomy than other colleges in matters like admissions requirements. They don't receive government funding and charge much higher tuition fees, while having lower admissions standards. This has made the programs offered by these institutions—usually professionally oriented programs in fields like computer science or business—an increasingly popular option in China, despite the high fees. Independent colleges are an example of the growth of private education (minban) in China since the 1980s, when laws governing the sector began to be relaxed. The CCP has come to view private providers as a key mechanism for addressing the mass demand for education. China's Law on the Promotion of Privately Run Schools, for example, "enthusiastically" encourages private education. Between the adoption of this law in 2001 and 2016, the number of private HEIs jumped from 39 to 786, so that private institutions now make up some 27 percent of all HEIs in China, enrolling 6.3 million students in 2016. While some private institutions have seen enrollment declines in recent years and the private sector is presently characterized by a flurry of mergers and acquisitions, further growth of private higher education is expected in China in the years ahead. Private institutions generally offer more applied, employment-focused programs; more than 300 of them are vocational colleges. Some of them rent buildings and other infrastructure from public universities. The quality of these institutions is highly variable, observers say, and they are often not on par with public HEIs. Overall, the Chinese higher education system is characterized by wide disparities between academic institutions. While top HEIs are nurtured with vast resources, other HEIs are underfunded demand-absorbing institutions of lesser quality. As a rule of thumb, the country's best and most generously funded universities are located in Beijing, Shanghai, and the great cities of eastern China, and all of them are public. Most are directly overseen by the MOE in Beijing or other central government bodies. They are generally large multi-faculty research universities. Given their public funding, the tuition fees charged by these institutions are relatively modest compared with the fees charged by private institutions. Tsinghua University and Peking University, for example, charge around 5,000 to 6,000 yuan (USD\$711 to USD\$854) a year for undergraduate programs. Quality Improvement Initiatives The stratification of China's higher education system is to a large extent the result of government policies that systematically consolidated a top tier of research universities. Former president Jiang Zemin formulated this objective explicitly when he proclaimed in 1998 that "China must have a number of first-rate universities of international advanced level." Beginning in the 1990s, Beijing launched several excellence initiatives—and invested tens of billions of dollars—to improve the quality, research capacity, and international competitiveness of selected top-tier HEIs in China. One initiative, Project 211, sought to strengthen 99 universities with USD\$2.2 billion between 1996 and 2000—an effort that greatly boosted research output of these HEIs. This project was later extended to 112 universities, while another initiative, Project 985, created an even more elite group of universities—the C9 league of universities—before government funding through this project was broadened to 39 universities (both the 211 and the 985 programs were eventually combined in the Double First Class Project plan). Yet another initiative, the Plan 111, attempted to bring more foreign researchers and faculty to Chinese universities. Most recently, President Xi Jinping replaced these projects with his own World Class 2.0 initiative—an effort to create 42 world-class universities and establish world-class faculties at 95 universities. Altogether, these excellence initiatives have fueled tremendous growth in research output. For instance, Tsinghua University, for instance, received USD\$641 million in research funding in 2013 alone. Western critics contend, however, that generous funding by itself is not enough to elevate Chinese HEIs, and that greater academic freedoms and university autonomy will be needed to establish true world-class universities in the country. Research Institutes Big and prestigious research institutes like the Chinese Academy of Sciences (CAS), the Chinese Academy of Agricultural Sciences, and the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences are public research universities that are among China's tier-one institutions. They are directed by different bodies of the central government, and each oversee several smaller research institutes and graduate schools. Given their narrow focus on research, students at these schools are almost exclusively graduate students, but the University of the Chinese Academy of Sciences has also offered undergraduate programs since 2014. China's System of Cash Rewards for Journal Articles To boost research output, Chinese academics are incentivized with cash rewards to publish in academic journals—a system that is not unique to China but which has been taken to extremes by Chinese universities. The average cash reward was USD\$43,783 for natural science articles published in Western journals in 2016, but the rewards are in some cases as high as USD\$165,000 for publications in prestigious journals. In addition, academic journal publications are often required for employment, promotions, the award of research grants, and the award of doctoral degrees. While this system has contributed to a strong increase in Chinese-authored scientific publications, it is not always to the benefit of academic quality. As highlighted in the study "Publish or impoverish," rewards encourage Chinese academics to favor "fast research that leads to quick, cashable publications as opposed to long-term research." Rewards have also opened the door to corrupt practices like plagiarism, ghostwriting, fake peer reviews, and falsified research. China's Wuhan University has estimated that the country's "industry of plagiarism, invented research and fake journals" grew five times in volume between 2007 and 2009 alone. According to the online publication Quartz, more than 50 papers retracted by scientific journals worldwide for fake peer reviews between 2012 and 2016 were submitted by Chinese authors. Vocational Colleges Administered at the provincial level in China are more than 1,400 non-degree-granting vocational colleges. These are referred to as specialized colleges (dazhuan) or vocational-technical colleges (gaodong zhiye jishu xueyuan or gazhzi), some of which are housed in universities. The programs offered by these institutions are typically three years (sometimes two) in length after high school, but there are also some five-year programs for graduates of junior secondary school that encompass the senior-secondary curriculum. The programs of study lead to the award of a diploma in a vocational specialization; they are geared toward employment and typically include an internship. The MOE sets curricula and learning outcomes for programs in 19 broad subject categories, such as agriculture, finance and commerce, medicine, tourism, or transportation. The final qualifications awarded by vocational colleges are at the so-called zhuanke level (specialized training) as opposed to the benke level (undergraduate education). In some cases, however, graduates may transfer into universities to earn a bachelor's degree within two or three years. Adult Education Institutions China is said to have the "largest, most-populated and most-diversified adult education system in the world." There are various forms of adult literacy programs, short-term continuing education programs, community learning centers, and schools for adults who have not completed basic education. At the post-secondary level, adults can study in formal zhuanke or benke programs offered by Open Universities or so-called radio and television universities. Patterned after the model of the British Open University, these institutions traditionally used radio broadcasts, TV lectures, print materials, and audiocassettes to provide education in blended distance mode, but now rely increasingly on online learning. Adults typically must sit for the National Adult College Entrance Examination to be admitted into formal degree programs. In addition, there are "spare-time universities" that provide face-to-face instruction in part-time mode, such as evening classes. Students can earn a zhuanke diploma in three to four years and a bachelor's degree in five to six, but students at these institutions are allowed to take 10 years to graduate. Self-Study Programs Another way to earn zhuanke and benke qualifications is through self-learning. In this case, learners study independently at home and sit for two sets of examinations each year, in April and October, at dedicated testing centers. While the exams are administered locally, the content of the Higher Education Self-Study Examinations is set by the National Education Examinations Authority of the national MOE. Students accumulate a series of completion certificates after each exam until they meet the requirements for graduation, which may also entail writing a thesis. They are issued a "certificate of graduation through self-study" that is officially considered equivalent to regular qualifications. There are no entrance examinations for self-study programs; anyone can enroll. Chinese authorities refer to the system as "easy entry, difficult exit," presumably because the exams are hard to pass. The Open University of China The Open University of China (OUC) is China's largest HEI in terms of enrollments, as well as the biggest university in the world by some measures. Under the direct control of the MOE in Beijing, the OUC was established in the 1970s as a radio and TV university to expand access to education. Renamed OUC in 2012, the university oversees a vast network of regional open distance education universities throughout the country. This university system currently enrolls about 3.6 million students in various programs that range from undergraduate degree programs to vocational certificate programs, teacher training programs, and a multitude of continuing education programs. Under its "One College Student per Village Program" it offers distance learning in agriculture and other fields with the aim of increasing education participation in rural areas. Degree programs are usually taught in blended learning mode, combining face-to-face tutoring at study centers with online education or other forms of distance delivery. Quality Assurance (QA) in Chinese Higher Education Amid the massification of Chinese higher education, the Chinese government has since the 1990s issued a series of policy directives to strengthen the quality control of the rapidly growing number of HEIs in the country. After piloting different forms of evaluation schemes in the 1990s, the MOE in 2002 mandated that HEIs which offer undergraduate programs undergo periodic external assessment in five-year evaluation cycles and proceeded to evaluate 589 institutions in a first round of quality assessments between 2003 and 2008. While these institutions continue to be audited today, the MOE currently prioritizes the evaluation of newer institutions that were not assessed in previous reviews. Generally, China's QA drive since the 1990s first focused on undergraduate education and, more recently, the evaluation of graduate programs. The main QA authority is the MOE, which sets the overall quality standards for higher education. Its Higher Education Evaluation Center (HEEC) is tasked with evaluating and auditing HEIs at the undergraduate level, as well as coaching HEIs on best QA practices, and collaborating with QA agencies in other countries. It also gathers statistical data on HEIs and maintains a database on academic institutions approved to offer benke and zhuanke programs. On the other hand, the China Academic Degrees and Graduate Education Development Center (CDGDC), a semi-autonomous body under the purview of the MOE, is responsible for the evaluation of graduate-level institutions and programs. In addition, provincial accreditation committees are tasked with evaluating and auditing vocational HEIs and private institutions within their jurisdictions under central guidelines. The quality of teaching at HEIs attached to specific central ministries, such as the Ministry of Agriculture, is directly monitored by the respective ministries. Beyond external quality control, HEIs are mandated to create internal self-assessment and QA systems. Most HEIs, thus, have established committees made up of senior teaching staff that monitor quality at the departmental or discipline-specific level, and make recommendations on how to improve teaching practices. The peer review of specific courses by instructors is common as well, as are student surveys. Based on these self-assessments, HEIs are then required to produce and submit annual quality reports, which are key reference documents for governmental evaluations. The QA Process and Criteria for Undergraduate Education In order to award credentials, HEIs are required to conduct a series of self-assessments, which are then reviewed by the HEEC. The HEEC then dispatches a team of evaluators to conduct on-site inspections, review university documents, and interview administrators, faculty, and students. The final report of the HEEC inspection team is submitted to the accreditation committee which renders the final decision. Under the current evaluation scheme, HEIs are assessed in three categories: pass, deferred pass, and not passed. The HEEC publishes these results in media outlets. Those institutions that pass are audited again in five years to measure whether they have made the suggested improvements, but no new grade assessment is rendered based on these audits. Institutions that do not pass or receive a deferred pass, on the other hand, must rectify shortcomings before they get reassessed within two or three years. They are not allowed to establish new programs, and their enrollment quotas are restricted or reduced. Further penalties may technically be imposed if institutions again fail to pass the assessment the second time around. However, none of the 589 HEIs evaluated between 2003 and 2008 failed their quality assessment. 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