

# Non-public Collegiate Education in Modern People's Republic of China

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*How does a country undergo the extremely rapid change necessary to go from an emerging country to a major world power in a few short years? The answer is through education. While the world reads about the many economic changes taking place in the Peoples Republic of China (PRC), an equally fundamental change is occurring in its educational structure. Evolution in its worldview has moved China from the classic Marxism/Mao dicta to a more pragmatic educational approach, one that includes non-public education. By drawing upon a) interviews with the founders on a modern Chinese non-public university, b) the perspective of educational development in the PRC, and c) a detailed analysis of the process of founding a private institution of higher learning in China, this paper analyses and discusses factors which have allowed such a radical shift in educational policy without causing social upheaval.*

Education, Non-Public, Collegiate, China

## INTRODUCTION

“China to Give Equal Rights to Private, Public Schools” reads the headline of the China Daily (2002), a newspaper published by the government of the Peoples Republic of China (PRC). The article itself explains that the twenty-eighth session of the Ninth National Peoples Congress (NPC) Standing Committee in Beijing has concluded a preliminary reading of a draft of a law that will give equal treatment to public and non-public education entities alike. The law enables “all individuals and social organizations (to be) eligible to sponsor non-public schools.” As reinforced in a statement by Wang Jialiu, Vice-Chairperson of the Education, Science, Culture and Public Health Committee of the National People's Congress, “Private education has become an indispensable part of the national educational system” (China Daily, 2002).

This headline announces a process begun in China some years earlier, but what makes the headline so significant is that it publicly legitimises a clear break with traditional Marxist theory of education. Point # 10 of Marx and Engels' Manifesto of the Communist Party (1848) clearly states “Free education for all children in public schools” as a basic tenet of Communism. Marx and Engels emphasize the word “public,” that is, government control of education is paramount. It is commonly understood that Mao Zedong, revolutionary father of the modern PRC and a founding member of the Communist Party of China (CPC), embraced and continued this educational mandate. Therefore, how could such a fundamental plank in Communist theory be changed?

This article outlines the quiet revolution in education taking place in the PRC by considering:

- a) the structure and policies of higher education as formerly practiced,
- b) factors that allow this educational revolution to happen without social upheaval,
- c) a detailed example of the new non-public educational policy as presented by the establishment of one specific Chinese private college, and
- d) the worldwide implications of this change, particularly on China itself and on the United States.

### **COLLEGIATE EDUCATION IN THE EARLY DAYS OF THE PRC**

The founding of the People's Republic of China is an important milestone in Chinese history because China was once again unified, now in modern times, under one national government. This one government undertook the responsibility of public education at all levels, although higher education was to have a bumpy existence in the early Communist years. At the beginning of the PRC (1949), there remained in existence very few significant colleges and universities founded at the time of overthrow of the emperor's rule. These were:

- a) Peking University, Beijing (founded in 1898 as "The Metropolitan University"),
- b) Nanjing University, Nanjing (founded in 1902),
- c) Fudan University, Shanghai (founded in 1905),
- d) Jinan University, Guangzhou (founded in 1905 in Nanjing),
- e) Tsinghua University, Beijing (founded in 1911, Beijing),
- f) Honk Kong University (founded in 1910) and
- g) Anhui University (founded in 1928).

Although few in number for a nation of such immense size, these institutions survived through precarious times and continue to prosper today. Even early in the beginning years of the New China, more state and provincially funded colleges and universities were created, such as Renmin University (People's University), Beijing, founded in 1950) and The China University of Science and Technology, Hefei, Anhui (founded in 1958, in Beijing).

Because of many economic, social, and political realities, the Cultural Revolution of the late 1960s and early 1970s wreaked havoc upon the established higher education. For example, the USTC (University of Science and Technology of China) was moved from Beijing to Hefei, capital of Anhui, a relatively less developed province in the early 1970s so that its faculty could go down to 'learn how the people lived there'. Many schools were closed so that the students could form the Red Guards (Watkins, 2002). Professors were seen as out of touch with the wisdom inherent in the peasants and were sent to rural areas in order to be re-educated or to teach in primary schools. Wisdom was to come up from the working classes in order to enlighten and lead social change. Therefore, intellectuals were debased and humiliated at this time because they were viewed as bearers of unimportant and probably false knowledge. The effect of the social philosophy and practice during those decades can be seen today, since many people born in the 1960s and 1970s still today demonstrate the effects of the limited and ineffectual education of that period.

Mao died in September of 1976. In 1977, Deng Xiaoping emerged as the leader of China. Deng espoused a different type of economic reform, one that created a place in society for its intelligentsia, since Deng foresaw a world in which knowledge and technology would forge the future. Educators relegated to rural farm work as labourers were allowed to return to their previous occupation. For 10 or 12 years there was little scholarly activity, as society readjusted to

this realignment. Higher education began to prosper as families saw it as a way out of poverty and hard labour for their children. However, higher education procedures and operations were not modernized at this time but continued to operate as they had historically. The one major difference is that each educational institution was considered to be a ‘work unit’.

### **The Work Unit**

The PRC’s social structure was influenced and organized according to the then-prevailing Soviet system. The basic organizational unit, to which a person and associated family were assigned, belonged to and identified as, was ‘the work unit’ or the place of employment. The typical citizen and associated family had as their hub of existence, the work unit, which provided employment, housing, education, medical treatment, and, eventually, old age pension or retirement pension. Therefore, education of the people was viewed as an inherent function of the designated work unit. Although the common understanding of a work unit was as a production facility, it was also the organizing element of government departments, farms, and educational institutions. Work units were ubiquitous throughout Chinese society, with every individual assigned to one. Therefore, the individual did not focus on a large, distant, impersonal central government as the main influencing body in his or her life. Instead, the individual saw his or her future regulated by the local work unit run by known people, policies, and relationships which were much more easily identified, understood, and possibly influenced. Even today, Chinese citizens are, albeit more loosely, viewed as being parts of work units, which are under the leadership of Party organizations.

## **MERITOCRACY AS THE BASIS OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND CAREER PLACEMENT**

### **College Placement by Examination**

For the aristocracy from the times of Confucius (551-449 B.C.) and for all Chinese citizens from the Song Dynasty (960–1279), China has utilized a merit system for determining both educational opportunity and job placement. From those early times to the present time, determination of the best applicants for a job or governmental position is by examination (Elman, 1991).

At the beginning of Senior Middle School (roughly equivalent to United States’ high school), students were divided, based on academic achievement and the willingness of students as well as their families, into two groups: a) students of the sciences, and b) students of liberal arts (humanities). The final choices as to which group to be placed in, are made mainly by the students themselves. Some choices by students are made with guidance by their parents and teachers, especially their particular class teacher. Their schooling also recognizes the extreme importance of high scores on the country-wide, government-administered achievement examinations, held directly after Senior Middle School graduation, and schools specifically prepare the academically elite for these examinations within the regular curricula.

Students have to indicate beforehand whether they will take the academic examinations in science or in humanities. At the end of Senior Middle School, the students have the option or right to choose both the universities and the specialties that they would prefer. After the National Entrance Examination, prior to enrolment in the higher learning institution, every candidate is obliged to fill out a form indicating which university or college they would wish to attend and the specialty of their first, second, and third preferences.

It should be noted that merit is defined solely by the examination scores. At this stage, there is no review of teacher recommendations, school grade reports, list of extra curricular activities, nor consideration of special circumstances. If the student or the family is unhappy with the

examination scores, then the student may study on his or her own, or with a tutor, and re-take the examinations the following year. However, the family must find a way on its own to finance this additional time of study and to forgo a year's family income from for that student.

After the examination scores are rank-ordered, the local educational administrations begin the process of assigning the best students (those with the highest examination scores) to a rank-ordered list of universities, with the most prestigious ones at the top of the list, such as Peking University, Tsinghua University and the Military Colleges. Once all the openings in all the universities and in all the courses are filled, the accepted students are informed of the university and course in which they are being placed. Generally speaking, students are unable to change their placement. Since there are no more college openings, nor any educational alternatives, the students with lower examination scores, that is, those on the remainder of the rank-order list, who have not been matched are therefore simply unable to attend college. A small number of these students, ones whose families have the necessary resources, may be able to find a college placement in another country.

In earlier years, as students graduated from colleges and universities, they were assigned by the local government administration to respective work units. The best students in the most highly regarded courses and prestigious universities were assigned by the government to the best positions in various work units. The traditional view of these students is one of pride and loyalty: "I am wanted by the motherland. I must do a good job". Students at less prestigious universities or in less favoured courses are also assigned job placements, although less favoured ones. The job placement procedures have changed in current times and are discussed later in this paper.

### **Collegiate Teaching Methodology**

Except for the disruptive times of the 1960s and 1970s, the teacher has been regarded as a revered figure to the Chinese citizen since Confucian times. The teacher has been the keeper and purveyor of knowledge. Because the key to occupations other than farming and manual labour has been through knowledge, teachers have had great power in their hands regarding the upcoming generation.

The best way to impart this knowledge has been thought to be through formality and through the traditional lecture method. As the teacher enters the classroom, students show their respect by standing up and saying, "Good morning, teacher!". After the teacher has answered their greetings, the students sit down. The teacher then begins lecturing without interruption or interaction with the students. The students are expected to perform their scholarly function well by dutifully taking and reviewing copious notes. Written examinations are primarily the reiteration of this received knowledge. Grading is sometimes based on the accuracy and length of the student's written recitation. In order to maintain the formality and to co-operate with the teacher's teaching activities, conveying the students' complaints or requirements to the teacher, each course of class has an student assigned or selected to be the formal communicator with the professor. This student is called 'Representative of so-and-so course' or 'Class Committee Member in charge of studies'. Therefore, communication between class students and professor is handled through this specific mediator. Currently, this teaching method is still the predominant pedagogy. However, there are some explorations of other types of teaching, which include class discussion, practice problems, and less formalized interactions with professors.

### **PRESENT COLLEGIATE EDUCATION IN CHINA**

Following the economic changes advocated by Deng Xiaoping, the Chinese economy has developed enormous demand for more and better college graduates. In addition, the Chinese government and educators are now aware of the differences in education in other countries (Yin,

2002). For example, they have seen that high school education is compulsory elsewhere, and they have become aware of a variety of teaching methods. By far, however, the Chinese government has responded to the foreseen unmet demand for more college graduates as China has chosen to leave its stance of isolation and attract international companies into the country.

### **Government Response to the Demand for Higher Education**

In 1980, the first academic regulations were issued by the central government. The intent of these regulations was to increase the education of its citizenry through public education, and an explosion of colleges and universities occurred. By the end of 2001, there were 1,225 Chinese institutions of higher learning accommodating 7.2 million students (*China Today*, 2002, p.139). While 7.2 million students may seem low in a country with one-fifth the world's population, this number demonstrates rapid expansion, since it is about 2.5 times the number of students that attended Chinese institutions of higher learning only six years earlier, in 1995. Corresponding numbers for the United States are 4,070 institutions of higher learning (Statistical Abstract of the United States, Table 264, 2002) with 15.4 million students (*ibid*, Table 207, 2002). The Chinese Government recognizes the need for more institutions of higher learning, and, according to the national development plan, expects to accommodate over a doubling of students, that is, 16 million higher education students, in just four years, that is, by 2005 (*China Today*, 2002, p.143). This increase raises the collegiate enrolment rate to 15 per cent of Senior Middle School graduates. In contrast, 62.9 percent of United States high school graduates in 1999 went to some form of advanced education (*ibid*, Table 262, 2002).

Although the central government has the commitment and a national plan and there is unmet demand for more college graduates in the burgeoning Chinese workplace, at present there are not enough extant public resources to accommodate the demand. For example there are about 63 million people in Anhui province today. Approximately 250,000 Senior Middle School graduates received sufficiently high examination scores for college admission. . However, there are currently only about 120,000 college openings in Anhui province today. Very few from this one province will be selected to go to the very prestigious institutions located elsewhere. Therefore, over half, or about 130,000 prospective students, have the academic qualification to attend college but will not be able to do so (Yin, 2002).

How will the needed increase in Chinese enrolment in college be achieved in a short period of time? Although there has been major expansion of the current colleges and universities, this approach alone cannot achieve the objective. Therefore, PRC sees the practical wisdom in the establishment of so-called 'non-public' (in other words, private) colleges. Again, for comparison, about one-quarter (23%) of the 14.5 million United States college students in 1998 attended private institutions of higher learning (*ibid*, Table 264). However, this is a major sociological change in Chinese society. The private college has no precedent in the New China; since there were no private institutions of higher learning in the PRC in 1998.

### **Private Collegiate Education in China**

In 1997, the Chinese government promulgated and implemented the *Regulations on Education Run by Social Forces* (*China Today*, 2002, p.145) which are the regulations that permit and promulgate the establishment of private institutions of higher education. Yongfang Li, one of the authors of this paper, was a founding person of a private college made possible under these regulations. The institute she helped create is Wanbo Institute of Science and Technology, located in Hefei, Anhui Province. Others have also taken advantage of the opportunity created by these regulations. Four years after the passing of these regulations in 2001, there were 144 private institutions of higher learning in various stages of operation.

Another change away from traditional Marxist and Mao principles helps private colleges compete in China. When there were only public colleges and universities, expenses such as tuition, room, board and books, were paid by the government. Higher education was essentially free to accepted students. Today, most students and their families must pay some of the cost of any higher education (*China Today*, 2002, p.143). At most public universities tuition is between 4,200 and 6,000 Yuan per year, equivalent to US\$507 and US\$725. This cost is rising at the rate of about 20 per cent per year. (*China Today*, 2002, p.144). In addition, students must pay for their room and board. However, the charges are not exorbitant. At private Chinese institutions, students pay a little more tuition per year plus room, board, and books. Although there is a monetary difference, it must be remembered that these private students have not scored at a high enough level to get into the public institutions. Therefore, the larger amount of money allows these academically qualified students to attend colleges, otherwise, they would not be able to attend college at all. They do not have the alternatives available to United States students, such as:

- a) go to a cheaper higher education institution,
- b) go part-time,
- c) commute,
- d) go into the military and reap the educational benefit, and
- e) take a semester off to earn additional money.

### **College Selection Today**

The forced assignment of students to colleges and courses ended with the reforms made by Deng Xiaoping. Today, college placement is still based on the examinations scores, but there is more flexibility in the new system. Essentially, the process works in the following manner.

1. Senior Middle School graduates take a unified college entrance examination in July after they have finished their schooling. This would be equivalent to the summer after high school graduation in the United States. As the logistics of handling greater numbers of students have become more complex, it has been decided that the National Entrance Examination should be held in June of 2003. It is also in accordance with the desire of the candidates to avoid the heat in July.
2. Students are asked to predict their scores on the examination before the final scores are ready. The aspiring students usually rank the order of their choices of courses and colleges that they wish to attend. They may list up to four preferences. Each student has to respond 'yes' or 'no', to indicate that they are willing to be placed by the government into another college that was not listed in their original choices, in case their score does not match up with the requirements of their preferred schools.
3. Students receive a report of their scores. However, a student is not permitted to change the indicated choices at this point. That is, the placement matching continues according to the choices indicated by the student initially.
4. The government matches the student's rank order choices with the list of college openings. Logistically, if a college says that they have 100 openings, the government will supply that college with 120 candidates' examination scores and include their files containing middle school teachers' recommendations, grade reports, list of extra-curricular activities, awards, moral comments, and their physical test reports. If the college decides not to accept a particular student, the college administration must return the above relevant materials to the committee and explain why it turned the student away.

The following data give an idea of the numbers involved in the matching process. In a year in Anhui Province, 37,000 students were placed with four-year colleges, 86,000 students were placed in three-year colleges, and 100,000 students were not able to be accommodated in any college and were simply dropped from the matching list.

5. If a student is not selected by any of their college choices, they may either accept the course and college assigned by the committee (assuming that the student initially indicated that they would obey the assignment), or wait a year for another cycle of allocations to take place. Of course, if the student chooses to wait, then they become part of next year's total applicant pool.

There are some clear operational realities inherent in this placement system. Because of the computer matching system, it is important for the prospective student to be realistic about their probable examination results. There is no point in asking to be admitted to the very best colleges if the score is not likely to be good enough to merit admission. If the student lists only, so-called, 'long shots', then the student will be left having only the government assigned choice. However, if the student takes a conservative approach, then they will not be matched with a prestigious college for which they would have qualified.

Quite a few examinees cannot have their dreams realized because their results in the examination are below the requirement level of their desired choice of course or university. If the student has expressed a willingness to be sent by the examining authorities to another college or university, in the case that their preferred institutions would not accept them, then the student may be sent to another college or university.

### **Job Placement Today**

After college graduation, the job placement process has fundamentally changed from that under the Marxist and Mao forced placement system. In accordance with the market economy of the whole society, a brand new system based on the principle of a 'two-way choice' is adopted in place of the old assignment system. The two-way choice system, which is a reform of the former job assignment system, means that graduates can choose employers and the employers can choose graduates, both of their own free will. For instance, a firm approaches a college and requests a list of prospective employees, that is, graduating students in a particular course. The prospective employer receives the appropriate list and interviews the potential employees. For example, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs may request a list of graduating English specialists to be hired as interpreters. It will then interview and select its new employees. Students may accept or reject the position.

However, there is still a remnant of the old assignment system. If a student is particularly asked to accept a position that is considered critical to the success of some governmental agency, the student is expected to accept it. If the student does not accept this kind of position, then a notation is made on the student's work record, unless the student offers a valid reason to decline, such as, caring of an aged parent so cannot move, or physically cannot perform the tasks.

In the case in which a student fails to receive any job offer, the college will help them in finding a job. Most colleges and universities have set up Employment Directing Offices with the aim of guiding, directing and helping graduates seek employment. Consequently, graduates are now trying to prepare in every possible way for the crucial job interviews so that they may be offered better jobs in an environment of keen competition. Unfortunately, students in some less wanted courses, such as history or library archiving, find it difficult to get jobs, since there is little prestige or demand for these graduates, even in a society where overall demand for college graduates cannot be met.

## **AN EXAMPLE OF PRIVATE CHINESE COLLEGIATE EDUCATION: WANBO INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY**

### **The Founding of a Private College**

Wanbo Institute of Science and Technology, located in Hefei, Anhui Province, is a private institution of higher education that offers its students the possibilities of a three-year college education. Yongfang Li, one of the authors of this paper, is the current Dean in the Department of Foreign Studies in the Institute and has been involved since its inception. The senior author, Richard Rosecky, was a visiting professor in China and was present at and familiar with the Institute's formative process. Wanbo Institute is one of the new non-public institutions established to fill the demand by the 100,000 and more Anhui Provincial students who desire to attend college but could not be accommodated by the public system of universities and colleges.

In 1999, Professor Yin Hongjun, Deputy President of the University of Science and Technology of China (USTC), the most prestigious of China's technology universities, proved to be one of the pioneers of non-public college education in China. At that time, he was going to retire from the USTC, when the Anhui Provincial governmental education authorities approached him. They wanted to discuss with him the opportunity to establish a private technological university in Hefei, allowed under the recently adopted 'regulations' and to see if he would consider becoming its first President.

Professor Yin faced two monumental challenges when he accepted the position. Firstly, he could only hire retired faculty or new graduates. That is, he could not hire faculty staff who were presently employed by state funded colleges and universities. At that time, there were no faculty at existing private colleges. Secondly, he would be required to raise more than half of the college's start-up funds from non-governmental sources. Professor Yin decided to accept the challenges.

After a few years were spent in planning and fund raising, the Wanbo Group was formed as the formal owner of the proposed college offered its investment in the construction of the school. The Wanbo Group presented its plan and obtained approvals from three governmental bodies: a) the Anhui Provincial Judging Panel of Higher Education Setting, b) the Anhui Provincial Government, and c) the National Education Ministry, before it could begin operations.

In 2000, the Wanbo Group purchased property and began the conversion of the property into a suitable college site. Costing initial funds of 190 million Yuan (about US\$23 million), the property is a lovely one, nested between a hill and a lake. It is also located in the New Hi Tech Industrial Development Zone, so that it will be close to growing companies with which it can establish student internships and permanent job possibilities for its graduates. The site covers an area of 150,000 square meters. The buildings already on the property had originally been a boarding school; however, they required considerable renovation. Professor Yin explains the present funding situation for the college:

Because China is still a developing country, the compulsory education norm is only nine years. For rich countries, 12 years of education is the norm. In China, college education, though used to be free of charge for sometime, is not compulsory. So the government does not have the duty to educate everyone at college level. That is why the government endorses the use of money for higher education. Wanbo is funded entirely by its own money: the Wanbo Group plus the tuition from the students. About 30 to 40 per cent of the operating costs are funded by tuition. The rest is funded by local enterprises.

Wanbo Institute's initial faculty and staff were recruited from retired professors from the University of Science and Technology of China, Anhui University, Hefei University of



Technology, and the Hefei branch of the Academy of Science of China. Meanwhile, college and university graduates with bachelor and master degrees, have been employed as young teachers. The Institute provides a small amount of advertising to publicize that it is available as a choice for Senior Middle School students taking the entrance examinations every year.

In the Fall of 2000, Wanbo Institute opened with an enrolment of about 300 students in its four schools: a) the School of Science and Engineering, b) the School of Liberal Arts and Law, c) the School of Economic Management, and d) the School of Art and Physical Culture. According to Professor Yin, “Wanbo attracts students essentially from the Anhui Provincial area, but does attract some students from other provinces.”

### **Wanbo Institute Today**

By Fall 2002, there were 2,500 students enrolled, with approximately 5,000 students envisaged for the 2004-2005 school year. It completely renovated the existing premises and erected new classrooms and faculty office facilities as well as ultramodern academic buildings. The rate and quality of the changes are nothing short of astonishing. Compared with the comparatively run down facilities that it acquired, completely modern facilities exist today, just two years after the initial acquisition of the site.

Since the college has been in existence for only two and a half years, it has not yet been granted by the government the right to issue any four-year bachelor's degrees. Like all other Chinese private colleges at this time, it is operating as a three-year college, since it has not yet developed and offered its fourth year curriculum. At this time the Institute can and does offer an official diploma that recognizes junior college academic programs that are done in preparation for the National Self-Taught Senior Program for a Bachelor Degree.

Wanbo expects to be among the first of the non-government higher education programs to be allowed to grant a four-year degree. In anticipation of graduating its first bachelor's degree students, Wanbo Institute already is concerned with their employment. As Professor Yin says,

The school has set up an employment directing division to contact work units, so as to get information to assist graduates in their job-hunting. Now an employment network has been established. Up to now, many work units have come to Wanbo to select the students they need. The school is trying to satisfy both the graduates and the employing units. We hope all students will finish their program and some students go to work part time. We are confident of the first group of our graduates.

Interviews with present Wanbo students find them to be very proud of their new institute. They feel that Wanbo Institute trains them in modern methods of thinking and uses of technology, breaking away from traditional university teaching methods. They are pleased that Wanbo emphasizes useful and applicable knowledge. However, the students are not naïve and recognize that Beijing University, Tsinghua University, and the USTC are still considered to be the ‘best’ places to study. In the ranking by students of the subsequent acceptance by colleges and universities, they would still list, at this time, the established Chinese higher education institutions in order of preference as:

1. The Peoples Liberation Army colleges and universities
2. “First line schools” (Chinese University of Science and Technology, Peking University, Tsinghua University)
3. “Key 100” universities (Anhui University)
4. A new, forward-looking college (Wanbo Institute)

It will be interesting to see, as Wanbo Institute graduates prove themselves in the workplace and in graduate schools in future years, how these preconceived preferences may change.

### SUMMARY

What does it take for a country to move rapidly from an emerging country to a major world force? An educated citizenry. How does a country educate masses of people and prepare them to be a modern workforce with only limited state-run institutions of higher education? A pragmatic PRC government fosters private education in a country that has never had it before, even if this goes against classic Marxism/Maoism, in which the state, and only the state, can provide education. But, as the People's Republic of China has added its own characteristics to socialism, so it has recognized that its historic education system did not and could not meet the needs of a modern society. Therefore, the state now sanctions and promotes private institutions of higher education. The critical steps taken by one particular exemplary institution, Wanbo Institute of Science and Technology, demonstrate the practical considerations that are making such private institutions a successful part of the so-called 'New China' society and culture.

### IMPLICATIONS

The change in law has led to a vigorous growth in non-public-run institutions of higher learning. However, it is easy to demonstrate that there is a huge unmet demand for higher education in modern China.

Just as Chinese society at large has embraced key elements of economic competition, it is very likely that non-public-run institutions of higher education like Wanbo Institute are apt to embrace competition for students. While there are some elements of control maintained by the state, Wanbo has tried to lure students to its campus.

Lastly, China must enlarge its capacity for higher education. As a major member of the World Trade Organization, China needs many more educated managers of its enterprises. The state understands this and has increased its funding for higher education. A major question is, "Is the increased funding enough"? Only the passage of time will tell.

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