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Globalization and Decentralization Forces in China's Higher Education Administration and Management Reform (1953-2015): A Neo-institutional Analysis

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From a neo-institutional perspective, this paper investigates the function and interaction of globalization and decentralization in China's higher education administrative reform. Both the internal and external environments have shaped educational forms and functions. It is not increasingly difficult to understand the impact of globalization of higher education in the Chinese historical context of higher education changes. But it has become more controversial to discuss the decentralization and globalization of higher education administration in terms of the coexistence of Soviet model and the Western model, which provide the scope of transitions from centralization to decentralization in China's higher education system. This research suggests that by coordinating the relationship between central and local dual administrative powers, enlarging provincial autonomy, enhancing the decision-making power of higher education administration, and expanding the autonomy of universities and institutions, China's central government can rationally deal with the globalization and decentralization forces in higher education administrative and management reforms.

Keywords: neo-institutional analysis, globalization, China's higher education reform, decentralization of higher education

Introduction

China has accelerated its endeavor to pursue the global economic collaboration and the past three decades have seen the vigorous development of China's higher education reforms. "Globalization and the evolution of the knowledge-based economy have caused dramatic changes to the character and the functions of higher education in most countries around the world" (Mok, 2002, p. 1). In accordance with such pressures from demands, decentralization, privatization, and marketization have become increasingly significant pathways in universities' governances and management. Additionally, the accountability and efficiency of educational resource allocation have always stimulated the restructuring and reforming of higher education systems, according to the prominent international economic trends. From a conceptual perspective, the neo-institutional analysis can provide a profound overview of China's higher education administrative and management reforms. Therefore, this research utilizes the neo-institutional theory to analyze the higher education administration and management reforms in contemporary China. The assumption of this research is related to internal, external,

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and interplay factors in terms of the conceptualizing theoretical framework. Specifically, decentralization is considered as China's governmental internal pressure for higher education reforms of administration and management, and globalization is regarded as the international pressure from worldwide challenges. Moreover, in the neo-institutional framework, the divided periodization of internal, external, and interplay of three forces has been utilized to analyze the trend of China's higher education administration and management.

The research questions are associated with internal, external, and interplay of three forces as follows:

1. How can we divide these three periods, accounting for internal, external, and interplay of three forces and how to describe, explain, and analyze divided periodization?
2. How can we characterize and evaluate the different phases of higher education reform?
3. To what extent do the concepts of decentralization and globalization help us understand different phases of higher education reform, and to what extent can we understand the phases as responses to the Soviet model and the Western style or to the importance of a "market liberal ideology"?
4. How can neo-institutional theory help us explain and understand the patterns of Chinese higher education reform?

Defining Globalization

Defining the term of globalization involves in different categories and dimensions, including economics, technology, politics, and culture. More specifically, Stromquist and Monkman (2000) pointed out that "globalization is a phenomenon that comprises multiple and drastic changes in all areas of social life, particularly economics, technology, and culture" (p. 1). Gibson-Graham (2006) indicated that globalization is:

A set of processes by which the world is rapidly being integrated into one economic space via increased international trade, internationalization of product and financial markets, the internationalization of a commodity culture promoted by an increasingly networked global telecommunications system. (p. 120)

Additionally, Castells (2000) identified sources of competitiveness in global economy four distinct processes: the technological capacity; access to large, integrated, and affluent market; profitable differential between production costs; and production sets.

From the education perspective, more and more schools are in cooperation with some companies and business. Globalization is creating forces that will divide people economically, but it might also generate forces with the potential to offer new bases for solidarity. (Kenway, 1997, p. 123)

"One of the paradoxes of globalization is that difference is becoming increasingly normative" (McGuire & Mauro, 1997, p. 3). Actually, the national identities and cultural belongings are changed by the trend of globalization and international migration flows. Multicultural countries are calling forth a new productive educational agenda.

From a comparative conceptual perspective, the concept of globalization is intertwined with the internalization in global context. Specifically, Knight (2002) argued, "Internalization at the national, sector, and institutional levels is defined as the process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of postsecondary education" (p. 21). However, the trend of globalization has involved in dynamic changes in the worldwide higher education schemes. Generally speaking, globalization has emerged in the development of internationalization and is still comprehensively controversial to define the term of globalization with different academic, cultural, political, and economic perspectives in contrast to the term of internationalization. Specifically:

Globalization is a phenomenon of a process which is affecting many sectors and disciplines and education is no exception. Internationalizations of higher education are both a response to globalization as well as an agent of globalization. Internationalization is changing the world of higher education and globalization is changing the process of internationalization. (Knight, 2003, p. 38)

Moreover, the term of globalization involves in global competitiveness, intensified collaboration across nations, and boundaries in contrast to internationalization with domination of governments and states. From a historical perspective, the concept of internationalization was occurred and spread in the late 1960s; the trend of globalization emerged in the late 1980s. Particularly, the internationalization and globalization have different mission: the goal of globalization, establishing “universally-acknowledge” pattern beyond cultures and nations in opposite to the aim of internationalization, and focusing on communicating and exchanging within different countries and nations.

In the domain of complexity, the trend of globalization refers to the demographic variety, economic complexity, and cultural transformation. Specifically, from the cultural transformation perspective, the trend of globalization requires international students to solve multiple cultural problems by cognitive flexible, collaborative cooperation, and sophisticated interpersonal skills. Interdisciplinary reflections on the globalization also provide fundamental ways to deeply understand what is “mundane” in the anthropologist’s domain. As a powerful vector of worldwide changes, globalization needs more effective dialogues in the multi-dimensional world. In addition, Castells (2000) defined “timeless time” and “space of flow” in accordance with the developing communication technology from politically neutral domain. Moreover, in the neo-liberal marketing world, policy divergences and policy convergences also dominate the legitimacy and integrity of the process of globalization worldwide (Bottery, 2000).

Globalization and Higher Education Reform

In the sphere of global economics, the diversification and reconstruction of higher education involve lots of pressures on higher education systems in global context. Particularly, Altbach (1991) suggested, “Despite its considerable durability as an institution, the modern university has, in recent years, been subjected to intense pressure to change, from government authorities, students, employers, professional associations and other external stakeholders” (p. 22). Johnstone (2000) also claimed that “the worldwide university reforms agenda raised from a sense of crisis facing higher education in countries as culturally and political diverse” (p. 24). In the neo-liberal education reforms, the financial crisis of higher education system has led to restructuring internal education systems. Moreover, in the pursuit of the neo-liberal reforms, public universities develop commercial activities for the purpose of commercialization of higher education globally. Moreover, what appears obviously is that neo-liberal market ideology focuses on providing guidance for restructuring of higher education system in global economic context. Additionally, Slaughter and Leslie (1997) discussed about the academic capitalism that “policy-makers in most English-speaking countries interpreted the real or imagined implications of the globalization for the restructuring of higher education in remarkably similar ways” (p. 54). As these results, emphasizing the concept of academic capitalism and global market trend, policy-makers pay much more attentions to enlarging the accountability of academic universities. Additionally, Currie and Newsom (1998) argued that “the global convergence of policies is an outcome of the structural conditions.” And they also gave the definition that “a material set of practices drawn from the world of business.” Associating with market ideology from neo-liberalism, policy-makers transform universities’ systems into

commercial entities. Moreover, Harvey (1989) also indicated that “an intense period of time space compression that has had a disorientating and disruptive impact on political-economic practices.” In addition, Sassen (1991) discussed a set of attributes of economic globalization: “increasing economic transgression of national boundaries, improving capital mobility, and shifting from manufacturing to business and finance service, controlling economic activities.” Furthermore, from a sociological perspective, Castells (2000) argued that “the social morphology of our societies, and the diffusion of networking logic substantially modifies the operation and outcomes in the processes of production, experience, power, and culture.” In this way, higher education is related in networking logic of contemporary capitalism globally. Generally speaking, from different logics of globalization, different epistemological and methodological assumptions have led to various reflections and rethinking towards the definitions of globalization. For example, not surprisingly, in the processes of economic globalization, Cox (1997) pointed out that globalization focused on decreasing forces that reduced policy options in the functionalist accounts of globalization. From a structuralism’s perspective, “Globalization is a historical construct rather than a naturalized economic process operating in a reified fashion” (Soros, 1998, p. 29). Hence, the downsizing, deregulation, and privatization have occurred in the economic globalization world. Additionally, *Bologna Declaration* also indicated that the attributes of international trades in higher education concentrated on the competition and cooperation worldwide.

Theoretical Framework

Neo-institutional Theory

From a conceptual perspective, the neo-institutionalism concentrates on endogenous and exogenous forces shaping organizational dynamics and responses to changes. Specifically, the institutional theory contributes on “social constructs of rules, roles, norms, and the expectations that constrain individual and group choice and behavior” within organizations (Frederickson, 1999, p. 703). Hoffman (2001) argued that both internal and external forces were critical to analyze organizational and institutional changes. The neo-institutional theory sought to combine old and new institutionalisms to better understand the changes (Oliver, 1992). Actually, the modern institutional theory is rooted in two main streams: “Old institutionalism, focusing on intra-organizational dynamics or internal elements and new institutionalism, concerning on external factors and the concepts of legitimacy and isomorphism, defined as the processes by which organizations become homogenous in both process and structure over time” (e.g., Meyer & Rowan, 1977, p. 12). Nevertheless, the social, cultural, political, and historical forces provide profound impacts on the development of organizations and institutions. Moreover, Spencer (1910) indicated that “society served as an organic system that evolved over time in relation to its particular context and around the concepts and structures of various institutions” (p. 145). Additionally, Scott (2001) defined that:

The concept defines the purposes or functions of the institution; the structure embodies the idea of the institution and furnishes the instrumentalities through which the idea is put into action. And institutions are both cursive, that is subject to social evolution, and enacted, or produced by rational intervention and intention. (p. 9)

Moreover, Weber (1924/1946) also summarized both internal and external forces influenced on institutional behaviors, concentrating on the legitimacy and authority in organizations. In another word, the endogenous and exogenous forces become the important components of the neo-institutional theory. In addition, sociological institutionalism has also merged in the public administrative theory in terms of the institutional

theory. Generally speaking, the old institutionalism is associated with the public administration, including “authority relations, group dynamics, rationality and decision-making and connected with the role of organizational values and citizenship behaviors, and formalization and hierarchy” (Weber, 1924/1946, p. 38). Generally, “New institutionalism focuses on the impact of the wider institutional environment on organizations” (e.g., Meyer & Rowan, 1977). More specifically, Scott (2001) also noted that “the transition from the ‘old,’ focusing on values, norms, rules, and other internal forces to the ‘new,’ focusing on external forces and organizational responses is one of the primary distinctions between old and new institutionalism” (p. 43). The neo-institutionalism generally contains both internal and external forces in terms of transitional changes in organizations and institutions. Oliver (1992) indicated, “Both internal and external forces play crucial roles in changing processes, and one must seek to understand elements of both if one is to understand the realities facing agencies” (p. 563). Similarly, Selznick (1996) suggested that there not existed distinct discrepancies between “new” and “old” institutionalism, but that different situations naturally focused on specific features of institutionalism. Greenwood and Hinings (1996) further argued that:

Typically, “new” institutional theorists have informed our thinking about the nature of institutional pressures toward conformity and uniformity. They emphasized the exogenous nature of change, which emanated from the realm of ideas and legitimacy. But understanding change was about understanding variations in response to the same pressures, which can only be done by analyzing the “internal” features of organizations that produce adoption and diffusion rather than resistance and inertia. (p. 42)

Historically, there are distinct discrepancies between old institutionalism and new institutionalism. Fundamentally, the old institutionalism can provide the institutional theory by analyzing internal factors to influence organizational processes; the new institutionalism is connected with economics, political science, and sociology.

From a historical perspective, the neo-institutional theory is associated with education, and many scholars have illustrated the relationship between neo-institutional theory and education in different domains. For example, Meyer (1977) wrote in *The Effects of Education as an Institution*, in his words, “move away from the contemporary view of educational organization as a production system constructing elaborated individuals” and instead to see the education “as a system of institutionalized rites transforming social roles through powerful initiation ceremonies and as an agent transforming society by creating new classes of personnel with new types of authoritative knowledge” (p. 56). Moreover, he further argued that education represented “a set of institutional rules which legitimately classify and authoritatively allocated individuals to positions in society and institutional impact of education on social structure itself—on the behavior of people throughout so” (Meyer, 1977, p. 59). More specifically, clarifying the internal and external factors is extremely important to China’s higher education reforms. Combining organizational and environmental forces can be subjected to the interactional foundation of endogenous and exogenous factors for the holistic understanding of higher education reforms in current China. In addition, this research contributes to academically understanding the nature of interplay of endogenous and exogenous factors through the lens of neo-institutionalism concept. In the context of the fragmented and disarticulated Chinese higher education history, from 1953 to 2015, the institutionalism can provide a more distinct theoretical perspective to analyze the internal and external structure of higher education administrative and management reforms.

Endogenous Forces: Decentralization (1953-1977)

From the neo-institutional perspective, the trend of decentralization as an internal force is connected to the

intra-organizational dynamics of China's higher education administrative system. Specifically, the internal organizational structure is subject to a tendency toward decentralized unified systems as social principles and changes. In the historical context, the transition from centralization to decentralization gradually took place from 1953 to 1962. In accordance with the political standpoint, shifted from the Soviet model to the Maoism model, the year of 1953 is characterized as an initial point of the centralization. Additionally, the First Five-Year Plan is closely associated with the Soviet model and implemented by the central government in higher education administration and management domains. Especially, in the higher education systems, the ownership of higher education system is established by the central government designed as a part of national plan. During China's First Five-Year Plan (1953-1957), in the higher education systems, the central government concentrated on "nationally unified teaching plans, syllabuses, materials, and textbooks were introduced for every academic specialty or major" (Pepper, 1990, p. 41). Additionally, the Chinese government also utilized and implemented the Soviet model and had a tendency to centralized higher education system in 1953. In another word, during the period of Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution, Chinese education administrative systems had an obvious tendency toward developing decentralization.

From the historical context, the Great Leap Forward (1958) seemed to be a catalyst for the inception of decentralization. Specifically, Yang Xiufeng, the ex-president of the Ministry of Education (MOE), pointed out that "the existing institutional of higher education learning, finance system, leadership system, and the distribution of graduates too much emphasized on centralized and unified, which was the restriction on the enthusiasm and motivation from local higher education department" (Yang, 1987, p. 21). Indeed, the flexibility of internal education structure has led to more effective local administrative system and increased the number of students in regular higher education institutions (HEIs) and adult colleges. From 1957 to 1962, the number of students in regular HEIs was increased from 441,181 to 829,699 and the number of students in adult colleges was dramatically raised from 520,276 to 1,240,307. So the year of 1960 was considered as the peak year both for the increased number of students in regular HEIs and adult colleges (see Figure 1).

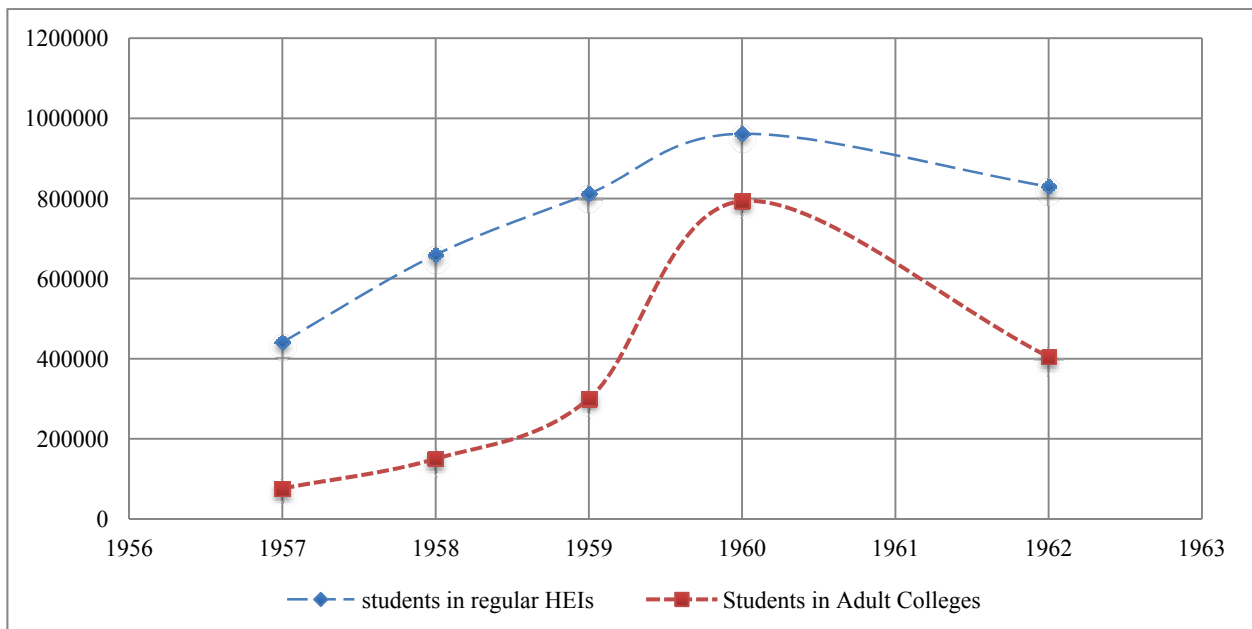


Figure 1. Number of students in HEIs (1957-1962) (Source: MOE, 1984).

It is worth noting that the year of 1958 is the remarkable and profound turning point to decentralize higher education administrations and central authorities. In addition, the central government has still a tendency to decentralize higher education power and management, change vertical administrative model, and encourage regional education management. Particularly, in April 1958, the Central Committee released the *Policy of Suggestions on Decentralizing Higher Institutions and Secondary Technical Schools*, which covered the most of HEIs and secondary technical schools were belong to local provinces and autonomous administrative governments (MOE, 1984). And, a small number of universities or institutions still directly led by the MOE and central authorities. In response to this policy, the Central Committee also decided to decentralize and adjusted higher education enrollment system, graduation system, and employment allocation system. That meant local HEIs and secondary specialized colleges could recruit students on their specific timeline or schedule. In August 1958, the Central Committee released five decisions related to the power of higher education management and regulations, and these decisions pointed out that “strengthening local higher education management and leadership by state councils and empowering state councils to reasonably adjust national higher education regular, principles, and rules to suiting local different conditions in terms of locality” (Li, 2001).

Moreover, Pepper (1990) argued that during the movement of the Great Leap Forward (1958-1962), an unprecedented extension of mass education launched by Mao’s policy of “walking on two legs” (p. 55). More specifically, the decentralizing administrative reforms in higher education systems also have stimulated the increased number of different types of HEIs. From 1957 to 1962, the number of comprehensive universities was increased by 610, industry universities was increased by 206, agricultural universities was increased by 69, medical universities was increased by 118, and normal universities was increased by 110 (see Table 1). Moreover, during the period of 1957 to 1962, the number of HEIs was increased from 206 to 407 and the year of 1960 was still considered as the peak year with HEIs of 1,289 (see Figure 2). However, the enlarging scales’ process of decentralization of education has led to the poor quality of higher education. Specifically, during the historical period of Great Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), stimulating from the overwhelming movement of Superstructure Revolution, China gradually implemented decentralizing higher education. In fact, the Great Cultural Revolution dismantled all the traditional higher education systems, including curriculum, administration, and teacher education. To this extend, the movement of Great Cultural Revolution provides a pivotal vehicle to develop the trend of decentralization in China. Moreover, the China Central Committee published the *Report of Improving Universities Recruitment*, indicating that shifting the central universities recruitments to local and autonomous regions, and released the announcement on *Revolution of Universities Recruitment and Admission*, which concentrated on transitions of recruitment’s power from central to local. Additionally, in August 1971, *Summaries on National Education Meetings* pointed out that local governments should give priority to cultivating leadership to manage local colleges and universities (Zhou, 2000). In the Chinese contextual background, the shifting from centralization to decentralization occurred relatively in the process of education reforms and these transitions initiated by the central government with the absolute education ownership and funding resources. In response to the policies of “bring order out of chaos,” in 1977, the central government emphasized on the centralization of management to recover central-oriented leadership and power.

Table 1

The Number of Classified HEIs

Year	Total	Comprehensive universities	Industry universities	Agricultural universities	Medical universities	Normal universities	Finance colleges	Law schools	Others
1957	229	17	44	28	37	58	5	5	35
1958	791	27	251	96	134	171	12	5	95
1960	1,289	37	472	180	204	227	25	9	135
1962	610	31	206	69	118	110	17	3	47

Note. Source: MOE (1984).

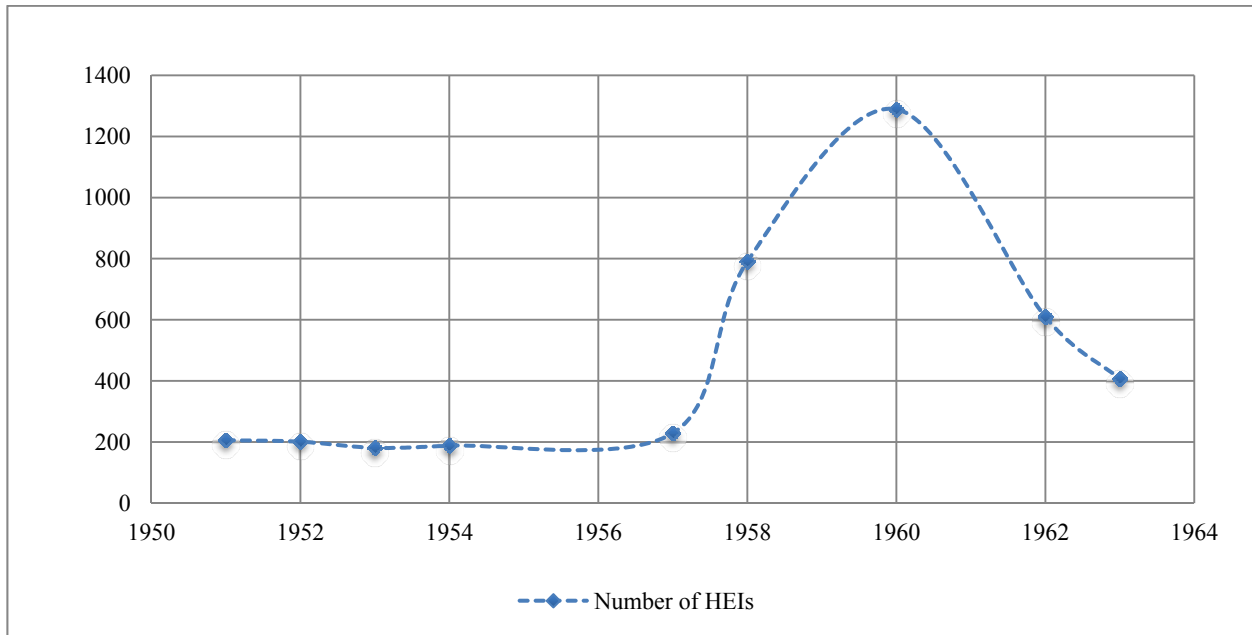


Figure 2. The number of HEIs (1952-1963) (Source: MOE, 1984, pp. 975-977).

Exogenous Forces: Globalization (1978-1999)

From the neo-institutional perspective, the trend of globalization is characterized as an external force, which is incentive to internal institutional changes in the China's higher education administrative context. Profoundly, the trend of globalization is intangibly hidden behind the trend of so-called "socialist modernization" and "socialist market economy." Practically, the causal relationship between occurrences of globalization and "socialist market economy" is mainly clarified by the macroscopic causality in the social science domain. In another word, globalization serves as exogenous forces, which can evoke the internal organizational pressures and changes in China's economic and political society. As this result, socialist modernization and socialist market economy can be considered as external approaches to alleviate the internal organizational pressures and changes in the higher education administrative systems. In response to the urgent demands of rapid development of socialist modernization and socialist market economy, the refresh stream of globalization has led to profound insightful changes and pressures to China's higher education system.

In the late 1970s, the Opening Policy (1978) made a tremendous influence in the development of globalization. Since 1978, the decentralization from Western education plays a dominated role in disseminating the concept of globalization. Moreover, Western education is subjected to high decentralized, with opposite to

the Soviet model that was more characterized as central controlled. Hence, it becomes more controversial to evaluate the performance and outcome of China's higher education whether or not made thoroughly transitions from the Soviet model to the Western model. The Chinese government has gradually implemented higher educational administrative reforms in accordance with the comprehensive constructional and decentralized administrative influences from Cultural Revolution. In the 1980s, in order to mitigate enrollment bias, which students studying in finance, economics, law, and business management occupied a small proportion, the Chinese government made an adjustment in curriculum, expanding the enrollments for these majors and adding interdisciplinary majors in science and technology. Since 1980, in order to consolidate regular higher education, the central government integrated short-cycle colleges, non-degree colleges, and vocational and technical colleges. In 1984, the Central Committee released the *Decision on Education System Reform*, which concentrated on changing traditional education administration and management to accompany with the global economic trend. This decision was specifically related to ensuring and enlarging universities' autonomy under the unified educational principles and guidelines. In 1985, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) launched the *Decision on Reform of Education System*, concerning on carrying out Chinese educational reforms. Accounting for realizing China's socialist modernization, since 1985, higher educational system reforms were gradually initiated by the Chinese government. The CCP's 14th Congress (1986) established the socialist market economy, which was endorsed as a goal of the economic reform (Kwong, 2000). Hawkins (1983) suggested that in order to improve the enrollment rates of Chinese higher education, since 1988, the Chinese government has implemented "two tracks" system, concerning on universities or colleges received tuition fees and should be responsible for employments. Since 1992, the market-oriented economy has gradually generated in social and educational reforms, associating with approving universities or colleges to enroll up to 25% students in "commissioned training" or "fee-paying" categories. The development of globalization concentrates on the cultural assimilation of Westernization ideology. Robertson (1992) argued that "globalization as a concept refers both to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole" (p. 123). Learning from the advanced Western concepts and ideas can provide multiple channels for Chinese to broaden international insight and enriching social activities. During post-Mao period, the central government has implemented to restore and duplicate original and traditional ideas, which have contributed to guaranteeing its leading authority. It was not surprising that the regulations and standards, concerning on keeping high quality of allocating educational resource, were offered by the central government. Moreover, Qiang (1996) argued, "Education reform was performed with a trait of high decentralization" (p. 17). In 1988, Li Peng, in the National Education Meetings, suggested that "the mission of higher education reform is to gradually cultivate effective mechanisms to adapt national economic growth and social development" (Li, 1988). In 1989, the National Education Committee released relevant documents to clarify that "the core of higher education system reform is to accessible and adaptable mechanisms in consistence with commodity economy" (National Education Committee, 1989). During that period, China's higher education reforms were definitely followed by economic mechanism reforms and political mechanism changes.

The central government has gradually designed and implemented a bunch of higher education policies, concerning on the globalization of China's higher education systems. Specifically, "Southern Talk" by Deng Xiaoping can be regarded as the significant landmark to build the socialist modernization and socialist market economy. In response to adapting the new policy, two documents, *Suggestions on Enhancing and Developing*

Higher Education and Outlines of China's Education Development and Reform are completely emphasized on the reforms of the higher educational administrative systems. In 1993, the Central Committee and State Council released *China's Education Reform and Development Outline*, basically concerning on "building new education system in accordance with political and technical reforms." Additionally, *The National Education Law of the People's Republic of China* explicitly clarified that "the State Council and local governments, based on principles of classification management, and various division of responsibilities manage education works" (China Education Review, 1949). Indeed, it is difficult to shift from aggregation to segregation substantially. Moreover, in 1997, the 15th National People's Congress (NPC) more emphasized on higher education reforms, which suggested to optimize the higher education structure, accelerate the paces of higher educational administration and management system reforms, improve higher education quality, and rational allocate higher educational resources. In response to the 15th NPC, in 1998, Li Lanqing, the ex-vice president of the national council, in the Meeting of the Higher Education System Reforms, further emphasized on intensifying the comprehensive higher education reforms. In 1999, following the five reforms keywords: "coordination," "co-construction," "combination," "collaboration," and "transformation," the central government basically completed institutional and system transitions with the remarkable achievements of HEIs and universities. Since December 2000, Chen Zhili, the ex-president of the MOE, indicated that "we should consistently deepen the higher educational administrative reforms, accelerate provincial level universities' reforms and optimize higher educational structures" (Chen, 2000, p. 21). Furthermore, Li (2001) concluded that, since 1992, the higher education system reforms obtained tremendous achievements. Specifically, throughout eight years, 31 provinces, cities, and autonomous regional local governments worked along with about 60 departments affiliated by national council were involved in about 900 institutions and universities. According to the statistics from Li (2001), the number of regular institutions reduced from 1,080 in 1994 to 1,018 in 1999; the number of adult colleges rapidly decreased from 1,321 in 1990 to 811 in 1992. Combing and merging of the HEIs, the central government has established a bunch of comprehensive and multi-disciplinary universities to guarantee the effectiveness of higher educational structures and systems. Moreover, the central government directly subordinated adults' colleges, which were decreased from 281 in the peak of 1995 to 55 in the year of 2001. By the virtue of raising local economic construction and social development, cultivating central and provincial education administrative systems would lead to the dual management structures in China's higher education system. From 1996 to 1999, accounting for keeping paces with the changes of labor market, the Chinese government enlarged the percent of enrollments of students, majoring in literature, engineering, medicine, and law, discarded the percent of enrollments of student with non-degree programs in response to the main function of the National Entrance Examination, which contributed to keeping the high quality of tertiary education. There also existed some critical considerations on the evaluative assessment, equal enrollment opportunities, and validation of the standardization in China's higher education themes. In order to alleviate the drawbacks and disadvantages of the National Entrance Examination, since 1984, Shanghai initially has introduced a series of experimental programs to mitigate disadvantages of the entrance examinations. In 1999, a new policy, focused on selecting individual preferences of HEIs or majors after releasing scores of entrance examinations, provided more and more rational choices instead of inaccurate estimation of scores. This policy also triggered the expansion of the number of short-cycle vocational colleges. From 1999 to 2001, the number of short-cycle vocational colleges was increased from 161 to 386 compared with the number of universities and vocational colleges (see Table 2).

Table 2

The Number of Regular HEIs (1999-2001)

Year	Total	Universities and colleges	Vocational colleges	Short-cycle vocational colleges
1999	1,071	597	313	161
2000	1,041	599	258	184
2001	1,225	597	242	386

Note. Source: MOE (2014).

The Interplay of Globalization and Decentralization (2000-2015)

In the neo-institutional concept, the interplay between the decentralization as an internal force and the globalization as an external force is critical to analyze the organizational and institutional changes in China's higher educational administrative context. Essentially, the neo-institutionalism significantly concentrates on endogenous and exogenous forces shaping the organizational dynamics and responses to the changes in different contextual backgrounds. Specifically, both the decentralization as the internal force and globalization as the external force cultivate the intercommunicating, interacting, and interconnecting approaches to reconstruct China's higher education administrative categories in the contextual background. More specifically, from 1999 to 2001, the regular HEIs were typically divided into three main types of administrative institutions: universities and colleges, vocational colleges, and short-cycle vocational colleges (see Table 2). Moreover, both enrollment rates and scales of HEIs are rapidly raised in response to the reconstruction of higher education administrative classifications. Particularly, from 1991 to 2014, the gross enrollment rate of higher education was dramatically increased from 3.5% in 1991 to 37.5% in 2014 (see Figure 3). Additionally, the average size of regular HEIs, from 1994 to 2014, was increased from 2,591 to 7,704 (see Figure 4).

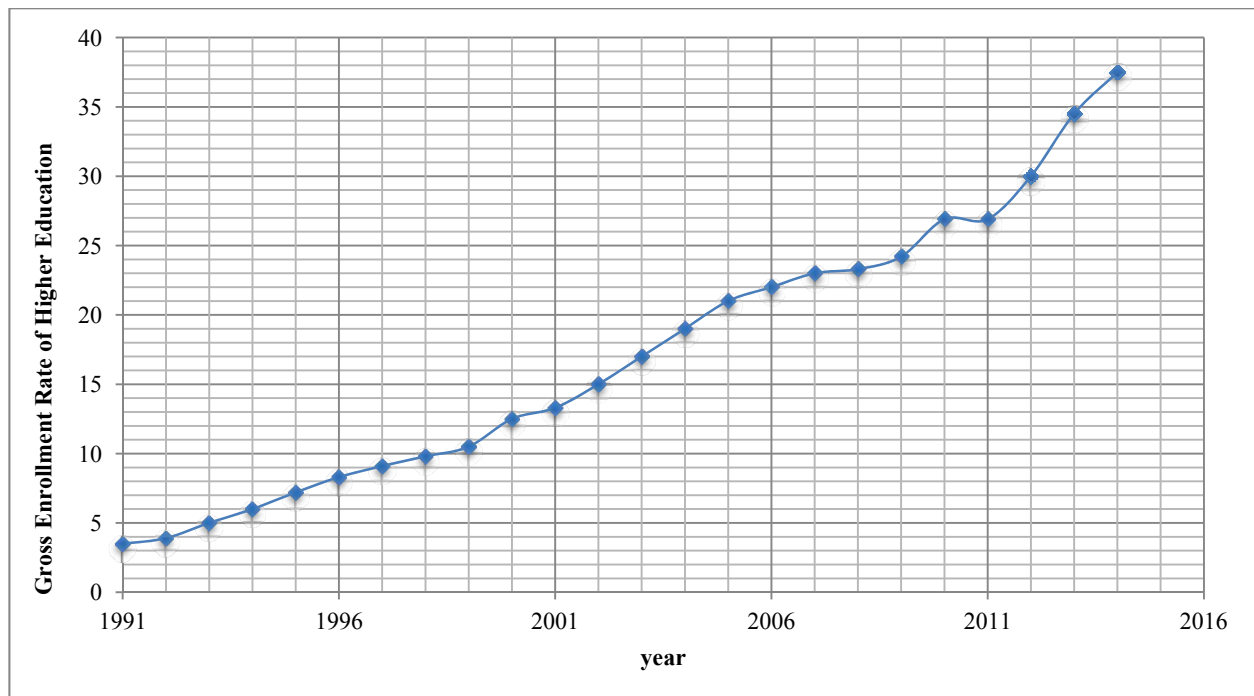


Figure 3. Gross enrollment rate of higher education (1991-2014).

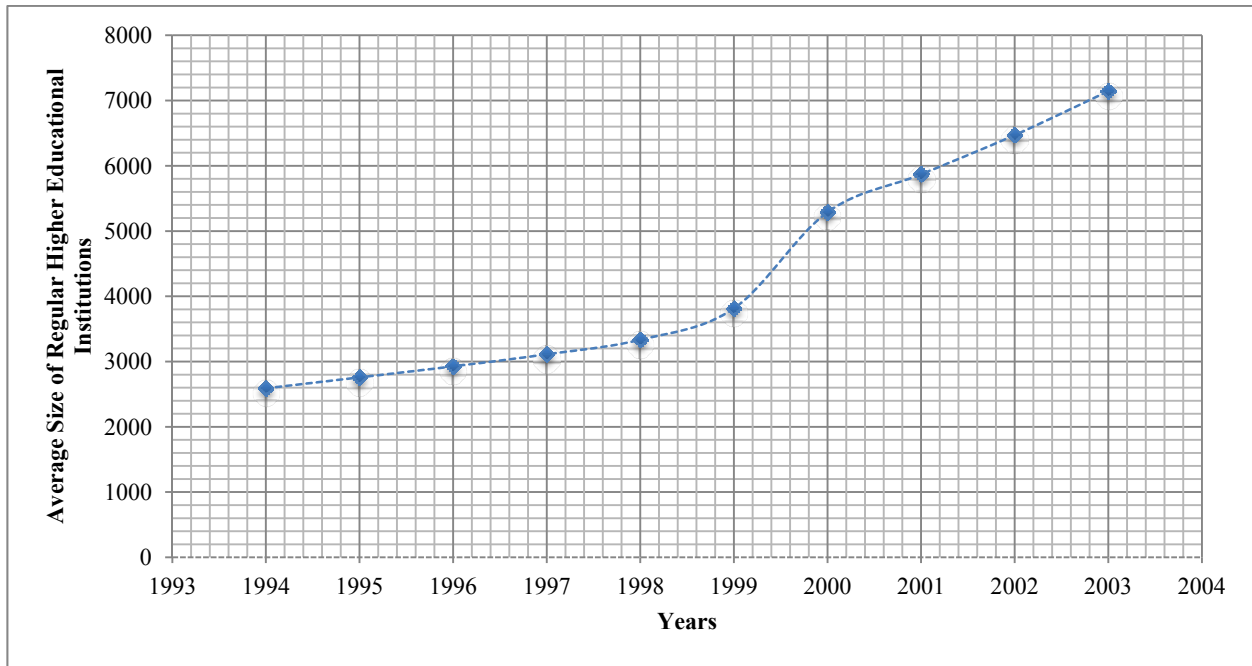


Figure 4. Average size of regular HIEs (1994-2014).

Private Higher Education

In contemporary China, the emergence of private higher education demonstrates the functions of the interplay between globalization and decentralization in China's higher education systems. The proliferation of China's private higher education reshapes and reconstructs the landscapes of contemporary higher education systems. Moreover, private higher education in current China, concerning on the combination of academic-oriented and market-oriented, can continuously provide the occupational and professional skills to the labor market. However, the controversial debates involve in striking echoes in the highlighted context of China's higher education systems. Historically, Confucius as an initial private educator (551-479 B.C.) established China's private schools and developed the prosperity and diversification of private schools. The traditional private education focuses on the literacy and numeracy in secondary education. The coexistence of private and public education has lasted for 2,000 years in China's traditional education systems. In modern social context, in 1980s, the Opening Policy was embarked on establishing private education to promote the internal decentralizing higher education. Moreover, in recent decades, the flourishing global economics stimulates the development of China's private higher education in external global environment.

The expansion of private HEIs witnesses the rapid growth of social demands of private higher education. Specifically, in the higher education realm, the private education refers to the schools, colleges, and institutions, operated and arranged by non-government organizations, or private groups of self-funding supports. In addition, Wang Jiaqiu, the former vice-president of the NPC, gave the official explanations of private higher education: "The ownership, resources of funding, target customers and the contents of service served as main characteristics of defining China's private higher education" (Wang, 1997, p. 11). Moreover, the central government authorized and released the *Law of Promotion for Private Education* in 2002 and the private higher education served as independent colleges with self-funding allocation. In 2003, Zhou Ji, the ex-president of the MOE, suggested that "massification of higher education was the mainstream of the development of higher

education” (Zhou, 2004, p. 21). More specifically, from 2002 to 2013, the total number of regular HEIs was increased from 1,396 to 2,529. From the administrative perspective, from 2002 to 2014, there existed three main types of higher education administration system, which included HEIs under central ministries and agencies, HEIs under local authorities, and non-state private colleges. Both the number of HEIs under MOE and HEIs under central agencies kept stable. However, the number of HEIs ran by higher education departments and non-education departments grew dramatically. More remarkably, since 2012, the number of non-state private colleges rapidly increased by 727 (see Table 3).

Table 3

The Number of Regular HEIs (2002-2013)

Years	Total	HEIs under central ministries and agencies		HEIs under local authorities		Non-state private	
		HEIs under MOE	HEIs under other central agencies	Run by education departments	Run by non-education departments		
2002	1,396	72	39	776	378	131	
2003	1,552	73	38	767	501	173	
2004	1,731	73	38	799	595	1,187	
2005	1,792	-	-	-	-	-	
2006	1,867	73	38	853	627	276	
2007	1,908	73	38	852	650	295	
2008	2,263	73	38	859	655	638	
2009	2,305	73	38	877	661	656	
2010	2,358	73	38	854	719	674	
2011	2,409	73	38	969	583	696	
						Local enterprises	
2012	2,442	73	38	967	604	52	706
2013	2,491	73	40	1,015	598	48	717
2014	2,529	73	40	1,053	592	44	727

Note. Source: MOE (2014).

The development of private higher education is associated with policies, economics, and cultures. Additionally, the expansion of private higher education is rooted in the social transitions in terms of the Opening Policy. Moreover, Geiger (1986) argued that “there were three main categories to describe private education: mass, parallel, and peripheral private sectors” (p. 34). In response to economic and social political environments, China’s private education has in an ambiguous position in contemporary higher education systems. Moreover, Min (1999) also pointed that “China’s private education was characterized by the gradual social and economic transitions from ossified, centrally planned system to the dynamic, socialist economics.” Indeed, the profound social and economic transitions triggered a series of challenges of higher education reforms. In response to transitions of higher education administration, it is difficult to integrate the decentralization as internal intra-organizational force and globalization as external environmental force. However, the autonomy and flexibility of private higher education can provide local communities and non-state units more opportunities to involve in higher educational administration and management. Particularly, Hanson (1998) also suggested that “decentralization refers to the transfer of decision-making authority, responsibility, and tasks from higher to lower organizational levels or between organizations” (p. 112). Moreover, in 1995, the

Education Law (MOE, 1995) illustrated that non-government sectors or units also have qualified and legitimated to run private colleges and universities. Additionally, in 1998, the *Higher Education Law* (MOE, 1998) further pointed out that higher education should be characterized as diversified higher education. In 2002, *the Law of Promotion for Private Education* was regarded as the first national legislation to facilitate private higher education. Additionally, the administrative autonomy has been allowed to independently establish relevant policies of enrollment, funding, and international cooperation. Specifically, the private higher education is currently categorized into these types: regular HEIs, higher vocational education colleges, self-taught and self-studied programs, professional qualification certificates programs, and Sino-foreign jointly funded colleges. Moreover, independent colleges represent a remarkable landmark in China's private higher education systems. In 1999, some coastal provinces, such as Zhejiang and Jiangsu, also occurred state-owned or non-government secondary colleges and shown the promising prototypes of independent colleges.

The challenges and opportunities for China's private higher education are interdependent in current higher education systems. Particularly, in order to meet the demands of the accessible higher education, the private higher education has developed the non-government financial and administrative systems. The trend of globalization of higher education can be a catalyst for cultivating private higher education when China joined the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001. Moreover, the private higher education provided the autonomy and accountability to China's higher education systems in the administration and management fields. Undoubtedly, the sufficient authority was considered as a crucial factor to formulate and implement private higher education. Additionally, Levy (2009) summarized three types of global private higher education, including elite/semi-elite, religious/cultural, and non-elite/demand-absorbing. Specifically, China's private higher education is attributed to the type of non-elite/demand-absorbing. Faced with the political and institutional environments, the private higher education is deliberately encouraged by China's central government to meet demands of accessibility of higher education. In another word, the dissemination of the private higher education serves as one vehicle to cultivate organizational diversity in the higher education system. Moreover, the private education has isomorphic tendencies to the market competitions and market-oriented systems. The prosperous private higher education has been regarded as private-owned institutions. Additionally, Di Gropello (1999) identified three categories of institutional isomorphism, namely, coercive, mimetic, and normative. The notion of institutional isomorphism stresses the importance of legitimacy and the logic of appropriateness for processes of homogenization. Meanwhile, the market niches have created a new form of private higher education. For example, public and private partnership colleges were named as independent colleges.

Cost-Sharing Reform

In accordance with the globalization and decentralization in current China's higher education systems, the most prominent barriers, which encounter China's higher education, are the complex structural mechanism and affordability of HEIs. In the past three decades, shifting from government fund-oriented to cost-sharing marketing system had emerged in the rapid global economic growth, concerning on increasing the demands of higher education and effective state budgetary policies. The cost-sharing reform of tertiary education is characterized as one prominent achievement of the fundamental outcome of the interplay of globalization and decentralization. The cost-sharing reform has also aroused a series of fierce discussions on the pressures of higher education, accounting for the educational resource shortage, finance elimination, and internal or external competitions. Specifically, some scholars argued that such market-oriented education reforms would lose

“pedagogical nature of higher education.” When the central government shifted the power to the local governments, the pressures of the human resource shortage, financial support elimination, and internal competition can prevent the development of decentralization and globalization in higher education systems. Ding (2000) also argued that “the knowledge-driven and technology-intensive economy pushed more pressures to the central government to practically develop more effective professional strategies toward new trends of globalization.” Since the 1990s, the expansion of higher education enrollment has simulated serious pressures on current China society. In the educational market, especially in the international education market, private HEIs need more opportunities to compete with other foreign institutions (Shen, 1997, p. 93).

A bunch of higher education policies have been completely implemented to incentive the development of cost-sharing process. In accordance with the cost-sharing reform of tertiary education in current China, the central government makes transitions from free higher education to cost-sharing higher education financing system. Particularly, Wing-Wah (1995) summarized and divided different periods of implementing cost-sharing process: in 1952-1970s, higher education, in “people’s Grant” period, was completely funded by the central government in *State-Planned Enrollment Policy*; during the mid-1970s and 1984, increasing enrollment, declining central government funds, increasing demands of higher education, and limiting the people’s Grants were considered as the mainstreams of higher education financing patterns. In 1983-1988, three admissions subjects, including state-planned enrollment, contracted enrollment, and fee-paying enrollment, were adopted and the people’s Grant was abolished. In addition, the student loans and scholarships were adopted by the central government. From 1989 to 1993, state-planned enrollment, contracted enrollment, and fee-paying enrollment were served as three main schemes. Generally, the increasing number of higher education enrollment has shown the dramatic changes and trends from free higher education to cost-sharing higher education financing system. Particularly, the higher education enrollments curve has vividly described this trend: from 1994 to 1997, the regional economic development, individual affordability, and social economic statuses had been considered to charge actual tuition fees with keeping rising annual growth rate of about 19% averagely from 1990 to 1997. In addition, during 1998 to 2015, the gross enrollment increased from 9.8% in 1998 to about 26% in 2015.

Nevertheless, the accountability and affordability have fundamentally dominated the quality and effectiveness of higher education reforms. Particularly, according to the statistics, from January 2011 to November 2011, the national public finance budget spending on higher education reached to 12,332 billion, increased by 25.8% than the same period in 2010. In 2011, the central fiscal expenditure on education is expected to 3,259 billion, rising to 27.8% in 2010 (Liu, 2012). Moreover, increasing the fiscal expenditure on the education provides fundamental support for the development of educational career. In 2012, *Education Informatization Development Plan for Ten Years (2011-2020)* (MOE, 2012) indicated to strengthen the construction of the digital campuses and applications, build digital the research collaboration supporting platform and educational informative network infrastructure, promote research and experimental bases, scientific instruments, natural science and technology resources, scientific data sharing, and support interdisciplinary, collaborative innovations across regional and national boundaries.

In order to deal with the dual pressures and changes from the interplay of globalization as an external force and decentralization as an internal force, a series of educational reforms’ plans have implemented to fulfill constructing human resource power and innovative society in current China’s higher education scene. Specifically, *Education Revitalization Plan (2003-2007)*, concentrated on continuing to implement the “985”

Project and “211” Project, strives to build high levels universities, strengthen the implementation of high level creative outstanding person programs, and promote the graduate students’ educational innovation plans. Additionally, the mission of *The National Mid-long Term Education Development Planning (2010-2020)* is subjected to cultivating educational talents, who served as the crucial resources and strategic positions in constructing human resource power and innovative society. For higher education, these plans have focused on cultivating and accumulating leading talents with the international academic influences, fostering the youth academic outstanding persons, and strengthening the management of higher education personal. Moreover, Yuan Guiren, the current president of the MOE, indicated in *2012 National Education Conference* that building new mechanisms, exploring and establishing collaborative innovative systems, further breaking institutional barriers between universities and institutions, and promoting the quality of higher education should be considered as significant tasks for China’s higher education reforms currently (Yuan, 2012).

Findings and Conclusions

This article through the lens of neo-institutional dimension concentrates on internal, external, and interplay forces, which are guiding and directing the trends of China’s higher education administration and management reforms. Specifically, decentralization as an internal force is connected to intra-organizational structures of China’s higher education administrative system, and globalization as an external force is an incentive to internal institutional changes in China’s higher education administrative context. The interplay of decentralization and globalization is critical to analyze organizational and institutional changes in contemporary China’s higher education systems.

From the macro scope of China’s higher education management and administration reforms, it mainly concentrates on three dimensions: coordinating the relationship between central and local dual administrative power; enlarging provincial autonomy and decision-making power of higher education administration; and expanding the autonomy of universities and institutions. From a historical perspective, decentralizing higher education administration system, concerning on the shifting from “centralizing” to “decentralizing,” objectively, smashed the original internal rampart of China’s traditional higher education administration systems. Additionally, decentralizing administrative power has led to provide effective management approaches and connect the labor market demands and professional training. For example, in order to adapt to developing socialist market economy as external forces, the “211” project has led to the transitions of higher education system reforms and school running ideas. The multiple patterns among central-department, central-local, and department-local motivate higher education internal administration reform currently.

The interplay of decentralization and globalization in China’s higher educational financial and administrative contexts has provided the rational allocation of limited educational resources and decentralizing administrative authorities. Specifically, from a social political perspective, the antagonistic relations between macro-adjustment and free-market demand may not lead to a reasonable higher education structural system. Moreover, China’s central government has a tendency toward the decentralization in historical context of social changes. Combining macro-plan and micro-professionalism provides a significant pathway for the present China as well as the future China (Xu, 2005, p. 94). Additionally, from a legislator perspective, China’s higher education as a legislative entity has responsibilities to cooperate and communicate with foreign universities. And China’s higher education reforms are considered as multi-dimensional agendas. Devolving the power and responsibility to local governments serves as first steps in the higher education decentralization and localization

reforms by the MOE. For instance, the provincial or municipal governments can reconstruct and supervise local colleges under provincial authorities and power. Broadly speaking, coordinating the relationships between central and local dual administrative powers, enlarging provincial autonomy and decision-making power of higher education administration, expanding the autonomy of universities and institutions are considered as rational and effective pathways to deal with the globalization and decentralization forces in higher education administrative and management reforms contemporarily.

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Building a Conceptual Framework of Values Capital for Educational Leadership

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What makes a great leader great and what makes a leader become ordinary? Leadership is fundamentally a value-laden activity and values as conceptions of the desirable that guide the way social actors. Values are generally acknowledged to be central to the field of leadership. By reviewing the related literature and analyzing the relevant concepts, this article is trying to bring up a new idea which the author called “values capital” and to build up a conceptual framework for leadership. This study suggests that corporations need to counter the predominant value of self-interest in the global marketplace by proactively managing the ethical context of the organization. Perceived value congruence positively correlated to such affective outcomes as satisfaction, commitment, and involvement and negatively with performance. Organizational leaders can prime different values identities according to which are appropriate for the particular context. Four elements including principle, consequence, consensus, and preference of values are identified to be the keys of the conceptual framework of values for leadership.

Keywords: leadership, values, values capital, management

Introduction

As Willower (1992) pointed out, because a significant portion of the practice in educational administration requires rejecting some courses of action in favor of a preferred one, values are generally acknowledged to be central to the field. A few years ago, when the author was still the director of Tai Chung Costal Community College, two stories caused him to think about the values problem for educational leadership. The first one is about personal political stance. In Taiwan’s election year 2004, the Community College Association in Taipei started a speech program aimed at the topic of “New Constitution.” Any community college in Taiwan could just join in and get 30,000 NTD fund for each speech without doing anything but arranging the place. Why did some apply the fund and some did not?

The second story happened in a conversation between a director of a community college with religious background and the author. The author told the director that people around his school love dancing, so dancing classes are the most popular ones at his school. Then, the author asked, “Are dancing classes also popular here at your school?” The director answered, “We do not have any dancing class!” The author replied, “How come? There must be some people love to dance and, as I know, every community college has dancing classes more or less.” After a while, she finally gave the author an answer, “We just do not think it is necessary and appropriate to offer a dancing class at my school.” The author was astonished for a moment. With a deeper thinking, the author figured it out why they do not have any dancing class. One is about their religious image and the other is

that they do not have any pressure to make profit.

It looks true, from the implications of these two stories above, that most practitioners readily acknowledge the impact of values on educational practice. Administrators have become increasingly sensitive to values issue because of the pluralistic societies in which we live and work (Begley, 1996). But the author is curious to ask that how do values really work in the process of decision-making? Can values be simplified to a more clearly analytical unit, like capital?

The Concept of Capital

In classical economics, capital is one of three (or four, in some formulations) factors of production. The others are land, labour, and (in some versions) organization, entrepreneurship, or management. Earlier illustrations often described capital as physical items, such as tools, buildings, and vehicles that are used in the production process. Since at least the 1960s, economists have increasingly focused on broader forms of capital. For example, investment in skills and education can be viewed as building up human capital or knowledge capital, and investments in intellectual property can be viewed as building up intellectual capital. Ratnapala (2003) indicated that capital generally understood consists of resources owned by individuals or firms and applied in the production of goods and services. These resources include incorporeal assets, such as goodwill, trade reputation, and training. The concept of capital has more recently been extended to conditions that help production by facilitating coordination among parties to transactions. This form of capital may or may not be “owned” by individuals or firms, but it provides them with clear advantages. These terms lead to certain questions and controversies discussed in those articles. Human development theory describes human capital as being composed of distinct social, imitative, and creative elements. Social capital is the value of network trusting relationships between individuals in an economy. If there is a room for values, it should fall within this extended meaning of capital.

What Are Values?

Values are considered subjective, vary across people and cultures and are in many ways aligned with belief and belief systems. Types of values include ethical/moral values, doctrinal/ideological (political, religious) values, social values, and aesthetic values. It is debated whether some values are intrinsic. Begley (1996) has pointed out that social psychology has long supported the importance of values in people’s thinking and seminal works, such as Barnard (1938), Weber (1949), and Simon (1965) certainly acknowledge the function of values. However, the achievement of anything resembling theoretical consensus on the nature and function of values has been elusive. People are surrounded by values, they see what they see by values and they make decisions by values, but they usually ignore that it is the “spring of human action” (Greenfield, 1986). What are values anyway?

Willower and Licata (1997) defined values as conceptions of the desirable and administrator regularly make choices from competing conceptions of the desirable. Haydon (2007) offered another definition for values, attributable in its original version to the sociologist Kluckhohn, which has been cited by several writers on values in educational management: Values are conceptions, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable, which influence the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action.

With Kluckhohn’s definition, some important characteristics of values can be clearly developed as follows:

1. Values are conceptions. Values are not physical objects but ideas about what is important or what matters to each person.

2. Values may be explicit or implicit. That means in people’s choices and actions, they will be influenced all the time by what they take to be preferable or important, whether or not they spell out to anyone else exactly what ideas are influencing them. If a person is willing to tell anyone about what is right from wrong, he/she is making his /her values explicit.

3. Values may be distinctive of an individual. It can be very personal.

4. Values can also be distinctive of a group. Religious community is an example.

5. Values are conceptions of what is desirable.

6. Values “influence the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action.” Values will be influencing people in what they do and how they do it, even though they may not have spelled out their reasons for acting in one way rather than another.

This definition explains the characteristics and part of the functions of values, but neither does it explain what constitute values, nor offer an analytical structure. A more detailed, more complicated explanation for values is needed.

Hodgkinson (1978) suggested an analytical model of the value concept, which identifies three types of value, motivational bases that become the source of values, beliefs, attitudes, and actions for individuals. There are values that Hodgkinson thinks can be given a rational justification, by appealing either to consensus or to consequences. Then, at the other end of the framework, there are values that are matters of principle, expressing commitments that (in Hodgkinson’s view) go beyond the possibility of rational grounding. Hodgkinson called these values “trans-rational.” They might include principles of justice, equality, or dignity. One may think of the principles that Hodgkinson calls “trans-rational” either as fundamental principles that underpin all other values, or as high-level principles that are somehow placed above all other values. Both of these ways of thinking involve a spatial metaphor. So, if we represent Hodgkinson’s framework in a diagram, the trans-rational values can be put either at the bottom or at the top.

In sum, four elements including principle, consequence, consensus, and preference of values can be identified through Hodgkinson’s framework (see Table 1).

Table 1
Categories of Values

Right good	Principle	Conative	Religionism	Trans-rational I
			Existentialism	
			Ideologism	
	Consequences (2a)	Cognitive	Humanism	Rational II
			Pragmatism	
	Consensus (2b)		Utilitarianism	
	Preference	Affective	Logical positivism	Sub-rational III
			Behaviourism	
			Hedonism	

Values and Leadership

Leadership is fundamentally a value-laden activity. Schwartz (1999) defined “values as conceptions of the desirable that guide the way social actors (e.g., organizational leaders, policy-makers, and individual persons) select actions, evaluate people, and events, and explain their actions and evaluations.” As values indicate how

individuals are to adapt to the organization's needs, leaders not only must embrace them personally, they also need to be purveyors of these values to their subordinates.

Schwartz (1992) developed a theory about the structure of value systems by focusing on the motivation represented in each of 10 value types. According to his findings, values are aligned with two motivational dimensions. Using Rohan's (2000) new labels, the first dimension, focus on opportunity *vs.* focus on organization, relates to conflicts between being motivated "to follow [one's] own intellectual and emotional interests in unpredictable and uncertain directions" or "to preserve the status quo and the certainty it provides in relationships with close others, institutions, and traditions" (Schwartz, 1999). This motivational dimension relates to contemporary leaders' need to produce organizational change by developing and communicating a vision, and then, inspiring people to attain it (Kotter, 1990). Therefore, 2 of Schwartz' 10 value types sharing the same underlying dimension (i.e., focus on opportunity)—seeking stimulation (i.e., excitement, novelty, and challenge) and being self-directed (i.e., a creative and curious independent thinker)—appear to be values related to success as a leader.

The second and most important dimension for this study Schwartz (1992) labeled self-enhancement *vs.* self-transcendence and relates to the "conflict between concern for the consequences of own and others' actions for the self and concern for the consequences of own and others' actions in the social context [i.e., individual *vs.* collective interests]" (Rohan, 2000). Again, Rohan made use of new labels—focus on individual outcomes *vs.* focus on social context outcomes. This dimension has particular significance to organizational studies because its poles make a distinction between different value priorities that represent one of the key struggles facing many leaders today. The leader's challenge is to reconcile these tensions.

In recent years, leadership discussions have embraced a more social understanding of "leadership as a complex interaction between the leader and the social and organizational environment" (Fiedler, 1996). According to this approach, leadership emerges out of the social systems and engages everyone in the community in a social process (Barker, 1997). Consequently, social context outcomes have taken on a more central place among the factors that leaders must consider in their decision-making processes. Thus, leading with a focus on social context outcomes, or self-transcendence, is a strategic leadership approach that organizations should strive to engender in their leaders. In a 1998 study of ethical contexts in organizations, Treviño, Butterfield, and McCabe (1998) found that egoism (operationalized as self-interest) had a negative relationship with organizational commitment and a positive relationship with unethical conduct. At the other end of the second dimension, there was a positive relationship between organizational commitment and benevolence to the employees and community. The authors of the study recommended that corporations need to counter the predominant value of self-interest in the global marketplace by proactively managing the ethical context of the organization. This study follows their suggestion as it examines the influence of organizational culture (operationalized as ethical, caring, and supportive culture and leadership) on the development of newly promoted leaders' identities as values-based leaders.

Values and Organizational Culture

Organizational culture as shared assumptions and beliefs that guide group behaviors (Schein, 1992) suggests that individuals and organizations can share the same values. When values are shared, it is anticipated that the individual is more likely to identify with the organization and be influenced by its values and norms (Chatman, 1989). Robert Haas, the chairman and chief executive officer of Levi Strauss & Co., suggested that "the alignment between organizational values and personal values is the key driver of corporate success" (as

cited in Kuczarski & Kuczarski, 1995). Shared values constitute a significant component of an organization's culture and encourage efficient interactions between employees (Meglino & Ravlin, 1998). From their values in organizations study of empirical literature published between 1987 and 1997, Meglino and Ravlin confirmed that value congruence has a positive relationship with affective outcomes and evaluations. They found this to be true for both actual and perceived congruence of values. Perceived value congruence positively correlated to such affective outcomes as satisfaction, commitment, and involvement and negatively with performance.

Therefore, organizational leaders can prime different values identities according to which are appropriate for the particular context (e.g., individual outcomes vs. social context outcomes). Such priming can occur through the organizational leader's words or actions within an authentic relationship.

Conclusion

In *Planning Responsibly for Adult Education: A Guide to Negotiating Power and Interests*, Cervero and Wilson (1994) wrote:

... That planning program is a social activity in which people negotiate personal and organizational interest. The educational programs ... they are planned by real people in complex organizations that have sets of historical traditions, relationships of power, and human needs and interests.

According to social identity theory, "People tend to classify themselves and others into various social categories" (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). This process is called social identification and entails the "perception of oneness with or belongingness to the social category or role" (Ashforth, 2001). "Goals, rooted in a value system and a sense of personal identity, invest activities with meaning and purpose" (Bandura, 2001, p. 8). Therefore, it is anticipated that those aspiring to leadership will seek to identify with and become part of the existing leader group, affecting their cognitions, values, and behaviors. For Wojciszke (1989), value identities cannot influence behavior unless activated, and organizational leaders are in the ideal position to do so. It is proposed that leaders' value identities are instrumental guides for their values choices, and that organizational leaders can affect different values-based behaviors by activating new leaders' value identities. Above all, the author may conclude a conceptual framework of values capital for educational leadership, as shown in Figure 1.

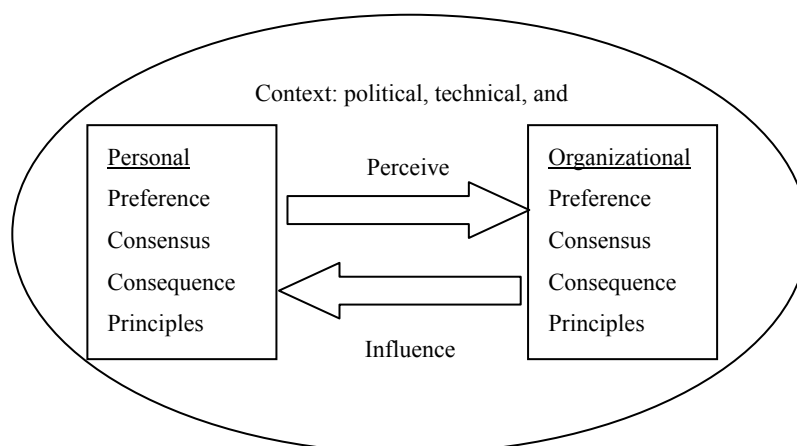


Figure 1. A conceptual framework of values capital for leadership.

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Implementing Efficiency Measures of Forms Enhancing Employees' Competencies by Middle-Sized Companies Operating on the Polish Market—Research Results Based on the Case Study Method

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The analysis of literature indicates that there are gaps in both science and practice related to the efficiency measures of forms enhancing employees' competencies. Performance indicators can be seen as a part of the evaluation of training courses carried out immediately after their completion. However, consistent and comprehensive research on the effectiveness of various forms increasing the competence and development of employees is rarely observed. The purpose of this article is to present the results of a research using the case study method.

Keywords: competencies, development, efficiency measure, employee, training

Introduction

The analysis of literature indicates that there are gaps in both science and practice related to the efficiency measures of forms enhancing employees' competencies. Performance indicators can be seen as a part of the evaluation of training courses carried out immediately after their completion. However, consistent and comprehensive research on the effectiveness of various forms increasing the competence and development of employees is rarely observed. The purpose of this article is to present the results of a research using the case study method.

The analysis of literature shows that the concept of enhancing employees' competencies and their development is often identified. Naturally, looking closer at the concepts, we can state that the concept of development is broader than the term "increasing of competence." Interestingly enough, we can observe great interest in the topic of competence in the 1990s and 2000s, but after 2007, there is a clear decrease in the incidence of publications on this topic. This may be a sign that, again, there is a gap in the study, which can be explored and filled in.

Methods

The methodology of an empirical study is based on in-depth interviews with the research sample characteristics. Forty in-depth interviews were carried out in the second part of the empirical study, in which

large and medium businesses took part. Small and micro businesses are not subject to the empirical study due to the fact that the survey provided information that the data derived from is marginal and does not bring anything new to the study. Interviews were conducted by telephone or in person. The choice of form depended on preferences of company is being tested. However, the form of the study had no effect on the outcome. The telephone interviewers often received more detailed data than through the personal visits. The interview also received a form of an unstructured interview.

The study included 17 medium-sized and 23 large companies. However, due to the needs of this study, a mini-case study of medium-sized companies will be presented. Due to the fact that all of the companies that participated in the in-depth questionnaire based study reserved the confidentiality of names, only a description of the industry and a very concise description of the business were used, not allowing its subsequent identification by readers.

As a preliminary point, it should be noted that by analyzing the literature, we can draw a conclusion that the concept of training includes a number of various ways of enhancing competencies. Sometimes, you can even directly encounter the words—“the effectiveness of training and other forms of development” or “effectiveness of training and other forms increasing competence.” Additionally, it can be concluded that the concept of training is widely recognized in the literature as a universal term, including direct training, workshops, courses, as well as coaching, mentoring, and graduate programs. Going one step further, it can be said that the tools measuring the effectiveness of training can refer to training within the direct and universal meaning. Thus, the validity of these tools will be applied to the measures of the effectiveness of all mentioned forms of increasing competence.

Moving on to the analysis of training effectiveness measures, let us concentrate on two most frequently used in the literature, recognized by the authors of the paper as the most relevant.

First, there is the Kirkpatrick model for the evaluation of training, which was first proposed in the late 1950s of the 20th century, much earlier than the development of the scientific interest in competence.

The model tests four levels of training, as shown in Figure 1.

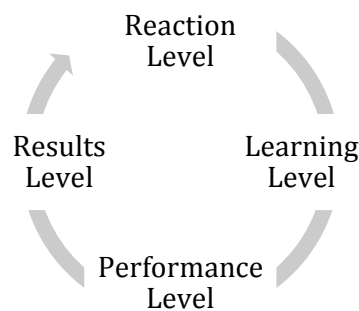


Figure 1. Four levels of effectiveness of training according to Kirkpatrick (1994).

It should be noted that the low rate obtained on one of the levels is not enough to evaluate the low efficiency of training. This means that it is absolutely necessary to examine all four levels, and draw conclusions based on results from each one of them.

The level of response should give an answer to the question “Whether the participants liked the training or not?” In order to verify the satisfaction, fulfillment, or knowledge of the information gained during the training,

a survey or an in-depth interview with the participants of the training, is usually used. The very quality of the classes can be measured by an observation along with the use of checklists.

The second stage is the level of learning in which one should check whether the participants have acquired knowledge, skills, and changed attitudes. An effective tool here appears to be the measure of knowledge, using pre- and post- testing. At this point, we need to check if the level of knowledge and skills increased, and/or whether it is actively used at a workplace.

The third step examines if, on the behavioural level, participants daily apply skills acquired during the training, and if there is a flow of knowledge and experience.

At the final stage of results, it is verified if the training actually worked and increased the enterprise profits (Kirkpatrick, 1994). At this level, all managers who analyze the financial performance before and after training get engaged in the research. Helpful here can be the indicator of Return on Investment (ROI), investments and benefits sheets, or the cost-benefit analysis of a control group.

In reality, this is the most important, the most tangible element of measuring effectiveness, but at the same time, the most difficult one. This is due to the fact that during the study, other possible factors that could alter the profit should be taken into account (Mayo, 2002).

The second model is the Hamblin model, which is the extension of the Kirkpatrick model, by adding the fifth level, also called the level of ultimate value. They are related to the social and cultural values of the organization. In addition, Hamblin assumes that the key is to formulate the learning objectives before the training begins, allowing for the omission of this phase, if you encounter difficulties that prevent defining them (Woźniak & Koziół, 2012).

Both models seem to be very good and when used by organizations, allow us to obtain reliable data in a reasonable, in terms of firm commitment, manner. A certain disadvantage of the two methods (otherwise known as models) is, as a rule, the need to carry out all the steps. Only when the full the method is used, will it give the accurate and measurable results and information. But companies tend to use the first two stages of the methods, omitting the others (Żukowska, 2011).

In case of the Hamblin model, the last phase that refers to values and goals appears to be of a great value. However, both of the models have majority of advantages over the disadvantages, and even the indicated defect, from a scientific point of view, is not one. The principal advantages of these methods are inter alia, the clarity and transparency of the proposed steps, quite high intuitiveness of methods, a kind of simplicity, particularly in the initial stages, or financial ratios implementation as an additional factor, which gives a broader view of the range of the analyzed subject.

The training efficiency may also be tested by means of a multidirectional evaluation. It is based on auditing the following persons in the scope of training effects:

- (a) The trainees;
- (b) The trainers (Pocztowski, 2004);
- (c) The training supervisors;
- (d) The regular control of the results achieved (Szałkowski, 2002).

The method seems to be relatively simple to be applied. However, for some reasons unexplored so far, it is applied by businesses rather rarely. Furthermore, we may presume that even though businesses apply it, they do it subconsciously, not realizing that this is a scientific method of research. A certain deficiency of the method can be the risk related to the subjectivity of the evaluation, in case no appropriate comparison of the four areas

has been carried out. The key advantage of the method, however, is definitely its simplicity and easiness of application by the business.

Another tool used for measuring the professional training efficiency is the C-I-P-O model that has been presented in Figure 2.

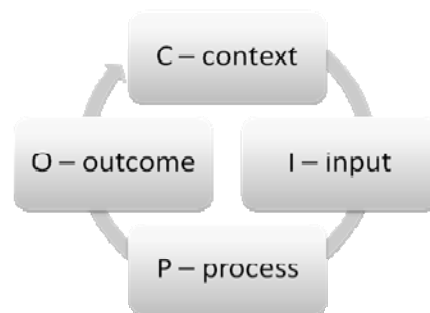


Figure 2. The C-I-P-O model.

“C” means context and is based on collecting and processing data on the organization’s situation, its needs, difficulties, and issues, with particular stress put on the non-efficiency areas. “I” (Input) is the moment of collecting information that is to serve the choice of optimal training techniques and methods. “P” (process), is based on aggregation of the participants’ opinions in the scope of the training itself and its course. The last stage is “O” (Outcome), comprising the training results analysis. The direct effects are noticeable after the training completion already and they refer to the changes in attitudes, behaviours, or knowledge. The indirect results are focused on the skills implementation effect in the workplace. The easiest way to test it is by means of a control group. The final long-term results concern the impact of the indirect results on the entire organization (Kunasz, 2006).

The control group testing is based on comparison of work efficiency on their posts of those who participated in the training to those who did not.

The exact control group testing procedure should be carried out according to the following steps:

1. Identifying measurable training needs and purposes of training itself;
2. Appointing two employee groups of which only one will participate in the training (Blömeke, Zlatkin-Troitschanskaia, Kuhn, & Fege, 2011);
3. Carrying out a test on both groups prior to the training;
4. Defining the entire training costs (Armstrong, 2001);
5. Carrying out the training;
6. Testing both groups with the use of identical questionnaires, at defined time intervals;
7. Within 12 months from the training completion (Kuryłowicz-Rodoch, 1999);
8. Comparing the results of tests carried out in both groups;
9. Comparing the benefits gained by the employees who participated in the training to the costs thereof (Kunasz, 2008).

However, it is worth indicating that in as much the measure brings reliable results in so far it is time-consuming and engaging the organization. Therefore, it is very difficult to be applied and at the same time seems to be barely useful for the organization. The organizations do not usually want to lose their precious time

for excessively developed analytic tools and, therefore, such measure seems to be of little benefit for the business.

However, it can be interesting for external researchers who would carry out tests in businesses. This is due to its specificity.

ROI, in case of training efficiency measure, is the definition of cause relationships taking place between the lack of knowledge or competence and negative events in the organization that need to be solved. It starts with the analysis of the training needs, the result whereof being the financial calculation of losses, in case of leaving an issue unsolved. Afterwards, the training is carried out and its efficiency is measured, verifying the financial expenses on training courses (Zgud & Kossowska, 2000). It should be emphasized that the financial benefits are usually analyzed. However, in case of training courses, these are details that cannot be separated, therefore, they are non-measurable.

Another tool is the sheet of investments and benefits. The comparison of all the costs incurred on training to the entire measurable and non-measurable training effects is carried out with the use of such sheet. The non-measurable effects are weighted by monetary units and thus converted into measurable benefits. The data are aggregated both on the employee (individual) level and business (organizational) level (Kunasz, 2008).

All the financial measures are very interesting from the reporting point of view in the business. However, numerous data indicate that it is very difficult to measure such soft and intangible factors as competence by means of them (Weigel, Mulder, & Collins, 2007). Therefore, in the authoress' opinion, they may only serve as a certain guideline helpful when using other training efficiency measures.

J. Phillips' model is also a measure worth attention. The evaluation offered by the training participants is used here. Their task is to determine the financial benefits given by training to the organization, including the identification of substantial improvements that can be implemented in the business after the training (Phillips, Stone, & Phillips, 2003). The test is carried out with the use of the set of questions presented in Figure 3.

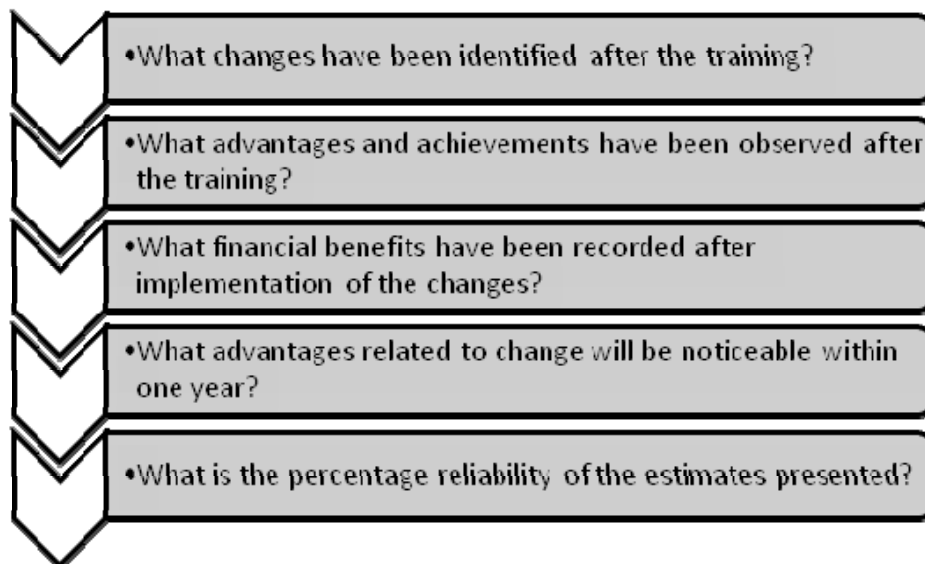


Figure 3. The set of questions used in J. Phillips' model.

Due to the estimate evaluations reported by training participants and the risk of their subjectivity, the model is often criticized. However, it is worth consideration as a method supplementary to another training efficiency evaluation method selected by the organization.

Kawecka and Rogowska (2013) made a division of efficiency measures into two principal categories that they have defined as objective and descriptive methods. According to the authoresses, the objective methods use numeric scales, e.g., the number of telephone calls and meetings with the clients accomplished. The measure enables the percentage expression of the relationship of the exemplary condition to the one that actually occurs. It should also be remembered that the scales indicated do not have to prove efficiency at all. Nevertheless, the objective methods may prove right in case of repeatable, fairly standardized tasks. However, in case of some more complex tasks, more subjective, descriptive measures should be applied. They do not allow for expressing a measure simply in numeric categories. They constitute evaluating judgments, thus estimating the appearance of some behaviors or phenomena, as well as the intensity thereof.

An example of a measure frequently used for evaluation of employee workplace actions are Key Performance Indicators (KPI). KPI determine the extent of performance on a specific workplace, considering the foreseeable target achievement (Kawecka & Rogowska, 2013). However, the measure is hardly related to the measures of competence improvement forms efficiency analyzed in this paper (also called indicators).

Analyzing the impact of competence on efficiency and the references, and basing on the interviews carried out in the businesses, we should pay attention to the fact that the management boards of the businesses declare that they are interested in the costs of competence as well as information concerning the importance of particular competences, assuring success to the organization.

However, both references and test results included in the further part of this paper indicate that it is often a declarative kind of information and not any actual verification. In this point, another research issue arises, which is worth analyzing at the next stage of research carried out by the authoress, i.e., design of universal competence models for selected sectors.

Results and Discussion

Company—The IT Industry

The company has been on the Polish market since 1987. It is one of the oldest existing private computer companies. The company specializes in the distribution of technology fields, such as storage systems, imaging systems, professional imaging systems, etc.. Apart from sales offers, the company also features consulting in the design of investment and provides comprehensive support for projects implemented solutions. Additionally, the company runs trainings for specific solutions or their functionality. Full service is also available. The company has several owners who fulfill management roles.

From the analysis of the manager's questionnaire, it shows that 45% of the employees have a college degree, while the remaining 55% have a high school diploma. Despite the lack of commitment and employee satisfaction survey, along with the employee evaluation system, the company analyzes the training needs of employees, based on which they are assigned to various types of training courses. The company has specific job descriptions, yet there is no trace of written competence profiles. In the process of hiring new employees, the previous experience verified with former employers, the fit for the job descriptions, and the company's profile are all taken into account. Management prefers that the future employees are already adapted to their work position and there is no immediate need to improve their skills.

Enterprise—The Manufacturing Industry

The company was established in the 1990s as a branch of the Scandinavian company, famous for its

production of emulsifiers and stabilizers used in the food industry. The enterprise is a manufacturer of high quality baking and confectionery blends with a well-developed distribution network, including tech-support for commercial and industrial manufacturers. The company also provides training for bakers, pastry chefs, and sales clerks. The enterprise is developing dynamically. Several owners manage and coordinate the firm.

The majority of the workforce have received high school education (65%), 10% have higher education, and only 25% of them have primary education. The company does not apply employee satisfaction surveys and there is no system for employee evaluation. There is also no analysis of training needs and no specific competencies profiles. Job descriptions are used during the recruitment process of new employees. Candidates are also screened in terms of experience, commitment, and hard work. Moreover, the management uses references from former employers.

Five percent of the employees were trained thanks to the European Union (EU) training courses, but only the individuals with the managing positions. This type of training was chosen due to the employee co-financing possibility. For the company, it “is financially beneficial.” Due to the lack of the development performance testing or the job position effectiveness, we can generally state that the training courses had a great impact on such growth as well as the growth in the number of new customers.

Enterprise—The Consulting Industry

The company operates on the Polish market since 1997, but since 2007, it was noted down for a dynamic growth. The company is engaged in strategic human resources (HR) consulting and outsourcing services, such as payroll. Its headquarters are located in Warsaw, with a branch in some place in Poland, and coverage throughout the entire country. The company is run by executive branch that consists of a chief executive officer (CEO) and directors, who function as the management and the supervisors.

Data obtained from the executives show that 90% of the staff have a college degree and the remainder just have secondary education. The organization conducts employee commitment and satisfaction surveys. Additionally, there are employee assessment systems based on the 180° method. Training needs analysis is performed, which, together with the employee assessment, sets the trend for further development of individual employees. There are also job descriptions with a hint of competency profiles. And when hiring new employees, there is mainly an emphasis on their enthusiasm and diligence, as the company recognizes that their competencies will develop right after hiring.

Last year, 25% of the employees participated in training and coaching programs. The company does use measures of the effectiveness of training (first two phases of Kirkpatrick), although there are no measures of job performance. An increase in the efficiency and sales of the firm along with attracting new customers is being observed, and all thanks to rising of qualifications of employees.

Enterprise—The IT Industry

The company was formed by the merger of two companies in the early 21st century. The company is the publisher of video games for personal computers and video game consoles. It is managed and controlled only by a single CEO.

The questionnaire shows that 60% of the employees have higher education, and the remaining 40% are of the secondary education. The company does annual studies on the employee satisfaction and involvement. Furthermore, the training needs are analyzed through surveys and interviews. And the company has a mandatory system of employee evaluation. The findings are summarized and specific arrangements are introduced. The

company has also specific job descriptions and competency profiles. Job descriptions are taken into account especially in the case of external recruitment process. Interestingly enough, during the staff recruitment process, less attention is paid to the current level of competence, bearing in mind the staff's further development.

The company organizes specialized trainings tailored to the business or employee needs. Twenty percent of the employees participated in such training sessions last year. It should be noted that the soft training was designed for managers and executives, and the hard training for the operational personnel and all others with such needs. Unfortunately, there is no measurement of the effectiveness of company trainings. Thus, generally speaking, the degree of development of employees has a subtle effect on the efficiency or customer growth.

Enterprise—The Trade Industry

Since 1999, the company has provided services in outsourcing, sales support, and business consulting, while maintaining the highest standards of quality and service. By using innovative procedures and extensive product offer, it is constantly adapting to the rapidly changing trends and mostly to the expectations and needs of the market. The company is managed by several directors.

In the company, 60% of the employees have a high school education diploma, 30% are college graduates, while only 10% have primary education. Once a year, there is a survey about employee commitment and satisfaction. Included are questions about the path of development, employee expectations, and level of commitment. The company examines the training needs based on which development programs are formed. There is a lack of employee evaluation system. The company has job descriptions and competence profiles for selected positions. They are taken into account during the recruitment process. The experience and communication skills of future employees are also examined. The management cares that the candidates perform efficiently when starting their new positions, without sacrificing the initial time on training.

The company's sales departments and operational staff undergo specialized and closed trainings. This method of developing employees' competences was chosen due to its specificity and, according to the management, larger benefits. According to the opinion of managers, trainings translate into increased efficiency of the company, and in part, to customer growth. Unfortunately, the absence of evaluating the effectiveness of forms of development and training, makes the information declared by the management intuitive.

Enterprise—The Transportation Industry

The company was established at the beginning of the 21st century, and almost since the inception, it has been successful in the transportation industry. It has its own fleet and cooperates with domestic and foreign customers. The company is characterized by the unity of management and control powers.

The company has approximately 110 employees, of whom 60% have a college degree, while the remaining 40% have a high school diploma. The company does not conduct research on employee satisfaction. However, training needs are being analyzed. Moreover, there is a mandatory system for employee evaluation with the score based on the performance results and the supervisor's interview. The company has well-defined job descriptions and competency profiles. They are essential when recruiting new employees. Moreover, while considering the continued development of the candidates, less attention is paid to their actual competence.

The company declared that in regards to the development of employee competencies, particularly those holding senior positions, mentoring will be used. However, no one took any advantage of this particular form of development recently. Trainings translate into enhanced efficiency and number of new customers, but by the lack of using performance measures, this can only be an intuitive assessment.

Enterprise—The Pharmaceutical Industry

In Poland, this particular copartnership is a part of one of Europe's largest pharmaceutical distribution companies. The company started creating its own chain of pharmacies since 2007, and is managed by several directors.

Most of the employees (75%) have a higher education degree, and the remaining 25% have a high school diploma. The company does not conduct research on employee commitment and satisfaction. There is no analysis of necessary training needs, or system for employee evaluation is not mandatory. The company has well-defined job descriptions and competency profiles. They are essential when recruiting new employees. According to the data provided by a manager, half of the company staff were recently subjected to the process of mentoring. The firm decided to work on increasing competences, because it permits the employee self-growth. Middle and upper level management, along with mid-level employees, were seconded to this form of increasing qualifications. Unfortunately, it contributed at a very low level to improving the efficiency of the company or to increasing in the number of customers. However, these data are only based on a statement, because the company has no records of the effectiveness of training.

Enterprise—The Electromechanical Refrigeration Industry

The company operates in the Mazowieckie Voivodship since the year 2000. It is a dealership distributing air-conditioning systems. It has been given competence certificate of category A in the business industry class. Regulations and subcontractors drafts of air-conditioning, heating, and ventilation are part of the company's offer. Additionally, it carries out maintenance, warranty, and post-warranty services. Its services cover the entire country. The enterprise belongs to a group of medium and private companies, with a 100% commitment to the Polish capital. The company has unity of power, and the executives act strictly as managers. The form of control is not significant, but in this case comprehensive.

Analyzing the personal aspect of the director's statement, it shows that as many as 40% of the staff have basic education, whereas 30% of employees have a high school and college degree. Such indicators can provide demand for further skills development. Therefore, the company carries out research about training needs. However, they are not linked to any other forms of HR strategic analysis, such as assessments of employee satisfaction or employee engagement surveys. In addition, the company has not identified competency profiles. But basic job descriptions do exist. Although competency profiles are not described, the recruitment process uses matching the employee to existing profiles and an intuitive feeling about the position of the expected competencies are both taken into account. It is important to the Management Board that the future employees already have a lot of experience and expertise (regardless of level of education) in order to effectively be able to start work on a given position. Furthermore, they must have willingness to grow and be creative.

Focusing only on methods that increase employee's competencies, the company often uses trainings in innovative manufacturing technology and the most actively trained group is the supervisors, which make up only 5% of the crew. Interestingly enough, according to the management, the most effective form of competence development is training and especially the ones from the EU, because "you can find the right training for employees at a reasonable price." Despite the modest level of participation in training, company officials see that these lead to an increase in the efficiency of the enterprise and the workers participating in training. Part of it has an impact on the growth performance of the company and increase the number of customers. Conclusions, however, are more intuitive and based on observation, because the company does not

run any form of performance surveying development, including training, and there is no use of tools and gauges of their efficiency. Besides, measures of effectiveness of training or job positions are usually not being used.

Enterprise—The Real Estate Industry

The company was founded in 2001 in central Poland, and from the very beginning, it has been providing comprehensive real estate services in the region, the country, and abroad. The company offers specialized and professional services related to buying, selling, renting, leasing, and property appraisals. It also deals with financial intermediary supporting the opportunity of making real estate transactions. The unity of executive powers can be observed in this company. During testing, a person working as a manager estimated that 50% of employees have higher education, 44% have a high school diploma, and only 6% have primary education. The company does not have any employee evaluation systems, and does not apply employee satisfaction and commitment surveys. What is more, there is a lack of a training needs analysis. The company uses job descriptions. Unfortunately, they are not taken into account when recruiting new staff. The most important is experience. Competencies are less important, since their development is expected to start right after the hiring.

Only the senior management is subjected to training that allows further development of their competencies. Unfortunately, the company does not use performance measures for training and forms of development; therefore, we can only vaguely state that they have an impact on the number of clients and business performance growth. According to a respondent, qualified and competent staff can help to enhance the company's competitiveness.

Enterprise—The Telematics Services Industry

The company was founded in the year 2000, and it deals with tracking of vehicles through the use of telematics devices. It builds a strong market position based on its own platform localization, which is their own solution of combining advanced information system with location and data transfer technologies—Global Positioning System (GPS) and Global System for Mobile Communications (GSM). The company is characterized by the unity of management and control authorities.

Half of the company's employees have a high school diploma, and the remaining 50% have a higher education degree. The company does not have employee evaluation system, and does not apply employee satisfaction and commitment surveys. What is more, there is a lack of a training needs analysis or specific competence profiles. The company uses job descriptions, which are taken into account when recruiting new staff. Bearing in mind further development of newly hired staff, less attention is paid to the initial level of their competence.

Coaching is used with the company's executives, which in their opinion is being very effective. Thanks to these trainings, you can observe a significant increase in the efficiency of the company's results. Moreover, it shows in the growing number of clients. Unfortunately, due to the lack of performance measures, this information is only declarative.

Enterprise—The Security Services Industry

The company was launched in the market of physical and technical protection of individuals and property in 1992. The headquarters are located in Warsaw, with branches throughout the entire country. The company is managed and controlled by several owners. The largest percentage (80%) of the people employed have a secondary education diploma, 15% are university graduates, and only 5% have a primary education diploma.

All employees are subject to an annual study on engagement and employee satisfaction, which also includes (in a very restrictive form) elements of research training needs. They are the foundation for the employees' competence development. The company has not introduced an employee evaluation system. However, job descriptions do exist. When recruiting new staff, matching their competence to the job descriptions, their experience and skills are being considered. Interviewing the candidate's former employers is a frequent method of getting to know a person.

The company's entire staff undergo specialized and business training, through which they receive the necessary certificates. In previous years, these forms of development were subject only to 30% of the workforce. The managers claim that increasing the competence of the employees, contributes to, as much as half, the company's performance and efficiency growth. It also significantly contributes to the increased interest of new customers in the company's services. The HR department that aims to continuously improve the competence of companies and their monitoring is responsible for this task.

Enterprise—The Construction Industry

The company operates on the Polish market since the late 1990s. It has a fully domestic capital. It works in the construction industry, focusing on the construction of single-family homes and "Orlik" type school playgrounds. The company has one owner, who is also the manager.

More than half of the employees (54%) in the company have a primary education diploma, 40% have a secondary one, and only 6% of the staff have a higher education diploma. The company does not perform any studies on involvement and employee satisfaction. Employee assessment or training needs analysis is not performed. Competency profiles have been replaced with job descriptions. Unfortunately, they are not used during the recruitment process of new employees. The experience, skills, and candidate's hard work are verified instead.

The company rarely conducts any training. And if any, mentoring, which continuously corrects mistakes and allows for faster development period, is chosen. The company does not measure the effectiveness of training, and therefore, the management only intuitively assesses that the development of employees only slightly translates into the company's growth performance or the number of new customers.

Conclusion

The companies sometimes use other forms of skills development, rather than traditional trainings. Coaching and mentoring are used in particular, but still, only occasionally.

It should be emphasized that the personnel policy is closely linked to better the competencies by the workers.

In most cases, the management is of the opinion that, during the recruitment process, it is better to choose a potential employee that does not require immediate competence development, but rather quickly, without any additional training, break him in.

The enterprises often carry job descriptions. According to the data, it can be assumed that job descriptions may not always be equivalent to the requirements of personnel management science, but rather to a list of responsibilities, which shall be annexed to the contract of employment. However, at this stage of the study, these are only assumptions, which should be deeply examined in the future.

The training needs research is most frequently used, and based on which, further solutions on competencies development are formed.

The enterprises most frequently benefit from closed trainings which are tailored to each company, and most willingly are financed by the EU.

The obtained data also show that, on average, 5%-10% of staff are involved in training, with particular emphasis on management and sales staff.

The enterprises notice an increase in efficiency throughout the company thanks to solutions that raise competencies. In addition, they have a lesser but a positive effect on increased revenue and influx of new customers.

Based on management's statement, it often shows that the vast majority of companies do not conduct studies on the effectiveness of training and job performance, and the above observations are more intuitive than confirmed by the results of used measures. Managers are not able to indicate whether they apply methods of measuring the effectiveness of forms of raising competencies. Even if they think they do, they are not aware which methods they use. Moreover, they do not know about any methods of measuring the effectiveness of forms of skills development found in literature.

However, information from the interviews suggests that such measures are actually and frequently used, but the company is not aware that the tools used are actually measures of effectiveness. It should also be noted that the tools are usually consistent with those occurring in the first and sometimes the second stage of Kirkpatrick's model. No use of higher levels of the Kirkpatrick's model was observed. It should be emphasized that other methods have not been diagnosed at all. Also, the fifth stage of Hamblin's model does not occur.

Seldom do the managers believe that trainings have a minor impact on the effectiveness of job positions, the company, and revenue organization. They recognize the fact that trainings have a direct influence on a company's performance, but the data are based on their assumption. Usually, they read the information obtained literally. For example, if they know that their employees participated in trainings and simultaneously observe a profit growth, they recognize that these events are directly related to each other and one is a consequence of the other.

Furthermore, it is rare that they hire people with little experience or level of competence that still needs to be developed.

It is worth noting that managers often gave very modest opinions. You may think that it is primarily due to insufficient knowledge of the subject, which is the measurement of the effectiveness of forms of competencies development. Besides, their statements were focusing more on general personnel policy, rather than on measures of development analyzed in this study.

What is more, the opinions shared about the percentages of profit growth, the number of acquired customers, etc., seem to be significantly overestimated. According to the author, they are only an indication, since it is not a quantifiable data. They are based on the opinion of the respondents, and not on reliable financial data.

The paper goal has been the presentation of implementing efficiency measures of forms enhancing employees' competencies by middle-sized companies operating on the Polish market.

Summarizing the results of all the mini-case studies of medium-sized enterprises, it can be concluded that there are some differences in the approach to personnel policy, especially in the inter-company training policy.

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Household Livelihood Strategies Among the Keiyo in Kenya

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The paper demonstrates that people in all three ecological zones of Keiyo try to diversify their economic opportunities. Moreover, the paper suggests that Keiyo diversify both in order to reduce risk and uncertainty and in hopes of succeeding financially and getting ahead. On the other hand, it has shown that the interaction of ecological factors has limited the economic opportunities that are available to most people in the valley, and to a lesser degree, on the escarpment. The highlands ecological zone provides the greatest opportunities for achieving economic security and success. Usually through a combination of on-farm and off-farm activities, households are able to live more comfortably there than in the other two areas. Ironically, however, it is also in the highlands that diversification of activities becomes least essential for economic survival and prosperity. Because of the much more favourable opportunity structure there, households in the highlands do not feel as compelled to diversify their economic activities as do people who lived in the valley or on the escarpment. Nonetheless, this paper demonstrates that diversification is still the most common strategy pursued in all three ecological areas.

Keywords: Keiyo, Kenya, household, ecological zone, highland, escarpment, valley floor, diversification, livestock

Introduction

The three ecological zones in Keiyo are the highlands, escarpment, and Kerio Valley floor. The strategies that individuals and households use in the pursuit of their livelihoods and the activities in which they are engaged are affected by economic differentiation. In this paper, it is suggested that although diversification of economic activities is a strategy shared by people of all three ecological zones, there are vast differences between these three areas in the ability of people to diversify their enterprises. The paper seeks to demonstrate that while most people seek to diversify, their ability to do so is limited, to varying degrees, by the opportunity structure of their area.

Research Instruments

In the selection of the instruments to be used in the study, the researcher ensured that the objectives of the study were clear and well suited to the instrument chosen. The instruments used for data collection were through in-depth interviews and focused group discussion. These methods provided data that were not possible to obtain using questionnaires. Through these methods, the researcher clarified questions that were not clear.

Purposive sampling is a non-probability technique which allows the researcher to use cases that provide required information with respect to objectives of the study. In this regard, the sampled respondents provided the requisite information through in-depth interviews and focused group discussion.

Who Are the Keiyo?

The Keiyo are part of the larger grouping of eight culturally and linguistically related ethnic groups known as the Kalenjin, a heading which includes the Kipsigis, Nandi, Tugen, Marakwet, Pokot, Sabaot, and Terik (Chang'ach, 2011a). These groups were earlier known collectively as Nandi-speaking peoples or alternatively, as the southern Nilo-Hamites (Kipkorir, 1973). The more recent name Kalenjin, which translates as "I tell you," is a relatively new historical phenomenon dating to the time around World War II, and stemming from a desire to draw political strength from the larger numbers such an association would bring (Huntingford, 1963).

Crop Production

According to Sessional Paper No.1 of 1986, Kenya's food security remains a major objective of the government. The nation's farmers have to continue to provide the surplus that needs to finance economic development for the rest of the country. Agriculture has to generate household incomes and stimulate the growth of productive off-farm activities in rural areas (Republic of Kenya, 1985). To achieve these goals for agriculture, several strategies have been pursued. Farmers are encouraged to adopt more productive practices, especially the wider use of improved varieties, fertilizer, disease and pest control, pricing policies, and marketing policies and institutions and the extension services can be the main instrument in obtaining much higher yields through known techniques.

Research into new varieties, especially maize and other grains, should be re-organized and accelerated to generate the new, high yielding varieties that are essential to keep pace with consumption (Republic of Kenya, 1985). There are no large farms in the Keiyo and all data available refer to the small farm sector.

In the highlands, Irish potatoes and maize are grown as the main food crops whereas pyrethrum and tea are grown as cash crops. In soy division, groundnuts are grown as food and cash crop. The more productive economic structure of the highlands means a greater degree of economic security is manifested here than the other two zones. Therefore, the households in the highlands are well-off of the three ecological zones.

An overview of Keiyo shows that the percentage of cash crop producers is still low compared with that of food producers. Most of the income generated from both cash and food crops are for improving the living standards of the majority of the people within the area.

Maize is grown throughout the Keiyo and the potential yield is high, up to 45 bags per hectare (Republic of Kenya, 1991a). The crop can also be used as a cash crop, especially where it is grown in large quantities and so it plays a double role of food and a cash crop. The potential yield of beans is 5-8 bags per hectare (Republic of Kenya, 1991a). Consumption is mainly in institutions like schools. Beans are also sold in the local market and outside the area to fetch income to the households.

Finger millet is grown in Kerio Valley and the escarpment. The area's potential is not fully achieved due to scarcity of certified seeds, moisture stress, and damage from birds. Finger millet is predominantly grown as a food crop. The same applies to sorghum production (Republic of Kenya, 1991a). Irish potatoes are mainly grown in Southern Keiyo. The district's potential of 25 tonnes per hectare has not been realized due to the use of poor seeds for planting and poor farm management (Republic of Kenya, 1991a). It is both a cash crop and a food crop.

The area's potential for wheat production is 30 bags per hectare, but achievement is only 25 bags per hectare (Republic of Kenya, 1991a). Factors like lack of mechanization, diseases, and pest problems prevent

the potential from being achieved. Wheat is mainly grown as a cash crop, although sometimes used as a food crop. Tea is mainly grown in Southern Keiyo under the Nyayo Tea Zone as a cash crop. The yield is poor and there are no organized tea picking centres. The harvested tea is sent to factories in Nandi Hills for processing. The distance discouraged farmers from growing more tea. Currently, a tea factory is being built at Flax, Kaptagat. Coffee is grown as a cash crop. The potential for the crop is 7 tonnes per hectare but achievement is 3 tonnes per hectare (Republic of Kenya, 1991a). Pyrethrum potential yield is 0.8 tonnes per hectare but 0.6 tonnes per hectare is produced (Republic of Kenya, 1991a). Low yields are due to poor farm management and labour constraints.

The evidence gathered shows that income from crop production contributes greatly towards the general incomes of the household within the area. Yet, it is also clear that maize generates higher incomes than other crops. Maize is grown in the three ecological zones. The income from maize production alone contributes 74% of the output.

The net area cropped is higher in the highlands compared to the escarpment and the valley. In all the three areas, maize and beans dominate the cropping pattern, although the level of intercropping differs from area to area. The maize varieties cultivated at the escarpment and the valley are adapted to more harsh climatic conditions, and these varieties need 4-5 months to mature. The maize varieties on the top of the escarpment take much longer due to cold and moist conditions. Less than 20% of the maize and about half of the beans are sold, while the rest is consumed within the household (Chebet & Dietz, 2000). The traditional crops of the valley, such as finger millet and sorghum, are still cultivated for home consumption and for the brewing of local beer.

The cultivation of commercial vegetables has become important for most of the farmers in the highlands and less on the escarpment. In the highlands, most farmers cultivate vegetables, pyrethrum, and Irish potatoes for commercial purposes. The farmers in the highlands apply modern farming methods.

Generally, the lowland has more crops being consumed at the household level than in the highlands. In the highlands, it is estimated that households consume about 40% of their total production. The total value of the home consumed crop is higher in the highlands than on escarpment or valley, both monetary terms and in kind. The food value available for household consumption shows that households in the highlands have ample provision of calories and proteins. However, also in the lowlands, the level of food sufficiency is surprisingly high for most households.

Most households spend money on farm operations. In the highlands, almost all farmers spend money on casual labour, seeds, fertilizers, agricultural implements, and tractor hire services. On the escarpment and in the valley, most farmers spend less on fertilizers and casual labour. Hardly any money is spent on tractor hire services due to the difficult terrain (Chang'ach, 2011b). In the three ecological zones, farmers dip or spray their cattle against tick-borne diseases, while they spend unknown but considerable amounts of money on veterinary services.

Livestock Keeping

The main types of livestock reared in Keiyo include beef cattle, dairy cattle, hair sheep and wool sheep, small East African goats, poultry, rabbits, pigs, donkeys, and honey bees. The introduction of exotic breeds for upgrading purposes has improved the quality of livestock products and the general living standards of the people (Republic of Kenya, 1991b).

Farmers are interested in dairy farming as opposed to pastoralism which was the trend in the past. Rearing of wool sheep is also common as compared to local sheep. The only problem that farmers faced is that there are no wool co-operative societies within the area. New trends in livestock production have been introduced, such as Dorper sheep from Laikipia, and Boer goats from Nyeri as well as Turkeys and Ducks. Modern beekeeping using Kenya Top Bar Hive (KTBH) improved (Republic of Kenya, 1991b).

Sheep production in the area especially wool production is not popular due to lack of market. Majority of the wool sheep, for example, Merino, Romney, Mash, and Corriedale, are concentrated within the highlands while the hair sheep, such as Red Maasai, are concentrated in the valley and on the escarpment.

Major constraints are diseases like contagious Pleuro-Pneumonia and inbreeding, which reduce the body size and growth rate of the animals. The biggest challenge is lack of appropriate wool breeds and their sources. Nevertheless, there are serious awareness campaigns on proper sheep husbandry for wool production (Republic of Kenya, 1991b).

The goats kept are mainly for meat and in small numbers milk production. Meat goats are mainly kept on the escarpment and in the Kerio Valley, and the small East African goats are predominantly kept. The dairy goats have not gained popularity as an alternative source of milk to the dairy cow (Republic of Kenya, 1991b). This is due to the community socio-cultural beliefs. The Ministry of Livestock promoted dairy goats within the valley especially the German Alpine of which the response from the community is quite positive.

The dairy goat project is viable enterprise especially for the smallholder farmers along the valley. The majority of poultry kept are the local chicken under free range management system with minimum feed supplement and moderate housing structures. Marketing is a major constraint in the commercial poultry sector whereby farmers fail to get good returns to sustain the enterprise and the households due to long distance to competitive markets. Eldoret town and hotels in Iten town are the main market outlets for poultry and products from the district (Republic of Kenya, 1991b). The pig keeping is not popular in the district due to low management skills and market constraints. The few animals kept are by the institutions in the area. The pigs kept are crossbreed Landrace and Large White.

There is no group in the area that is seriously involved in value addition of honey except the Kerio Valley Development Authority (KVDA), which served a limited area in the valley and this was the reason why most of the bee-keepers sold their honey in crude or semi-crude form (Republic of Kenya, 1991b). Honey processing was done by Rokocho honey refinery centre owned by the KVDA. The bee-keepers are also embracing modern methods of beekeeping, such as use of the KTBH.

Cattle production activities in Keiyo are in accordance with the three distinct topographical features, namely, the highlands, the escarpment, and the Kerio Valley. This was due to differences in altitude and rainfall amounts. The main types of cattle are dairy, crosses, and zebu. The dairy cattle production has increased because farmers have adopted new modern methods of farming.

Most of the animals are sold to other neighbouring counties especially Uasin Gishu. All the hides and skins are sold to Uasin Gishu tanneries. The milk is sold to processing plants in Eldoret and other areas. A small percentage of honey is consumed locally. The refinery at Rokocho owned by KVDA processes the rest.

Virtually, all households own livestock. In terms of the livestock unit, the highland area does not differ much from the valley area. However, on the escarpment, it is only half of the levels of the highland or the valley. In the highlands, grade cattle and crossbreeds dominate the livestock pattern, followed by zebu cattle, goats, sheep, and chicken. Milk production is considerable and a quarter of that milk is sold, mainly to a milk

co-operative society, which is owned by the farmers. On the escarpment and in the valley, grade cattle or crossbreeds are few. On the escarpment, there are higher numbers of zebu cattle, goats, and sheep than in the valley.

Within the commercial and subsistence livestock production, milk production dominates in all the three areas. The milk income level in the valley is considerably lower than that of the escarpment and the highlands. In the highlands, half of the total farm income comes from livestock and the milk. A minority of households in the lowlands sell honey. Most households use it for home consumption, for medicinal purposes to make a local honey brew, and as a delicacy.

Non-farm activities are very important in the three zones. For the escarpment and especially for the valley, the presence of Flourspar Company makes a considerable difference compared to other parts of the Kerio Valley, where the non-farm income opportunities are much more invisible. Also, on the escarpment, a number of people are much more invisible. Moreover, a number of people are employed by the rural access roads programme. For people who want casual labour, opportunities exist, for example, fencing, weeding, harvesting, and constructing a hut, which are paid per day's work (or predetermined sum of money). In monetary terms, these casual jobs and local contracts are readily available opportunities. Others are employed in the civil service which is an important income-generating activity besides casual and contractual jobs (Republic of Kenya, 1991b).

In the three zones, some people own transportation business (public service vehicles). Others are in self-employment, such as shops and selling charcoals. The information used in the discussion of this paper has suggested that the highland area is better than the valley and the escarpment; the prevailing conditions indicate that both the valley and the highlands have comparable economic potentials in income terms if the people can use the opportunity.

Economic Activities

Since majority of Kenyans are poor, there is a need to achieve economic growth through the use of their productivity. Failure to tap the poor's potential contribution to employment creation and growth will severely handicap the national economic effort. When low income groups are so numerous, it is no longer desirable or even feasible, to exclude their productivity potential, create surpluses in highly productive sectors, and then use those surpluses to alleviate their poverty by means of welfare and relief payments (Republic of Kenya, 1999). What is required is a broad-based economic growth which starts from the need to protect and enhance the assets and income streams of those who are poor. The assets they work with include their human capital and labour skills and the social capital found within social networks and community institutions. It is these personal skills and social networks which provide employment, safety nets in times of distress, and routes to savings and remittances used for investment purposes when the formal employment sectors do not help. There is a need, therefore, to find ways of assisting the households to increase the range and quality of their productive opportunities and livelihood choices.

The creation of productive employment opportunities is one of the most serious challenges facing households in Keiyo. A central component of the larger efforts towards economic growth, poverty reduction, and increased employment is the strategy for the balanced development of rural areas (Republic of Kenya, 1999). Improved productivity and output in agriculture which is essential for overall economic growth is closely linked to services and inputs provided from accessible urban areas.

The ability of people to meet their expectations in life is also a concern of this study. The equal resource distribution across ecological zones also affects people's attitudes about what they feel they can and cannot achieve in life. The persons who lived in the area with most favourable economic opportunity structure are those who are able to meet more of their economic expectations than persons who are less favourably endowed with resources. Diversification of economic activities is a common livelihood strategy of small farmers and rural households, not only in the developing world, but also in parts of developed nations (Halperin, 1992). Because people in these settings perceive a relatively high degree of risk and uncertainty in their environment, they engage in a variety of activities in order to reduce these feelings of uneasiness (Ortiz, 1973). The rule of thumb is: trying to avoid placing all your eggs in one basket, or less metaphorically, diversifying to reduce risk and uncertainty. Moreover, these same activities can also enable some households to earn substantial amounts of money and to "get ahead," to varying degrees (Chang'ach, 2011b).

In an effort to assess what kinds of things people do to reduce risk and uncertainty, informants were asked the following question: "What kinds of things do you do to reduce uncertainty in your livelihood?" Based on the patterns that emerged in the responses, activities were divided into four categories:

- (a) Small-scale economic activities (casual labour, charcoal burning, making and selling beer, craftwork such as making calabashes or ropes, and financial remuneration from relatives);
- (b) Salaried employment (with the government or a private company) or wage labour (working locally in a business, such as a butchery or bar);
- (c) business endeavours/entrepreneurial activities (ownership of a bar, *duka* (small retail shop), or a *matatu* (public transportation vehicle));
- (d) Both salaried employment/wage labour and business endeavour/entrepreneurial activity.

All these activities are normally carried out in conjunction with, rather than as alternatives to, agriculture.

It is suggested that category four (combining salaried employment with a business enterprise) is the most desirable option for people in terms of both reducing feelings of risk and uncertainty and also due to the potential for getting ahead. Categories two and three are the next best options respectively. While category one (small-scale activities) is the least desirable, since it is the least diversified.

Nonetheless, there are vast differences in economic ability separating category one from category four; going from one end of these categories to the other, the likelihood of the average household being able to engage in these activities diminished greatly. Nearly every able bodied adult, regardless of age and gender, is able to engage in casual labour; such as working for the neighbours during critical periods in the agriculture cycle, such as land preparation, planting, weeding, or harvest. In terms of more gender specific small-scale activities, for men, there is the burning of charcoal, while for women, the making and selling of beer can bring in a cash income. In the three ecological zones, craftwork is a relatively insignificant source of income; even for those few who engage in these activities, they are still only performed on a part-time basis.

Some older persons are no longer physically able to engage in such casual labour as the burning of charcoal or the brewing and selling of beer. Moreover, their ability to work on their own plots has also diminished with advanced age. These people tend to rely on their relatives for food, clothing, or money. This source of support is especially important for the older people with children or grandchildren who may be employed in urban centers like Eldoret, Iten, and other major towns. Indeed, kinship continued to act as a support system in contemporary Africa (Chang'ach, 2011a).

The possibility of a person securing salaried employment with the government or with major private firms in Eldoret, depends on several factors. The most important is educational qualifications and personal social networks (Chang'ach, 2011a). Local jobs also, at least ostensibly, depend on both educational qualifications and personal connections. In and around the Fluorspar Mining Company, the possibility of securing employment is high.

Business endeavours and entrepreneurial activities, such as ownership of a bar or small retail shop (*duka*), provide one of the best means of insuring an individual and his/her family against uncertainty stemming from dependence on the vagaries of climate (rainfall and temperature) or labour shortages in the production of crops or animals.

Nevertheless, a few people are ever able to do so, because the ability to invest in a business is heavily dependent on relatively large amounts of capital (Chang'ach, 2011a). Thus, entrepreneurial activities are restricted to a very small number of individuals and households. Moreover, this is the most certain path to affluence, but it is also a highly unlikely one for the vast majority of people because of lack of capital (Chang'ach, 2011a).

Agricultural Activities

Agriculture is by far the largest source of gainful employment in Kenya and will continue to be so until into the next century (Republic of Kenya, 1999). A dynamic agricultural sector is central to the economic development of the country and requires a long-term strategy for employment creation and transformation of the economy (Republic of Kenya, 1991b). Agricultural performance is crucial for the households because it provides vital ingredients for economic transformation, such as demand, foreign exchange, raw materials, food, and labour. These are the five traditional economic roles of agriculture in the process of development (Republic of Kenya, 1991b).

As part of their diversified livelihood strategies, nearly all households in Keiyo are engaged in some crop production. Farming is the basis of life for most people, although the degree to which they depended upon agriculture varied across and within the three ecological zones (Chang'ach, 2011a). Furthermore, the types of crops that can be grown, the amounts that can be produced, and the use to which they are put varies in the three ecological zones (Chang'ach, 2011b). In this section, similarities and differences in the ways that agricultural activities fitted into the livelihood strategies of people in the three ecological zones are considered. Although there are staples, such as maize, which is grown across the three ecological zones, the numbers and types of crops that could be grown in the highlands, escarpment, and valley differed.

The average number of crops grown by households is greatest in the highlands, lowest in the valley, and intermediate on the escarpment (Chang'ach, 2011a). In the lower elevations of Keiyo, the number of different crops that can be successfully grown declines, due mainly to inadequate rainfall. The valley can be very productive with irrigation (Chang'ach, 2011b).

There are differences between these areas not only in the number of crops that can be grown, but also in the types of crops that can be grown. Today, maize tends to be the staple crop of people in all three ecological zones (Chang'ach, 2011a). Just as in much of Africa, maize has displaced the traditional cereals, such as finger millet and sorghum, for several reasons (Acland, 1986). One advantage of maize is that it is less susceptible to damage from crop pests, such as weaverbirds, than is millet and sorghum (Chang'ach, 2011b). In the days prior to universal primary education, children (along with older adults) could spend much of their time on elevated platforms in the fields to scare away birds and wild animals (Massam, 1968). Another reason for the

popularity of maize is that it requires less labour during weeding, harvest, and processing than those other grains; it is a labour-saving crop compared to the indigenous grains (Schneider, 1981). People continue to grow sorghum or millet especially for use in brewing beer. However, older informants routinely stated that they grow much less of these grains than they did in the past. The reasons they give for this change in the amount of millet or sorghum planted centre on the greater amount of work they require and its tedious nature. Maize has acquired a higher monetary value than millet and sorghum and the Keiyo farmer responded to widening market opportunities. Moreover, maize serves the dual purpose of being a commercial crop as well as being a subsistence crop (Chang'ach, 2011b). In other words, a farmer does not plant maize with the sole aim of trading it off, but consuming it at home. Finally, and not least of all, gastronomically speaking, people have acquired a definite taste preference for *posho* (maize meal) over millet and sorghum. Though maize is considered as a food crop, it is a cash crop as well for it is an important money earner for both small-scale and large-scale farmers.

Although maize is the number one food crop in all three ecological zones, including the valley, it is not necessarily the one that is best suited to the ecological conditions prevailing in these areas (Kipkorir & Ssenyonga 1985). Indigenous grains, such as millet and sorghum, are more drought-resistant and can be safer alternative yet most people today plant maize as their primary food crop. Likewise, the number two food crop for all three ecological zones is beans, despite the fact that crops, like cowpeas, can be better suited to the drier conditions of the valley.

In the highlands, apart from the substitution of maize for millet and sorghum, Irish potatoes are widely grown in large quantities where the climate and soils are suitable for the growing of the same. The Irish potatoes are popular in these areas not only because of its commercial value, but also due to the fact that it matures in a shorter period than other available crops. It needs very little labour and the yields are very high. Finally, potatoes like maize serve the dual purpose of being a commercial as well as subsistence crop.

The distribution between “cash” and “food” crops is often an artificial one imposed by the observer (Little, 1987). Many people in Keiyo, like people in other parts of the country, grow crops, such as maize, for sale and consumption. Although some amount may be grown for consumption, this amount can be altered by reality. People often face emergency needs for cash: medical expenses, school fees, and funerals. If an emergency arises around the time for harvest or thereafter, some of the maize that is intended for consumption can end up being sold, often for low prices to local entrepreneurs. Furthermore, and unfortunately for the households involved, they later have to buy this maize back at inflated prices.

For the people of the escarpment and the valley, these crops which are grown for food also tend to be those crops which are grown for sale. Households in the highlands are located in much closer proximity to the daily market in Eldoret than are people on the escarpment and in the valley; this strongly influences the crops that they choose to grow. Kale, cabbages, and tomatoes do well in the better growing climate of the highlands. Moreover, their greater perishability makes growing and transporting them from lower elevations less viable. On the other hand, maize and beans, once dried, can be stored for relatively long periods of time. Finally, it should be noted that the bananas, which are noted as the second most important cash crop on the escarpment, are sold locally and on a very small scale. By and large, bananas bring a small but steady source of income.

Agricultural Inputs

Crops do not grow by themselves. People have to invest time and money to produce them. For the most part, households in the highlands spend greater sums of money on agricultural inputs than people on the

escarpment or in the valley (Republic of Kenya, 1997). Accordingly, households in the highlands earn significantly more from the sale of crops than do households in either of the two other ecological zones (Republic of Kenya, 1991c). In order to do so, they invest more money in a greater variety of inputs, such as seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, and herbicides. Agricultural production is more capital intensive in higher elevations than it is in the lower elevations (Republic of Kenya, 1994). The average amount that people spent on agricultural inputs is significantly higher in the highlands than in either the escarpment or valley. Even the average amounts that people spent on inputs are more on the escarpment than in the valley.

However, this finding is partially due to the nature of soils in these three areas; for example, some require more inputs of fertilizer than others. The soil on the Elgeyo escarpment, which is close to the face of the escarpment, does not require the addition of chemical fertilizers or, perhaps only minimal additions. This is because the gradual but inexorable erosion of the escarpment is constantly enriching these soils, making them some of the most productive in the area. On the other hand, much of the soil in the highlands has been intensively used for four to five decades and requires greater additions of fertilizers in order to retain any productivity. Thus, the fact that more chemical fertilizers are used in the highlands is caused by both economic and ecological factors.

Agricultural Labour

Labour often represents a major constraint on small-scale agriculture in Africa (Schneider, 1981) and, in this respect, Keiyo is not different. Labour bottlenecks occur at critical periods in the agricultural cycle. Like other Africans, the Keiyo have devised social arrangements that help them overcome these restrictions. In the three ecological zones covered by this study, the number of households that needs outside help at some period during the year is high.

Co-operative labour parties are well documented in the literature on African production systems (Karp, 1978). Neighbours co-operate in tasks such as breaking the land, planting, weeding, or harvesting in return for reciprocal assistance at a later date or a beer party. While these kinds of arrangements continue today in Keiyo, some people have taken to performing this labour in return for cash. This practice is known as casual labour, or *kibarua* (Chang'ach, 2011b). Nearly all these options involve some expenditure of money, and most households are forced to expend cash to secure the extra agricultural labour they need. Although agriculture is still important for subsistence in the valley, it is a less critical part of households' livelihood strategies there than it is in the highlands.

Earnings From Agricultural Activities

Households in the highlands invest more money (inputs and labour) in crop production than their counterparts in the valley or on the escarpment. However, it is true that people in the highlands also earn more money from crop sales than do households in the valley or on the escarpment. This is because people in the highlands can grow a greater variety of crops than is possible on the escarpment and in the valley. Furthermore, in the lower elevations, those crops which are grown for food tend to be those which are sold for cash, such as maize and beans. In the highlands, on the other hand, although people still sell maize and beans, their major cash crops (kale, cabbages, Irish potatoes, and tomatoes) are different from their staple food crops.

Before concluding this discussion of agricultural activities, it is necessary to consider for a moment the various outlets that people use for selling their crops. Generally, befitting the strategy of diversification, most

households use a variety of outlets for crop sales rather than relying on a single channel. Furthermore, this generalization holds true across ecological zones. For example, although the National Cereals and Produce Board (NCPB) is the official buyer for maize in Kenya, people from all three ecological zones do not only sell maize through this channel; instead, they tend to market their crops through a combination of sources. This includes local individuals, local shops, local schools, middlemen, and a combination of some of them. Accordingly, all the households in the three ecological zones market their crops utilizing a number of different outlets because this allows households to take advantage of unexpected situations that arise during the course of the year than if they are locked into a rigid predetermined pattern.

Livestock Related Activities

Livestock is of great importance to people in the three ecological zones of Keiyo. The types of livestock products that people depend upon for subsistence or for sale vary from one ecological zone to another. Small ruminants, sheep, and goats are primary sources of meat. As such, they are both sold and consumed by members of households. The indigenous breeds of cattle that are kept in the valley have lower milk producing potential than those crossbreed cattle that are kept in the highlands (Republic of Kenya, 1991c).

Livestock production is an important sub-sector within the agricultural sector as animals play a major role in the livelihood of households in the area. Emphasis on livestock compared to cropping is on the decline in the highland zone where people prefer growing maize and wheat. In spite of this, households in Kerio Valley keep large herds of zebu cattle, while others are scattered in the highlands. They are kept as a tradition but not for commercial purposes. Occasionally, when the need arises, farmers can sell one or two animals to get cash money.

Milk production is both exotic and indigenous zebu cattle. However, milk from the zebu is so little that most of it is either consumed at home or sold locally. Thus, the dairy industry is largely maintained by grade cattle.

Beekeeping and honey production is a common practice among many traditional beekeepers in the Keiyo. The exploitation of flowering trees and shrubs for honey production is of paramount importance in the Kerio Valley where households depended on smallholder agriculture with local zebu, sheep, goats, and honey as their primary source of income. However, no organized honey production and marketing has taken place in the area. The honey produced is consumed locally either fresh or in preparation of local liquor (*Kipketinik*). If the potential is fully exploited, then there could be a justification for setting up a refinery in Rokocho in the valley floor.

Not only do the types of livestock products that are being sold vary between ecological zones, so also do the outlets for sale. Overall, households in the valley are more limited in their avenues for sale than are people in the highlands. Other than individuals in the area, the butchers in small trading centres constitute the primary conduit for the sale of animals from the valley and also those animals that are kept on the escarpment.

Just as with crop sales, the amounts of money that can be earned from livestock sales vary greatly across ecological zones. The average amount of money which households are expected to make from the sale of animal and milk is greater in the highlands than either the escarpment or the valley. On average, households in the highlands estimate that they can make over three times more from these sales than households in either the escarpment or valley.

Furthermore, the earnings from livestock and its products are not equal within and across the three ecological zones. However, once again, like the situation with crop production, the greatest income earning

potential of livestock in the highlands also require more investment of money in form of veterinary care. The crossbreed cattle of the highlands do produce larger quantities of milk, but they are also more susceptible to tick-borne diseases like East Coast Fever; hence, they can only survive if they are regularly sprayed with or dipped in chemical solvents to kill these parasites. Although the Kenya government, through the Ministry of Livestock development, is trying to encourage preventive health care for all animals (both indigenous and exotic/crossbreed), households in the lower elevations of Keiyo are less likely to do so, partly because of the cost. In addition, to the consideration of cost to the users, there is also the element of maintenance to consider. This is not so much of a problem in the highlands, with its relatively well-developed road system, but it is especially problematic in more remote parts of the valley.

Households in each of the three ecological zones are asked to estimate how much they expected to spend on veterinary care for one year. The data demonstrated that on average, people in the highlands spent over three times as much on animal care as do people in the valley or on the escarpment. Once again, a major point is reinforced, that in the highlands, livestock are primarily a source of income, while in the valley, they are important for subsistence purposes.

Wage Labour/Salaried Employment

A broad definition of employment is an income earning activity, the application of human labour to the task of providing goods and services. Employment may take the form of wage employment that is work done in a firm or household on behalf of an employer for a periodic payment called salary or wage (Republic of Kenya 1997). Alternatively, it may be self-employment, when one works in one's own firm, farm, or business in expectation of some income. This may take the form of actual goods produced and consumed in the household, as in case of subsistence farming or of some monetary gain or profit as in the case of a small roadside kiosk run by the owner.

Employment, in the broad sense of income earning activities, is central to national economic development and household welfare. Labour is the human factor in production. Employment of more and more labour-equipped with appropriate skills and technology and combined with other resources like land and capital is the principal instrument for increasing the production of goods and services and thereby promoting economic growth and development. At the same time, it is through such participation of its members in production and development that a household earns its income and the opportunity to consume, save, and invest. These are the essential determinants of the economic welfare enjoyed by a household. The level of welfare depends not only on the extent of the household's participation in productive work, but also on the quality of that participation, that is, on the level of skills of the workers, the technologies at their disposal, the infrastructural facilities available to them, and the quantity and quality of complementary resources of land and capital (Maxon, 2003).

Unemployment on the other hand occurs when a person of working age, who is able and willing to work, finds none. It follows from the above that this has two implications: 1. The household loses the goods and services which this person, if employed, would be able to produce; and 2. The household concerned is denied the economic and social wellbeing which this person's earnings would enable it to enjoy. Underemployment occurs when the person may be working full time but has poor levels of education, skill, infrastructural facilities, and other complementary resources so that a meager output is produced (Leys, 1975). This phenomenon results in loss of potential output of goods and services to the welfare of the household.

These and other considerations indicate that creating adequate opportunities for fully productive employment of all members of society who are willing and able to work must be central to the process of economic development. Employment is also the principal means of creating a society in which all individuals and households have rightful share in the benefits accruing from social and economic progress.

Access to employment opportunities tends to be greater in the higher elevations of Keiyo. However, the Fluorspar Mining Company in the valley provides employment opportunities both directly and indirectly to people from the three ecological zones. Otherwise, wage earning positions are extremely scarce anywhere except in the highlands, and even there, they are not plentiful since lack of jobs is a chronic problem of the Kenyan economy today.

Furthermore, getting a job is not simply a matter of accessibility but also educational qualifications. Households in the highlands generally tend to be better educated than households on the escarpment and in the valley; hence, they are usually better qualified for the few jobs that existed. Consequently, the amount of income that households expect to earn from wage labour/salaried employment is greater in the highlands than in the other two ecological zones. Thus, on average, income gained from these sources for households in the highlands is higher than from the escarpment or the valley (Chang'ach, 2011b).

The focus, therefore, should be to protect and enhance the assets and income streams making up rural livelihoods. Searching for poverty-reducing techniques and building and enhancing social capital through group co-operation, support for marketing initiatives for lower income groups, and removal of local and national government regulations which obstruct petty trade, will improve livelihoods and contribute to broad-based economic growth.

Small-Scale and Entrepreneurial Income-Generating Activities

Entrepreneurship consists of the ability to organize production and the willingness to assume risks. The entrepreneur is the owner of a business; he/she takes decisions on what to produce, how to produce (technology employed), and for whom to produce (markets). If there is a profit after meeting all costs, he/she takes it; if there is a loss, he/she bears it.

One of the most fundamental assertions in this study is that Keiyo people, like people in rural communities elsewhere in the developing world, do many different things in order to survive; they diversify rather than specialize their economic enterprises. Although agriculture is the most important means of making a living for most of the households of these three ecological zones, by no means do these activities exhaust the range of possibilities. Households in all the three ecological zones try to do other things in addition to growing crops and keeping animals; however, their ability to do so varies.

The heading "small-scale income-generating activities" subsumes a variety of possibilities, including casual labour (*kibarua*). Barker (1989) discussed *kibarua* and said that it "refers to day labour or piece of work paid either in cash or in goods such as sugar or salt," beer brewing and sale, charcoal burning and sale, craftwork, such as the making of sisal ropes, and the making of decorated calabashes (used for milk) from guards. However, it should be noted that the degree to which households depend upon casual labour for income generation was inversely correlated with elevation. Thus, the average amount of money that people earned and the degree to which they depended upon casual labour for economic survival was greater in the valley than on the escarpment or in the highlands.

Casual labour is not gender specific. It is regularly performed by both males and females alike. Other small-scale income-generating activities tend to be more gender specific. For example, the burning and sale of charcoal is something which is undertaken primarily by males, and more in the valley (due to the greater availability of trees) than elsewhere. In theory, a person has to possess a license in order to burn trees to make charcoal; in reality, few people actually do. As it leaves the valley, the price steadily increases.

Although officially proscribed, the brewing and sale of traditional beer (*busaa*), made with fried, fermented maize (*maiyeke*), and millet (*bitek*) meal, is very common in all three ecological zones of Keiyo. Moreover, it can be a substantial source of income, especially for women. As mentioned earlier, in the past, this beer is often used to compensate the members of a communal work party and today, the workers who come to perform labour during critical periods in the agricultural cycle are still rewarded with *busaa* (Chang'ach, 2011b). *Busaa* is also freely consumed on many other occasions, including, but not restricted to, ceremonial events, such as weddings, circumcisions, and naming of infants. However, presently, *busaa* has become a commodity and as such it is also brewed specifically with the intent of making money. An addition to *busaa* is the refining of a spirit known as *chang'aa*. When it is available, people show up to drink and socialize with others in the area. Accordingly, this income-generating strategy seems to be most common among female-headed households and it is practiced in all the three ecological zones (Chang'ach, 2011b).

Craftwork is limited in Keiyo. Making ropes from sisal fibres and calabashes from guards is about the only craft activity that was carried out in the three ecological zones and is a minor supplementary source of income. This activity is mostly done by women.

The information gathered in this study supports the assertion that life is fundamentally different in the highlands. Additionally, it is maintained that this divergence is rooted in the much more favourable economic opportunity structure in the highlands than on the escarpment or in the valley. The cause of the superior opportunity structure in the highlands is lodged equally in ecological and historical factors.

Conclusion

This paper first discussed the efforts and actions by the Keiyo to address the challenges of agrarian change and rural transformation in Kenya. The paper explains that these strategies further widen the scope of engagement in the economy by Keiyo households.

The discussion of households in Keiyo, considered their size and composition, as well as the distribution of household resources across the three ecological zones under consideration. To review this discussion, it was found that, in terms of land and livestock holdings, water sources and distance to them, and housing materials and construction, the highlands ecological zone is definitely the most favourable one, with the valley the least and the escarpment intermediate. While there were certainly affluent, prosperous households on the escarpment and in the valley, they were much fewer in number than in the highlands. It is suggested that, as a reflection of the more favourable economic opportunity structure there, the distribution of resources was more equitable among households in the highlands than either of the other two areas.

The different economic opportunity structures of these three areas were reflected in the make-up of households. On average, households were largest in the highlands, smallest in the valley, and intermediate on the escarpment. This was due to the fact that the population of the highlands was younger and that there were more children there than in the other two areas.

This paper has also examined the economic strategies that people from the three ecological zones in Keiyo used and the activities in which they engaged to make a living. The study has endeavoured to show that people felt most secure in the highlands and that they were better able to meet their own economic expectations there than elsewhere. It has also been suggested that the economic strategies of people in these three ecological zones led them to deliberately seek to diversify their economic activities both in order to reduce risk/uncertainty and also in the attempt to turn a profit. In this regard, those households that were able to combine on-farm activities with off-farm sources of income were generally the most successful and secure. However, the ability to diversify was not equally distributed. It was dependent upon access to capital and as such it tends to be the greatest in the highlands. Nevertheless, the economic opportunity structure of the highlands was so benevolent that people there could succeed without extensively diversifying, whereas for households on the escarpment and in the valley, diversification was a prerequisite for economic success.

Households from those three ecological zones engaged in a wide variety of economic activities: farming, animal husbandry, casual labour, beer brewing and sale, charcoal burning and sale, wage labour/salaried employment, and entrepreneurial/business endeavours. Generally, the amount of money that could be earned from any one or more of these categories was greatest in the highlands, intermediate on the escarpment, and least in the valley. Total income from all sources combined clearly correlated directly with elevation.

It is demonstrated from this paper that the perceived economic security and ability to meet one's own economic expectations were also greatest in the highlands. These differences were not the result of varying attitudes towards the desirability of "development." The better life that people enjoyed in the highlands (symbolized in things like house construction and fenced farm plots) was and is aspired to by nearly all people today. However, with the exception of a few well-to-do individuals in the valley and on the escarpment, this standard of living was generally available only to those fortunate enough to be endowed with the right mix of resources: the residents of the highlands.

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The Violation of Human Rights in Mexico: Gender Violence

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This article presents an analysis of the violation of human rights in Mexico regarding gender violence. The authors state that the protection of human rights should not be conceived only from a positivist position, but from a sociological dimension that sees gender violence as a form of discrimination against women.

Keywords: gender violence, international studies, human rights

Introduction

This article focuses on gender violence in Mexico, stating that the protection of human rights should not be conceived only from a positivist position, but from a sociological dimension. In order to examine this position, we analyze different aspects, including the concept of violence, family violence, the cycle and types of violence, and then gender violence. We conclude with an analysis of gender violence as a form of discrimination that results in violation of human rights in Mexico.

Violence

The root meaning of the word “violence” brings us to the concept of force. The noun violence is related to the verbs “violate,” “rape,” “force,” among others. Then, we note that violence always involves force or imposes the use of force causing intentional damage.

In common terms, we can also state that violence means the action or effect of violating or becoming violent; an action against the natural way to proceed; force exerted on a person to force him/her to do what he/she does not want to do.

From the legal point of view, “violence” viciously affects human consent; it is a physical or moral coercion exercised by a person over another, with the intention to enable his/her consent for the approval of a contract that otherwise will not be granted (*Diccionario Jurídico Mexicano*, 2001).

Legal doctrine also distinguishes between physical and moral violence. The first results in acts that result in the disappearance of the victim’s will. In this case, there is no will and consequently the legal act produced is nonexistent. Moral violence is exerted by means of psychological pressure, twisting or diverting the will of the victim. The material violence element consists in bullying behavior, manifested in physical coercion or threat.

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Violence can also be seen as the exercise of power through the use of force (physical, psychological, economic, and political) and implies the existence of a real or symbolic “up” or a “down,” commonly taking the form of complementary relations: parent-child, man-woman, teacher-student, and employer-employee.



Figure 1. Elements of the definition of violence.

Figure 1 includes some definitions used to explain the concept of violence within the social context, taking into account the various ways of exercising violence, one can speak of social, school, work violence, and the violence within the basic cell of society: family violence.

Domestic Violence

The most common form of violence in society is unfortunately the one caused in the family, the oldest human institution, which is a key for understanding and functioning as a member of the society. Through the family, the community is responsible for preparing their members, so they can successfully fulfill their social role.

Nevertheless, domestic violence is a social conflict, which is registered as a historical phenomenon linked to the subjugation of the weaker sectors: women, elderly, and children. As Yllán and De la Lama (2002) stated, “... These are mostly victimized, but there also have been cases of violence against spouses” (p. 4).

The European Council (2011)¹ has defined family violence as:

Any act or omission committed within the family by one of its members that affects the life or physical or psychological integrity or liberty of another member of the same family, causing serious damage to the development of personality.

In Mexico, the family is one of the contexts in which violence occurs in a most alarming way. This is exacerbated by multiple interrelated factors that are the product of the structured social inequalities of the society. The multi-causal origins may be diverse: poverty, male unemployment, alcoholism, drug addiction, female employment, educational level, social class, ethnic, religion, life cycle, or the urban and rural regional contexts.

Domestic violence focuses on physical violence against women and children, but also exists against the disabled, the elderly, between brothers, adolescents against their partner, between gays, as well as between polygamous or polyandrous families.

The Cycle of Violence

The cycle of violence is one of the basic concepts to understand this phenomenon; we owe this concept in first instance to Leonore Walker. It is an iterative process that meets certain stages and allows us to understand

¹ An international organization whose main objectives are respect for democracy, the state of law, and human rights.

how a loving relationship became violent and how difficult it is for the battered woman to break this dangerous link.²

In tracing the history of the couple facing violence, almost invariably signs of dating violence are observed, signs that once instilled doubts or fears about whether to marry or not, such as demonstrations of jealousy, anger, domination, and control. All these statements were not duly taken into account, heralding a male oppressive behavior, at the thought of separation. Instead, the ideal of romantic love and the myth “that he will change with marriage” prevailed.

Phrases, such as “You are going to be mine or of anyone,” “If you leave me, I will kill you,” and “You are everything to me,” all enclose a perceived violent potential blurred by the myths and stereotypes in a patriarchal culture. It may sound like very flattering for a woman who tends to feel that she is not valued enough or gets engaged with someone showing her this type of affection.

Sometimes, the episodes start in the honeymoon, pregnancy, or the birth of the first child. There are a number of basic premises that the couple keeps tacitly about the values attributed to masculinity or femininity. For example, a woman must accompany the man, be caring, loving, and be attentive to his wishes; a man must be strong and determined, and must protect the woman and carry out the home.

Thus, the couple build a relationship of emotional dependence that keeps them together; they feel good and always need the approval of their companion; and they fit perfectly like pieces of a puzzle, becoming each one the center of the other’s life. The wife is the perfect woman that accompanies and follows the man and holds in everything he undertakes, showing that she could give up her personal ambitions for the sake of a common future. Thus, the man feels reaffirmed in his self-esteem and power, as this woman promises to be everything to him and spend her life and her love, making him believe that this compensate for his early emotional deprivation. This small little boy, neglected by their parents, finds in his partner someone who will satisfy his enormous need for affection and be attentive to his every wish.

After a while, the ambiance between the couple changes, tensions build; there is dissatisfaction with certain aspects of coexistence, and economic events occur, such as job changes, unemployment, economic instability, and pregnancy of the first child, and the man’s jealousy concerning some of the woman’s friends or coworkers or any other situation, no matter how small causes discomfort. Then, psychological aggression began, such as teasing, put-downs, making her not valued, which has a devastating effect. Attacks on her intellectuality, her self-esteem, and her body disguised as a joke, to undermine her self-esteem.

Then, physical attacks continue, a push that makes the woman fall or a slap that surprises her. First, she is puzzled. She did not think he could react that way; she thinks that this will never happen again. If the situation repeats itself, she does not show her anger. She thinks that she is the one who did something wrong to make him angry, so she denies the undeserved aggression. She lacks self-esteem, she feels complete only with her husband, and she cannot think that her marriage has failed, because she has put her whole life into her marriage.

Later, both seek explanations for his reaction by looking at external events, labor problems, debts, etc., that appear to justify his behavior and both agree that they want to forgive and forget.

Over time, the coexistence wears out and the relationship deteriorates, increasing frustration for the couple. Added to this, the man’s inability to express his feelings makes that anything unleash his anger, shouting insults. The woman becomes the target of his fury and when she least expects it, he beats her again. The wife begins to

² In most cases, women are the victims within the family.

wonder what she did wrong and will always find an excuse to blame herself. Later, she will come to think that her lack of intelligence prevents her from finding any solution, coupled with the inability to react against the man's violence leads to a trap that consumes her more and makes her waste her life and her soul. After he reacted violently, the man began thinking about the consequences of what he did, he shows repentance, but it reserves most of the guilt for her. He asks her in a tender way, not to get him nervous, he can mourn, pleading, and make all kinds of promises and assurances that it will not happen again. This second honeymoon is followed by expensive gifts and a whole array of kindness (Chávez & Barros, 2003).

Maltreated women usually feel guilty and believe that they deserve the punishment they get; for not being able to have a good marriage or for not avoiding conflict. This is, in many cases, the reason why after the criminal proceedings had started, that some women decide to abandon the procedures. They try to improve their relationship, especially if they are financially dependent on their partners.

The financial dependence of women is an enough reason for man to increase his dominance. Abandon a spouse or partner that is the provider represents for many women losing their only source of income, which makes them perceive that this situation can be worse than continue living with their violent partner.

The impact of violence on the quality of life of people is deep and includes not only physical but emotional or psychological harm. The negative impact of violence on the quality of life of women is evident in addictions, suicides, frequent hospitalizations in psychiatric units, recurrent disease, difficulties in academic and job performance, lack of staff satisfaction, among others.

The term domestic violence refers to any form of abuse, whether physical, psychological, or sexual, which takes place in the relationship among family members. As any abuse, it involves an imbalance of power that is exercised from the strongest to the weakest with the ultimate aim of exercising control over the relationship.

Types of Violence

Physical violence is any non-accidental action that causes or could cause physical injury or disease in the body as bruises, burns, slapping, etc.. One of the most widespread practices is the emotional violence; blackmail and manipulation are part of this and have the function of controlling the victim. When the offender obtains what he wants, then he uses guilt and shame to keep controlling the victim. The most vulnerable to suffer this type of violence are the minors when their family life is manifested in violent forms of attitudes among family members.

According to Lammoglia (2005), in the scheme of emotional violence, there is a face violence or child abuse by neglect of the parents in conflict. Being the children of the victim makes them feel guilty for the disputes between their parents, so the children assimilate the learning of violent behavior that they could repeat in their adult life, thinking that violence is inherent in the family

Another form of violence is sexual violence. This involves the imposition of a behavior of sexual nature or sexual connotation against the will of the victim, using force and intimidation. It can also be a cause of other crimes, such as incest and rape.

Economic violence occurs around spouses who are dedicated exclusively to their homes, because they are afraid to leave their partners due to their economic dependence. Because the husband tells them that they only serve for staying in the house; the women feel that they cannot do anything on their own resources. This makes them feel that they are alone and incapable, which leads them to remain in their violent marriage.

Verbal violence is one of the most common strategies of aggression; with the famous phrases that come to hurt the woman saying that she is good for nothing, or “You are just like your clumsy father”; “You eat like a pig”; “You suck”; “It had to be you”; “I do not love you anymore”; “you are so fat”; etc.. These phrases are highly damaging and hurtful to women.

Psychological violence is manifested in any act or intentional conduct that produces devaluation and suffering of the victim.

Gender Violence

Violence is a complex phenomenon that has been present in different civilizations and at various stages of development; its practice is a problem that transcends the formation of societies. Society is the result of a complex combination of factors that reproduce themselves in the family. A dysfunctional family introduces dysfunctional elements in society, causing social problems.

In this social phenomenon, causes and psychological, sociological, anthropological, and biological factors that damage different social structures, therefore, cause a deterioration of human relationships.

In the scheme of family violence, there is special emphasis on gender violence and violence against women. Gender violence has been defined by the World Health Organization as:

The intentional use of physical force or power against oneself, toward another person, groups or communities causing probable consequences, such as physical injury, psychological damage, developmental disorders, abandonment and even death. (Krug, Dahlberg, Mercy, Zwi, & Lozano, 2002)

Gender-based violence was also defined in 1993 by the United Nations, in the *Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women*, as follows:

Any act of violence towards females, which has or may have resulted in damage or physical, sexual or psychological suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion and arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private.

In this way, we can understand gender violence as the violence perpetrated against women to discriminate against them, maintain inequality, and power over them.

Among the types of gender violence, we find almost the same that occur in family violence, for example, physical violence, consisting of behavior involving physical abuse by the perpetrator, which causes bodily harm; sexual violence, such as the imposition of intercourse; psychological violence, exercised through emotional manipulation of the aggressor; and economic violence, when resources for subsistence and other types of violence are not provided.

In gender violence, there is also a cycle of violence, with reference to Walker (1979), who noted that there are three phases of violence: (a) the tension phase, characterized by psychological abuse; (b) the assault phase, when the tension phase reaches its limit, then the discharge tension occurs through physical, psychological, or sexual violence; and (c) the phase of calm or reconciliation, which takes place after the aggressor has committed the abuse and feels sorry and distressed, uses emotional manipulation strategies, apologizes, and makes promises for change.

Violence against women violates their human dignity; it is a manifestation of inequality between women and men in society. So, eliminating violence is essential for the individual and social development of women and a step towards their equal participation in life.

Precisely for this reason, the *Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence Against Women* in 1995, recognized that violence against women is a violation of human rights and the fundamental freedoms, which limits the recognition, enjoyment, and exercise such rights and freedoms (National Commission to Prevent and Eradicate Violence Against Women, 1995).

The state in a limited extent has tried to lessen the impact of violence against women due to their gender, taking steps, such as legislative reforms that resulted in criminal offenses and stiffer punishments for female murders,³ including severe sanctions, the creation of mediation units to address this problem and their regulations, municipal as well as state programs, among others. However, these are palliative measures that do not solve the underlying problem of gender-based violence, because it is a social phenomenon at large, coupled with the fact that the state seeks to punish violence with more violence.

In addressing this issue of gender violence in the Mexican social reality, using a gender perspective, it is important to place people in certain specific areas and not forget that there are different ways in which women are taking on new roles or social practices of coexistence as well as how they have transformed gender relations in public and in the private arenas.

Gender Violence, a Form of Discrimination That Violates Human Rights

Since the Mexican government published a decree in the *Official Journal of the Mexican Federation* on June 10, 2011, amending the first article of the constitution of the United Mexican States, our constitution prohibits various forms of discrimination, including those related to gender. This legislation prevents any act that violates human dignity. In this way, the Mexican government adheres rights to the constitution that are recognized in international treaties.

Based on this, it can be stated that the gender discrimination is a form of violence that violates human rights, and therefore, it is against human dignity, in other words, by human rights:

The basic needs of human beings, in all times, places, and cultures that are synthesized in the course of history in subjective public rights, both individual and social, they share in common that they are all related to the need of respecting the dignity of the person and of all the values that are part of that dignity, which are basically freedom, equality, and solidarity. (Programa Venezolano de Educación-Acción en Derechos Humanos [PROVEA], 2008)

According to Faúndez (1996):

The notion of human rights relates to the affirmation that the dignity of the individual remains against the state. Public power should be exercised in the service of man: It cannot be used lawfully to offend inherent rights of a person and must be a vehicle for the individual to live in society, in terms that are consonant with the same dignity that is inherent to him or her. Contemporary society recognizes that all human beings, by virtue of being, have rights against the state rights, which has the duty to respect and guarantee human rights and is called to organize actions for their full protection. These rights, attributes of every person and inherent to the human dignity, that the state has the duty to respect, protect, or fulfill are what we now call human rights.

Thus, we can say that human rights constitute the cornerstone of every human being by his/her mere existence. Therefore, it is the natural law that the state must recognize these rights and dignify them in all areas of his/her existence.

In order to understand the concept of human dignity, we must recognize that the word “dignity” is a vague term, which makes it difficult determining what the limits of the protection are. For example, in the case in

³ Female violence is an extreme form of gender violence, product of the violation of human rights.

which it cannot establish strictly the exact time when there is a violation against human dignity. This fact, added to the plurality of interpretations that have been given to the idea of dignity, contributes to the skepticism of many authors on a possibility of finding a common consensus that may have a significant role in law and even convert a destitute expression of content (Fernández, 2003).

Von Wintrich (1957, as cited in Fernández, 2003) argued that the dignity of “a man as an ethical-spiritual being, is by its very nature, conscious and free, because he can search for his or her self-determination, prepare himself and act on the world around him.”

In turn, González (1986) pointed out that dignity is the category in which a human being is endowed with intelligence and will, distinct and superior to all creation, establishing a treatment throughout concordant circumstances with human nature. The dignity of the person constitutes the supreme value and the legal principle which is the basic backbone of the entire constitutional legislation and is a source of all fundamental rights, radiating the whole legal system that must be interpreted and applied in accordance with the conditions under which that dignity is respected in a better way (Nogueira, 2015).

Truly, the idea of dignity should be analyzed from the field of morality and law, so any form of discrimination of human beings, regardless of what is prohibited by law, constitutes an impairment to their personal sphere, among which there is significantly gender violence, which constitutes a violation of their human rights.

Conclusion

The recognition of a human right in our constitution, although it is a benefit for the protection of human beings, should not be examined from a positivist posture, because the true effectiveness of the law must be analyzed from a sociological dimension. In this analysis, we found three perspectives of law: axiological, normative, and sociological, because the effectiveness of law must be analyzed from the effectiveness it produces in society. In the case of domestic violence, it should not be analyzed from a normative position only, but from its causes, and we need to implement public policies that seek to avoid it, only then the Mexican State will be meeting the protection of human rights.

Therefore, the state should implement policies to prevent violence against women, ensuring the human rights for all by not affecting their freedoms, especially the right to life.

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How Education Level, Gender, and Social Network Correlate With Migrant Workers' Starting Income in China's Urban Cities^{*}

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The research question for this study is how education level, gender, and social network affect migrant workers' starting income for their first job in China's urban cities. Our objective is to reveal the interplay of education level, gender, and social network in determining migrant workers' income, which are to the core of the current academic debate. The explanatory factor analysis was used to identify relevant variables, and a multivariate regression analysis was conducted to reveal the relationships among education level, gender, social network, and migrant workers' starting income in China's urban cities.

Keywords: migrant workers, education, gender, social network, income, urban development

Introduction

The year of 2010 marked the first time in China's history for the urban population to surpass the rural one (Bloomberg, 2012), witnessing the internal migrant population, made an unprecedented jump to involve more than 200 million people. By the end of 2013, this internal migrant population was reported to have grown up to 245 million, which equals at least one migrant in every six residents of this nation (The National Health and Family Planning Commission, 2014).

The term "migrant workers" has been frequently used without an unequivocal definition. However, it is widely adopted to generally refer to, in China's internal migration, the people who grew up in rural areas and have moved into urban cities to work. This population has caught much attention in the current migration studies relating to China due to the significant scale, diversity, and complexity of this group.

This research paper aims to provide some empirical evidence that would support existing policy suggestions urging migrant workers' working conditions to be enhanced. These policy suggestions have appealed for making such a difference by effectively improving migrant workers' education background and their soft skills like networking skills, regardless of their gender. The research question for this study is how education level, gender, and social network affect migrant workers' starting income in China's urban cities. Our objective is to reveal the interplay of education level, gender, and social network, which are to the core of the current academic debate.

^{*} The ideas and opinions expressed in the article are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of UNESCO and do not commit the organization.

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Literature Review

According to Roberts (2001), factors like the education level, gender, age, marital status, company ownership, and place of origin could have an impact on migrant workers' income. Nevertheless, this study was based on the data on Shanghai's migrant population in 1993, which was a long time ago; besides, it only reflected the situation in one single city.

Similarly, a study conducted by Lu and Song (2006) found that the education, age, work duration, experience, hukou (household registration status), and company ownership are significant determinants of migrants' hourly wages, based on a survey conducted in 2005 in China's Tianjin City. Interestingly, this study singled out the gender, asserting the gender does not significantly affect migrant workers' hourly wages. In the meantime, contrarily, a study conducted by Wang (2005) on the gender-wage differential for migrant workers claimed females tend to get lower income than their male counterparts, so a gender disparity does exist. Unfortunately, the data sets for both studies are inaccessible to the public, which makes it very challenging to verify their findings or to help reach a consensus.

Recently, Wang, Lao, and Zhou (2014) asserted that the social network (i.e., the network of social connections each individual person possesses) is a significant determinant of migrant workers' income, using the survey data collected by the government in 2008. However, their study focused on some very specific aspects of the social network effect itself in lieu of the correlations between the social network and other determinants, and consequently how the social network gets to play with other social factors in determining migrant workers' income has yet to be unveiled.

Overall, through literature review, the education level and the social network have been found frequently confirmed as two critical determinants of migrant workers' income, while how the social network interacts with some other factors has yet to be clearly demonstrated. Also, the effect of the gender has been argued to be an important factor. This study thus focuses on the correlations among the education level, social network, gender, and migrant workers' income to bridge the literature gap and to support the current policymaking.

Methodology

Framework

This research was built upon the theoretical framework of Costello and Osborne (2005), which clarifies the myths in processing appropriate the exploratory factor analysis appropriately to select the most relevant variables for further analysis. Costello and Osborne's framework, simply put, asserted that, in the exploratory factor analysis, the maximum likelihood factor analysis is the best choice for data that are relatively normally distributed, whereas the principle axis factor analysis should be used instead when the assumption of normal distribution is severely violated. The best choice for researchers in retaining variables, according to Costello and Osborne, is the scree test, which retains variables above the break point where the scree curve flattens out. In addition, according to the two authors, oblique rotation should render a more accurate solution than orthogonal rotation in social science studies as some correlation among social factors would be considered in the former, which should be the case when analyzing social issues.

Analysis

Selection of data set. There are limited national data and restricted access to census data on migrant workers. Additionally, when investigating the factors that influence migrant workers' income, a survey should

be designed to collect data (Lu & Song, 2006; Han & Yuan, 2009). Taking into account of the findings from the literature review, the only open-access survey data found to be most relevant to this study is the data from the China Urban Labor Survey, collected in 2001 (China Survey Data Network [CSDN], 2008), by local offices of China's National Statistical Bureau. This data set included detailed information from questionnaire items on the individual and household demographics based on a sample of 8,109 individuals who aged above 16 and already joined the workforce in five large urban cities: Shanghai, Shenyang, Wuhan, Xi'an, and Fuzhou.

Selection of observations. Considering that the year of 1996 is the turning point of China's labor market and that the original data set includes a variable that asks whether the respondents started their first job before 1996, we decided to use this variable to preserve only the information provided by the respondents who started their first job after 1996. This study also aims to target those migrant workers who were "employed" rather than "unemployed" the time when the survey was conducted, and who were "hired by others" rather than "self-employed" for the first job, as suggested in the data set. Thus, only the observations that were coded as "employed by others" were preserved. In this way, a total of 634 from the original 2,998 observations were selected to be the observations for the further analysis in this study.

Selection of regression model. The regression analysis is conducted using fixed effects model. First, the following regression model is assumed:

$$Y = \beta X_i + \mu_i \quad (1)$$

Y_i is the monthly income migrant workers (i) earn for their first job at the beginning stage. X_i is the vector of independent variables we targeted, namely, the education level, social network, and gender. μ_i represents the stochastic error.

Second, the regression model in the following equation is considered:

$$Y = \beta X_i + n_i + e_i \quad (2)$$

The selected data for this study vary among different migrant workers, including the variance among the variables to be controlled in this study. n_i and e_i , replacing the error μ_i in (1), capture the variance and the error respectively.

There are two ways to properly deal with n_i above so as not to bias the coefficient for the variable X_i : fixed effects model and random effects model. The former is better for a data set that is not normally distributed, which is the case here, and therefore, the fixed effects model was adopted for this study.

Using the measure of mean for each of its variables except n_i , we got the regression model (3) as follows:

$$\bar{Y} = \beta \bar{X}_i + n_i + \bar{e}_i \quad (3)$$

By deducting the model (3) from the model (2), n_i gets deleted. Consequently, the potential bias from the between-entity variance can be resolved through this subtraction. The model we get through this process was a fixed effects model this study was looking for (as cited in Kim & Park, 2012).

To answer the research question for this study, the fixed effects regression model was specified as below:

$$\text{Income} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{Education Level} + \beta_2 \text{Gender} + \beta_3 \text{Social Network} + i. \text{Variance Within Entities}$$

The Income was the dependent variable, and Education Level, Gender, and Social Network were the independent variables. "i. Variance Within Entities" represents the effects of some other important factors that were held constant using the fixed effects.

The null hypotheses considered for this study are: 1. The coefficient of Education Level equals zero

($\beta_1 = 0$); 2. The coefficient of Gender equals zero ($\beta_2 = 0$); and 3. The coefficient of Social Network equals zero ($\beta_3 = 0$) when holding all other variables as covered in “variance within entities” constant.

Selection of variables. Now that the fixed effects regression equation was clarified, the corresponding variables in the survey data set need to be identified for data processing. Given the available variables in the data set, only the migrant workers' beginning monthly income for their first job is found to the interest of this study, and thus this indicator would be used as a proxy indicator for migrant workers' starting income. The variables displaying migrant workers' education level and their gender, as already existing in the data set, were designated as the variables to be used for the analysis of Education Level and Gender. Please note, the variable for gender was found necessary to be used as a dummy variable, and so the original variable was recoded, using “0” for “male” and “1” for “female.”

Results and Discussion

In the original data set,¹ there are multiple items relating to the social network and various other factors which were expected to be studied. To integrate the most relevant variables in the data set into the fixed effects regression design, the Shapiro-Francia test was used in the first place to examine the assumption of normal distribution, only to find that these subset data were not normally distributed, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Results From Shapiro-Francia Test

Variable	Observations	W	V	Z	p-value
Year of birth (a1_a)	634	0.80318	82.048	10.706	0.0000
Education level (b1)	634	0.94564	22.659	7.581	0.0000
Years of stay (a14)	631	0.72922	112.394	11.469	0.0000

In this condition, following the theoretical framework from Costello and Osborne (2005), the principal axis factor analysis, scree test, and oblique rotation method were used to identify the relevant variables. Given the results, as shown in Table 2, only the variables that met these conditions were retained:

1. The value in uniqueness was smaller than 0.50;
2. The value in loading for factors was larger than 0.50;
3. The eigenvalue was above 1;
4. The variable lied above the break point of the scree plot in the scree test.

Table 2

Results From Principal Axis Factor Analysis

Variable	Factor 1	Factor 2	Uniqueness
a10*	0.8703	<i>Note: Eigenvalue < 1</i>	0.1046
a11*	0.8982		0.0756
a15*	0.8564		0.1308
Hukou a16*	0.8983		0.0911
a37		0.6927	0.5107
a38		0.7019	0.4910
a40			0.9414

(Table 2 to be continued)

¹ The link to download the original data set (downloadable after registration): http://www.chinasurveycenter.org/csdn_en/DownloadChannel_new/detail.aspx?ClassID=4&DataID=9

Social network	a44_1			0.3031
	a44_2*	0.9001		0.1556
	a44_3*		0.8342	0.1957
	a44_4	0.3568		0.6618
	a45_1			0.2664
	a45_2*	0.8709		0.1878
	a45_3*		0.8976	0.0704
	a45_4			0.4067
Family	c102_11			0.2218
	c103_11*		0.8940	0.0855
	c104_11	0.8415		0.1471
	c105_11*	0.6712		0.1977
	c102_12			0.3189
	c103_12*		0.8729	0.1387
	c104_12*	0.8763		0.1428
	c105_12*	0.7202		0.2407

Notes. Blank represents factor loading smaller than 0.3; the symbol * indicates this variable is identified to be relevant and is to be used for the analysis.

The variables finally selected for the fixed effects regression analysis were listed below in Table 3.

Table 3

Selected Variables for the Fixed Effect Regression Analysis

Variables used in this study		Variable names in CSDN's survey data
Dependent variable	Monthly income at the beginning for the first job	f44_a_1: "What is your monthly income (including wage, monthly bonus, and subsidies)?" (only look at the first job at the beginning stage)
Independent variables to be targeted	Gender	a2: "Interviewers, please write down the sex of the respondent": 1. Male 2. Female
	Social network	a44_2: "How many relatives did you know when you just came to this city?" a45_2: "How many relatives do you know now in this city?" a44_3: "How many hometown fellows did you know when you just came to this city?" a45_3: "How many hometown fellows do you know now in this city?"
	Education level	b1: "What is your education level?" (code) _____
Independent variables to be held constant	Year of birth	a1_a: "When were you born?" Year _____ Month _____ (only look at the number for year)
	Marital status	a3: "What is your marriage status?" 1. Single 2. Married 3. Divorced 4. Widowed
	Hukou status	a10: "Did you have city hukou or rural hukou before you were 16 years old?" 1. City hukou 2. Rural hukou a11: "When did you mainly live before you were 16 years old?" 1. This city and this community 2. This city and other community 3. Other city 4. Other town or county 5. Other village 6. Others a15: "Which kind of hukou do you have now?" 1. City hukou 2. Rural hukou a16: "Where is your hukou now?" 1. This city this community 2. This city and other community 3. Other city 4. Other town or county 5. Other village 6. Others
	Years of staying in this city	a14: "How long have you been living in this city?" _____ year
	Family background	c103_11: "What is the type of the work unit for your father's primary job?" (code) _____

(Table 3 to be continued)

Independent variables to be held constant	Family background	c103_12: "What is the type of the work unit for your mother's primary job?" (code) _____ c104_11: "What is the industry of your father's primary job?" c104_12: "What is the industry of your mother's primary job?" c105_11: "What is your father's occupation?" 1. Peasants 2. Workers 3. Self-employed 4. Owner of private business 5. Administrators 6. Professionals 7. Administrators and professionals 8. Others c105_12: "What is your mother's occupation?" 1. Peasants 2. Workers 3. Self-employed 4. Owner of private business 5. Administrators 6. Professionals 7. Administrators and professionals 8. Others
Independent variables used to select observations	Whether you started the first job after 1996	a19: "Did you start your first job before 1996?" 1. Yes 2. No
	Whether you are employed now	a36: "What is your working status now?" (code) _____
	Whether you were employed by others for your first job	f4_1: "Are you self-employed or hired by others?" 1. Self-employed 2. Hired by others

Four variables were identified to represent Social Network, and one variable was designated for Education Level and Gender respectively. Considering the results from the literature review, the variables to be held constant were relating to the "year of birth," "marital status," "hukou status," "years of staying in this city," and "family background."

A fixed effects regression analysis was then conducted to estimate the effect of the education level, gender, and social network on migrant workers' beginning monthly income from their first job, holding other factors constant. The results in Table 4 showed that $R^2 = 0.59$, and the adjusted $R^2 = 0.28$. The p -value was smaller than 0.01 for the variable for Gender ("a2") and was smaller than 0.05 for the variable for Education Level ("b1"). These p -values showed that Gender is significant enough at the 0.01 level and Education Level significant at the 0.05 level to reject the null hypotheses 1 and 2. They suggested that female migrant workers tend to earn lower beginning monthly income than their male counterparts, whereas a higher education level would offset this effect. The p -values for the four variables representing Social Network ("a44_2," "a44_3," "a45_2," and "a45_3") were larger than 0.05, which failed to reject the null hypothesis 3, suggesting Social Network should not be a significant factor in this analysis.

Table 4

Results From the Two Regression Analyses

Starting monthly income (f44_a_1)	Coef.	Robust S.E.	t	$p > t $	95% conf. interval	
Gender (a2)	-188.4974**	54.4759	-3.46	0.001	-296.062	-80.933
Social network 1 (a44_2)	0.02453	11.6282	0.00	0.998	-22.936	22.985
Social network 2 (a45_2)	-3.1484	9.5713	-0.33	0.743	-22.047	15.751
Social network 3 (a44_3)	-0.7622	3.5287	-0.22	0.829	-7.730	6.205
Social network 4 (a45_3)	0.6964	3.4616	0.20	0.841	-6.139	7.532
Education level (b1)	21.8178*	10.7905	2.02	0.045	0.512	43.124
Intercept	1,077.642**	380.3137	2.83	0.005	326.6994	1,828.585

Notes. * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$.

In the Stata output of this analysis, the F statistic and the overall significance value were missing, perhaps this was because too many variables were computed in this analysis. Nevertheless, an F -test for the joint significance of the identified variables for Education Level, Gender, and Social Network demonstrated the three

factors made a significant effect on migrant workers' beginning monthly income ($\text{Pro} > F = 0.0427 < 0.05$), when holding other factors constant.

Conclusion

This paper studied how education level, gender, and social network correlate with migrant workers' starting income, based on the survey data for China's five urban cities: Shanghai, Shenyang, Wuhan, Xi'an, and Fuzhou. A fixed effects regression model was built to guide the exploration:

$$\text{Income} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{Education Level} + \beta_2 \text{Gender} + \beta_3 \text{Social Network} + i. \text{Variance Within Entities}$$

Here are the null hypotheses for this study:

1. The coefficient of Education Level equals zero ($\beta_1 = 0$);
2. The coefficient of Gender equals zero ($\beta_2 = 0$);
3. The coefficient of Social Network equals zero ($\beta_3 = 0$) when holding all other variables as covered in "variance within entities" constant.

In the fixed effect regression analysis, the variable for Gender was found significant enough at the 0.01 level and Education Level significant at the 0.05 level to reject the null hypotheses 1 and 2; the variables representing Social Network were larger than 0.05, which failed to reject the null hypothesis 3. These findings suggested that female migrant workers tend to earn lower beginning monthly income than their male counterparts, whereas a higher education level would offset this effect; the network of social connections one migrant worker possesses do not have a significant impact on this person's beginning monthly income.

The results of this study suggested that there is indeed a gender disparity among migrant workers in urban cities regarding their starting monthly income, with female migrant workers earning less than the male migrant workers. However, this income gap is not that obvious for male and female migrant workers who possess a higher level of education. The results also suggested that the social network should not be a significant determinant of migrant workers' starting monthly income.

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