

Implementation of the "Two Oriented" Policy

-A Case Study of Yuyao City Government

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Abstract

China's rapid urbanization process has included a large scale migration of rural labor migrants to the cities since the 1990s. The education problem of their children who migrate together with them also becomes increasingly prominent. In order to allow migrant children enjoy a fair education, China introduced the "two oriented" policy in 2001. This policy clarifies that the management responsibility of migrant children relies mainly on local government of where migrant children move to, meanwhile migrant children are supposed to be mainly arranged to study in public schools. However, existing studies show that the implementation of this policy is unsatisfactory. In other words, there is a gap between the policy and program performance during the policy implementation.

The possible reasons could be several elements in the policy implementation. To obtain a systematic and comprehensive answer, this study applied Van Meter and Van Horn's model as analytical framework to explore the relationship between the policy and performance of the policy implementation. For a more specific perspective, the policy implementation of Yuyao city is applied as a case to study. On this basis, the way of achieving better performance on policy implementation of "two oriented" policy is found, such as balancing the interests of each organization or agency, setting up a more perfect supervision mechanism and establishing a more scientific and diversified performance evaluation system for policy implementation and encouraging innovation.

Keywords: "two oriented" policy, policy implementation, China, migrant children

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction: "Two Oriented" Policy Implementation and Yuyao City Government

The rapid development of industrialization and urbanization in China has made large groups of rural peasant-workers migrate to cities since the 1990s. On one hand, the scale of the migrant workers is growing constantly. On the other hand, the pattern of this migrant group has changed considerably. The migration pattern used to be “single” where the migrant workers left their families behind in their original rural areas. In recent years, the “single” pattern has turned to a “family” pattern where the peasant-workers migrate into cities with the whole families. After time passed, a large-scaled second generation of the migration workers emerged.

According to national education career development statistical bulletin of China in 2014, the population of migrant children involved in stages of compulsory education is 12.9473 million (National education career development statistical bulletin of China, 2014). These migrant children should be able to enjoy the same compulsory education as other children. However, due to many factors, such as limitation of local education resources, China’s household-registration system, different economic foundations between families of migrant children and origin city student and so on, not all of migrant children equally enjoyed the compulsory education. Therefore, the central government of China has paid attention to this problem since the 1990s.

In 2001, as the first official migrant children education problem solution, the "two oriented" policy was introduced. This policy emphasized the migrant children's compulsory education. It also determined “two orientations” which are regarded as two basic principles for solving the problem. Firstly, the local government is mainly responsible for education management of migrant children. Secondly, the local public schools are assigned as the major receiver of migrant children.

The way of government of Yuyao city has been chosen as a case for this study. Yuyao city

is a county-level city located in east China's coastal area. The city mainly focuses on manufacture industry and has attracted a large number of migrant workers. In 2014, the population of migrant children involved in Yuyao School at various stages of compulsory education was 10644. Education management on migrant children is not only a big challenge for Yuyao city, but also a microcosm for policy implementation of "two oriented" policy.

Moreover, in implementing the policy there are many other actors as well. Taking perspective of schools, in general there are three types for migrant children in different stages of compulsory education: public school, private school or migrant school. "Two oriented" policy encourages a distribution of migrant children to public school. Hence, the educational equality of migrant children could be maximized. The environment is changing over time and the role of the three types of schools is also transformed, as is the relationship between local government and schools. These transitions impact the implementation of the "two oriented" policy.

This thesis aims to study implementation of the "two oriented" policy in Yuyao government for achieving better performance. In doing so, the status quo, dilemma and potential solution between many factors involved in the policy implementation are explored. Thereby, this study provides the experience of Yuyao government and hence contributes to a better understanding of the performance on policy implementation of the "two oriented" policy.

1.2 Aim and Research Questions

The aim of this thesis is to understand how Yuyao government can achieve a better implementation of the "two oriented" policy. To fulfill the aim, a policy-oriented study based on multi-level research is conducted in accordance with the following three research questions,

- 1) What are the problems between the "two oriented" policy and its performance?
- 2) Why are these problems occurring in the performance of the "two oriented" policy?
- 3) How to solve the problems and achieve a better performance of policy?

1.3 Terminology

One thing that needs to be pointed out is that there are various terms that have been adopted in previous studies to describe migrant children. For example, “migrant laborers' children” (流动人口子女), “children of rural migrant workers” (农民工子弟), “rural migrant workers' children” (农村外来人口子女), and so on. There are two reasons for this. One is the ambiguity of policy. The central government does not have a clear definition of migrant children. Thus the scale of the population is flexible. For example, the migrant children could be regarded as children of peasant workers. Under the context of the urbanization in China, the peasant workers moved from their hometown in rural area to city to make a living. However, it could also refer to children who migrate to a place, which is not their original residence area. Their parents do not have to be peasant workers.

The other reason is about disposition of the policy implementers. When the policy was delivered to each level of local government, different name of migrant children as above occurs on government documents. The local government sometimes even use the difference between words as explained above. In other words, the ambiguity of policy might be used to “enhance” certain local governments' achievement on the policy implementation. Besides, when media talks about migrant children, it usually refers to children of migrant peasant workers. The migrant population problem brought by urbanization is a significant issue now. It relates to topics like reform of household registration system, population problem, social equity, and so on. This study defines migrant children as children of migrant peasant workers, similar to the definition used in media.

Furthermore, as China's education minister Guiren Yuan mentioned in news conference, the migrant children, as children of migrant population, are usually divided into two categories. One is called “migrant children” (随迁子女), children who live with their peasant worker family, they migrate to city together. The other category is called “left behind children” (留守儿童), these are children of migrant peasant workers but do not live with their parents in city. This category is called “left behind children” (news.china.com.cn, 2012) . Here in this study, the term "migrant children" are defined as “migrant children” (随迁子女). They live in cities together with their parents who are migrant peasant workers.

In terms of age, the migrant children include different age groups. For example, the infants aged from 3 to 6 or 7 years old, the compulsory education stage (from 6 to 14 years old, or from 7 to 15 years old) and the senior high school teenagers aged from 14 or 15 to 17 or 18 years old (Sun, 2008:197). Since the “two oriented” policy is mainly about compulsory education of migrant student, the migrant children in this study refers to migrant children that are at the compulsory education stage (from 6 to 14 years old, or from 7 to 15 years old) and come to the inflow city with their parents. They live in the city for more than half a year while have study capacities. This definition follows the definition of “migrant children” in *The Advices about Doing a Better job to Ensure the Migrant Children’s Education* (《关于进一步做好进城务工就业农民子女义务教育工作的意见》) in 2013.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

There is much research on the policy towards the migrant children’s educational problem. For example, in regard to the study focus, some study focus on the policy content while some research focus on the policy implementation. In terms of the study on policy content, the study on the evolvement of the migrant children’s compulsory education is an extremely crucial part. Jia Zhou (2005) summarized all the policies related to the educational policy, since April, 1996, for the migrant children. In her analysis, the "two oriented" policy is studied by reference the policies’ content from different period. What’s more, Xiongxia Liang (2014) applied integrity, scientific and innovative as three standards of policy content analysis on migrant children education.

Besides, there are various study angles on policy implementation as well. For example, seeing from the study goal, there are studies on the region’s general situation. The research of the thesis is mainly focused on the developed inflow areas, like Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Nanjing, Suzhou, Wenzhou, etc. The forms of the thesis are reports. For example, Wenping Du (2006), Ruya Li (2003) analyzed the migrant children’s compulsory education of the inflow area and the confronting problem respectively. And then they gave some suggestions over the development of the migrant children’s compulsory education.

Zhifa Huang and Lujian Fu (1998) concentrated their research on Shanghai and gave some advice based on the analysis of some school. Maixin Yao and Jihe Lai (2006) analyzed the migrant children's educational problem as well as the education policies, and came up with several advices about the family education.

Through reviewing on these studies, it becomes clear to see that these kinds of study usually share a characteristic. They all study from an overall perspective and hence it usually points to a solution. The logic of study follows "background"- "status quo"- "problem"- "solution". The study of Xinbing Ge (2006), Chongjun He (2007) and Cuixiang Sun (2009) make systematic analysis on the problems occur in migrant children education from perspective of background, problems and solution. On this basis, a series of suggestions has been proposed.

The research above, no matter focusing on the policy itself or its implementation, share a point of departure with this study, which is to improve the performance of policy implementation. However, comparing with study which focus on a very specific field, the studies that are based on an overall perspective is lesser. The issue of migrant children education is related to multiple fields such as city development, fiscal taxation, civil rights, social problems and so on. Therefore, though study from a single specific perspective enables a deeper outcome, it is incapable to give a comprehensive analysis of the issue as study from an overall perspective can do. Thus, comprehensive study on the issue is still a gap.

Furthermore, the "two oriented" policy has been implemented in many ways. All the local governments referred the relevant national regulations to make particle policies when it related to the inflow area government's responsibilities, the parents and the supervisor's responsibilities, the charging policies and the management principles, etc (Yuan, 2012:196). However, the main concentration of the migrant workers is in those developed big cities. Therefore, most of the research backgrounds are the developed cities.

However, because of hierarchy of administrative institutions in China, the issue of policy

implementation in big cities and in small cities could be different sometimes. Study about the issue in small cities, even in counties, is meaningful, but it is not that typical so far. Taking Cixi city, a county level city, as an example, Jiaqign Shen (2007) analyzed the local policy on migrant children's education, gave some suggestions from the education equality perspective.

In conclusion, with county-level cities as the research target, this study focused on the policy content and its implementation. It explores to achieve a better performance of implementation of "two oriented" policy.

Chapter 3. Theoretical Framework

The "two oriented" policy has been implemented for more than one decade. This study applied a six variables model proposed by Van Meter and Van Horn as a theoretical tool to analyze the policy implementation on migrant student education in Yuyao city. The model bases on an argument that there are gaps that often occur between policy decision intent and policy performance. These gaps are impediments to the effectiveness of policy implementation. Through analysis followed by the theoretical framework, the gaps could be found systematically. Thus, links between policy and program performance is illuminated (Meter and Horn, 1975:449).

The difference between this theory and the others is that it considers policy and performance as two distinct categories. In the context of this model, policy implementation is defined as that which "encompasses those actions by public and private individuals (or groups) that are directed at the achievement of objectives set forth in prior policy decisions." Besides, program performance refers to "the degree to which anticipated services are actually delivered" (Van Meter, Van Horn, 1975).

Based on these definitions, the theory clarified the relationship between service, impact and performance. It is argued that delivering services is not equal to having any substantial impact on the problem occurs in policy implementation. The reason might be ill-conceived or other deviation on some features external to policy. Hence, satisfactory service delivery

makes successful program performance, but not a guarantee of positive impact.

As a study on policy implementation, this paper aims to explore how to achieve a better performance on policy. For the policy analyst, implementation studies move the focus beyond the measurement of the impacts of public policy toward explanations for these observed outcomes. In other words, this model is not designed to measure and explain the ultimate outcomes of governmental policy, but rather to measure and explain what we prefer to call program performance (Meter and Horn, 1975:1).

To be more specific, the study of impact searches for the consequences of a policy decision. It aims to answer question like "does the "two oriented" policy leads to any problem?" By contrast. The study of policy implementation highlights one of the forces that determines policy impact. Then ask "Why did the problems occur in implementation of "two oriented" happen this way?"

It examines those factors which matter in delivering the relevant service. And hence gives a new understanding of how the system achieve goal of translating general policy objectives into concrete and meaningful public services. On this basis, it contributes to give suggestion to policy makers by variables that can be manipulated to improve the delivery of public services (Meter and Horn, 1975:484).

After reviewing what kind of problem the theory could answer, the content of theory is introduced. Van Horn and Meter believe that there are a series of variables matter in the process between the transition of policy decision and program performance. They can be mainly divided into two parts. One is on policy itself, the other is on the process of implementation.

First, three of its variables analyze the policy. It includes policy standards and objectives, policy resources, inter-organizational communication and enforcement activities. The second part of variables study features external to the policy like characteristics of the

implementing agencies, economic, social and political conditions and the disposition of implementers. These six variables make up a basic model as Figure 1 shows below, which shapes the linkage between policy and performance.

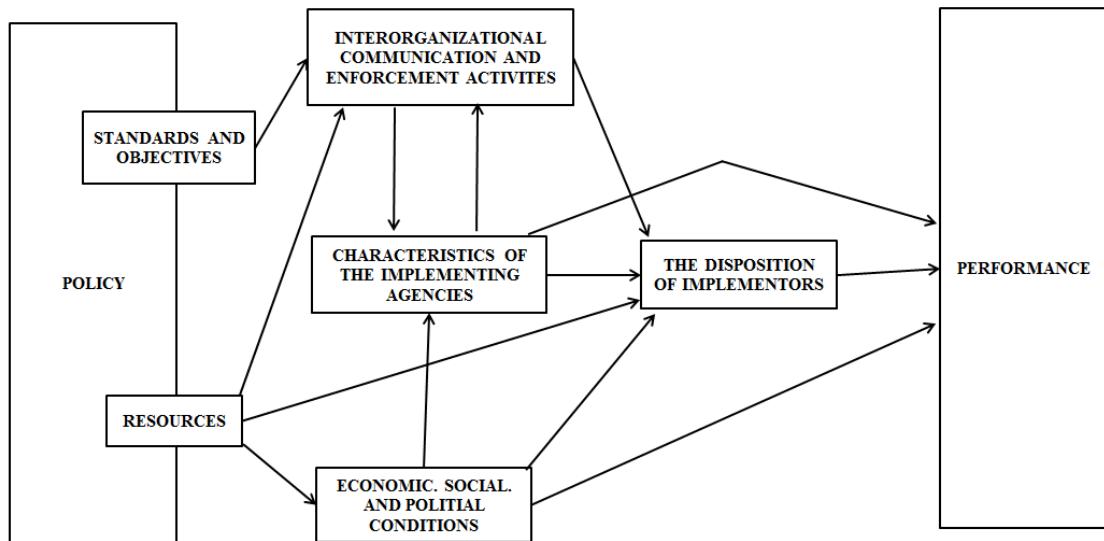


Figure 1. Van Meter & Van Horn's Model of the Policy Implementation Process (Meter and Horn, 1975:463).

Firstly, policy's objective and standards is crucial as understanding of it is a starting point of policy implementation. A policy's objective refers to specific steps for carrying out the goal. Through analyzing the problem, it translates goal of policy to a series of actions as tasks for government as well as justifies the actions. Besides, standards enable performance to be identified and measured. Thus it can be regarded as performance indicators that is crucial for analysis. Policy standards and objectives contributes to provide concrete and more specific standards for assessing program performance (Meter and Horn, 1975:464).

However, there is one thing needs to note that ambiguity in standards and objectives sometimes may be fostered deliberately by policy makers when it can bring them interest. For instance, when the ambiguity leads to a higher score on program performance, the policy makers can be more appreciated by its superior. To avoid this, defining key terms is necessary to promote a shared understanding of essential concepts within the law. What's

more, interest of the policy's target groups is also needs to be taken into account. If those groups benefit from the policy, they would align with the policy's background, goals, and objectives and thus promote policy implementation goes smoothly.

The second factor of the Van Meter & Van Horn model explores the policy's resources which facilitate their administration. Funds are one of the most common support and incentives (Meter and Horn, 1975:465). Discussion on how the implementation of the law is paid for is also common in relevant policy implementation analysis. Nevertheless, only funds are usually not adequate. For instance, funding appropriations, technical or legal assistance offered in the law, and political support for the law itself.

Thirdly, mechanisms to ensure policy enforcement and compliance is also needs to be taken into account. Thus, inter-organizational communication and enforcement activities are applied as one of variables in this model. Van Meter and Van Horn indicate that superiors can enforce policy implementation via their powers to hire, terminate, or relocate, and their influence over financial resource allocation.

In other words, there is an assumption that follows this third factor of the model that implementers are bound to follow through with a law's implementation, otherwise there are consequences and punishment. The analysis on policy enforcement usually focuses on the context of the law, institutions which are involved, and delineates sanctions for non-compliance.

In terms of inter-organizational communication also effect policy executing. In messages transmission among organizations, the message might be distorted inevitably both intentionally and unintentionally by communicators (Meter and Horn, 1975:466). Furthermore, Different sources of communication which might provide inconsistent interpretations of standards and objectives or conflict interpretations over time by the same source provides also makes the service delivery more difficult.

The three variables above are mainly focus on the policy itself. Additionally, there are two

critical features of the policy which are change and consensus. Both of them effect implementation (Meter and Horn, 1975:45). Based on these two features, policy types can be classified by the amount of change which policies propose and the degree of consensus among implementers which as Figure 2 below.

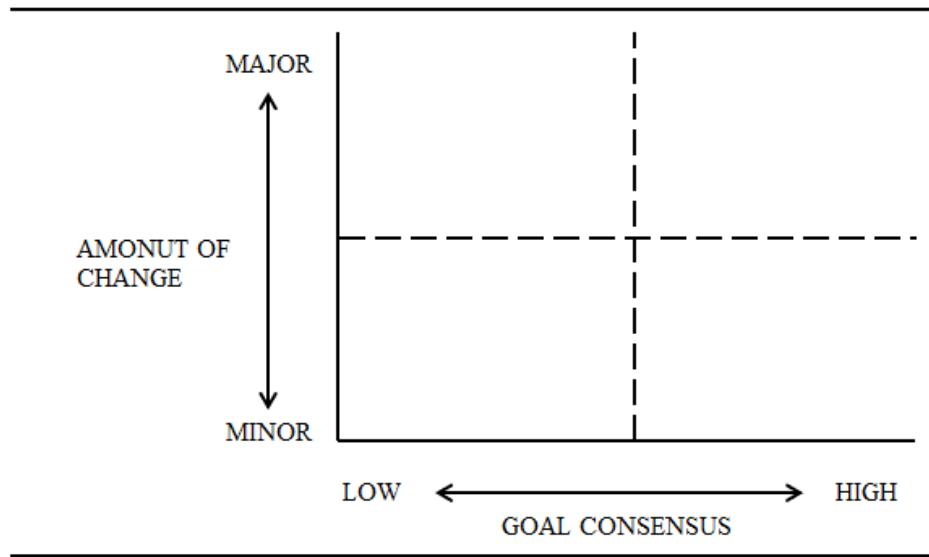


Figure 2. Dimension of Policy Affecting Implementation (Meter and Horn, 1975:460)

In respect of the change, implementation will be affected by the extent to which the policy deviates from previous policies as well as by the amount of organizational change that is required. Besides, the degree of conflict or consensus over its goals and objectives also matters. More specifically, there is a hypothesis that implementation will be most successful where only marginal change is required and goal consensus is high. Conversely, where major change is mandated and goal consensus is low, the prospects for effective implementation will be most doubtful. What's more, goal consensus will have a greater effect on the policy implementation process than will the element of change (Meter and Horn, 1975:461).

Except studying on the policy aspect, the analytical framework of this paper also involves variables that study features external to the policy. For instance, characteristics of the implementing agency is also studied from perspectives such as bureaucratic structure, type of managerial power and intergovernmental relations with other agencies and stakeholders.

Moving to the part of economic, social, and political conditions as a factor affecting policy implementation. In this study, the general economic context of Yuyao city, prevailing societal ideologies, and political support and/or opposition is taken into consideration.

Last but not the latest, the disposition of implementers may affect their ability and willingness to carry out the policy. In order to explore it, primary data of this study which involves interview of three key persons on issue of migrant children compulsory education in Yuyao city is adopted in analysis. What is their cognition of the policy? Do they take a position of acceptance, neutrality or rejection toward the implementation of "two oriented" policy in Yuyao city? What are their intensity of that response? Via content analysis of the interview, answer of these questions above is able to be elaborated.

In general, there are two circumstances under which the policy implementers have negative influence on policy implementation. First, the implementers' understanding of the general intent, as well as the specific standards and objectives of the policy, is deviate. Second, implementers may fail to execute policies faithfully because they reject the goals contained in them (Meter and Horn, 1975:472).

More than just study the relationships between the independent variables and the ultimate dependent variable of interest, the relationships among the independent variables are also a research objective of this model. For example, standards and objectives have their indirect impact on the disposition of implementers through inter-organizational communication activities or enforcement activities. What's more, the type and extent of resources made available by a policy decision will affect communications and enforcement activities (Meter and Horn, 1975:474-475). Thus, standards and objectives as well as policy resources would be discussed further in the analysis.

In sum, this study applied Van Meter and Van Horn's theoretical framework as analytical framework. Following by this framework which consists of six variables, this study explores the problems that occur in the implementation on "two oriented" policy of Yuyao

government and hence get a comprehensive picture of the relationship between the "two oriented" policy and the performance of Yuyao government.

Chapter 4. Research Methodology

In order to solve the research questions, research design and methods have been represented in this chapter. According to the study aim, a case study with policy-oriented research framework in the context of qualitative research is applied. In doing so, in-depth, semi-structured interviews and non-participant observation is adopted as the method for collecting the primary data. Moreover, documentation and archival records are applied in analysis as the methods for accessing secondary data. On this basis, the Van Meter/Van Horn Model is applied as the method to analyze the gathered material.

4.1 Research Design

In this thesis, case study is chosen as the research design. This is due to three conditions that are defined by Yin (Yin, 2009:8). Firstly, the primary research questions in this thesis are mainly focused on "how" through exploring "why". This makes method of experiment, history and case study become more appropriate than other methods like survey and archival analysis. Secondly, in terms of the extent of control of behavioral events, it is obvious that no matter in aspect of policy implementation or in aspect of the migrant children issue, author as a single researcher has very limited extent to control the situation. Thus, method of experiment is excluded.

Thirdly, this study focuses more on contemporary events. Historical events are also mentioned but for supporting the analysis of contemporary events. Therefore, case study becomes the optimal method to this study.

Furthermore, this research is designed as a single case study. As Yin (2003) and Stake (1995) suggest (Baxter P, Jack S., 2008 :546), in order to keep the study always be in scope, the case needs to be bound by (a) time and place (Creswell, 2003); (b) time and activity (Stake); and

(c) by definition and context (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Accordingly, though this case study includes review of "two oriented" policy in different time period and discussion on policy implementation in other China's administrative regions, the focus of case is always on implementation of "two orient" policy by Yuyao government. Besides, discussion on the policy issue is for the purpose of providing a detailed as well as intensive context for policy implementation instead of being a theme of this study. In sum, the single case in this study is implementation of "two orient" policy by Yuyao government.

More specifically, based on Stake's definition, this is a single instrumental case study in which the case is selected for understanding and illustrating an issue (Stake, 1995; Creswell, 2013:99). In solving the educational equity issue, Chinese government formulated the main principles and policies (for instance the "two oriented" policy). And through the interpretation of the main principles and policies by their own, all the subordinate administrative regions formulate and implement their own policies, which are more specific and detailed. Yuyao, as one of "top 100 county-level cities" in China that focuses on manufacturing, has a relatively large proportion of migrant workers in its population. Therefore, Yuyao is very representative on the migrant children education issue.

Though there is a criticism of case study research that it provides little basis for scientific generalization (Yin, 2009:15), choosing Yuyao helps in overcoming this disadvantage. Because as what is mentioned by Creswell, selecting representative cases enables generalization of the study (Creswell, 2013:99). Besides, the accessibility of case is also taken into account during the case selection. According to researcher's personal social relation, choosing Yuyao government as focus of the case can be more convenient in terms of data collection.

However, though this is a single case study, the units of analysis it involves is not single. According to Yin's classification, this study is an embedded single case study (Yin, 2009:46, 50). On one hand, issue of migrant children's educational equity in the stage of

compulsory education is studied as a context of the case. On the other hand, policy implementation of Yuyao government which towards to the policy implementation issue is also studied as a main body of the case.

In doing this study, deductive approach is adopted. According to Bryman's definition, deductive is that research design and collection of data are guided by theoretical concerns (Bryman, 2008:9). In this study, the study of policy implementation is derived from the Van Meter/Van Horn Model. To support the study, both qualitative and quantitative data are used in combination. The quantitative data is regarded as supplementary to qualitative data.

4.2 Method for Data Collection

In order to have an in-depth understanding of case, multiple sources and forms of data is required (Crewell, 2013:98; Yin, 2009:101). This study adopts in-depth semi-structured interviews as well as nonparticipant-observation as the methods to gather primary data. Besides, documentation and archival records is adopted to gather secondary data. The data collection was during fieldwork in Yuyao in March 2015.

Interview

In this case study, three in-depth, semi-structured interviews were hold. All of them are one-to-one interviews. The three interviewees are chosen because they are on different key positions in this case, such as headmaster of the migrants' school, officer of relevant department in government and education director as an intermediary between migrant school and government. Due to ethical reasons, the interviewees are anonymous. Those different positions make them possess different perspectives towards the case. Thus, all interviews are arranged to be hold at their office room. Moreover, based on this setting, overly relying on one source of evidence is able to be avoided (Yin, 2009:107).

Furthermore, I basically applied convenience sampling. It is considered as a strategy which can save time, money and effort but at the expense of information and credibility (Miles &

Huberman, 1994:28; Bryman, 2008:183). However, the expense is not that problematic in this study. Because the "convenience" in this study is because of the social relations of researcher. Thus, comparing with interviewees chosen by random sampling, the interviewees under convenience sampling are more likely to tell true facts and their opinions.

To be more specifically, I got touch with my interviewees through friends. After introducing my topic and a rough range of my questions, they agreed to accept the interview. Each interview lasted for about one hour. In addition, all the interviews were held in Chinese. I transcribed it in Chinese, but I translated as well as analyzed it in English while presenting the origin text in footnotes.

Non-participant observation

According the definition by Bryman (Bryman, 2008:257), the type of observation this study adopted is non-participant observation. I did the observation during my time in primary school of migrant children and public primary school. The time I chose is during school time so that I could have a chance to observe not only the distinction in educational resources, but also the students and learning atmosphere in different schools. Most observation was done after interviews. So I asked for free visiting the school without participant in the process of teaching and learning.

Documentation and Archival Records

Besides, documentation and archival records are main source of secondary data in this study. For instance, literature of formal relevant studies; census on migrant workers; policy documents on migrant children's compulsory education from different administrative regions' government in China, especially from Yuyao government, are all adopted by this study.

Ethical Considerations

In contacting every potential interviewee, the author did self-introduction which includes

school affiliation, master student status, research topics and a rough range of questions. Before starting the interview, what "informed consent" entails (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009:70) was reiterated to all informants through clarifying the research purpose as well as potential risks from their participation in the research.

Especially, the potential risks were informed clearly. Because the topic of discussion in this study is sensitive. This study aims to find problem in policy implementation of Yuyao government. However, two informants work for Yuyao government, the other informants' job is also highly relevant to Yuyao government. This makes informants face a risky situation.

Under this consideration, also as all informants requested, their privacy which can identify their real identity is necessary to remain anonymous in the thesis. Guarantee of anonymity was made during every interview. Furthermore, before staring the interview, the author asked every interviewee for permission to take notes and record during the interview. After getting the guarantee of anonymity, all informants gave the author the permission.

Chapter 5. Context and Background of the "Two Oriented" Policy

5.1 Context of the "Two Oriented" Policy

There are three ways for the migrant children to go to school. One is to be a migrant student in a public school. The other is go to the private noble school. The last one is to study in a migrant school which is specially aimed at the migrant children. Most of the migrant workers belong to the low-middle-income group, therefore, the migrant children have a little chance to be educated in the preschool (Zhou, 2007:23).

The students of the migrant school, however, generally speaking, they are the migrant children. The facilities and the teachers' quality, and the environment, etc. are not as good as the previous two kinds of schools. The migrant school usually set up in the rural-urban fringe area. The teachers usually are the university interns. The quality could not match with the public school. We could also directly transfer the conception of slum to the migrant

school (Zhou, 2007:160).

The complete "two oriented" policy makes all the levels government, especially the educational administrative department should set up a perfect system to ensure the migrant children's compulsory education to achieve the policy goal of improve the migrant children's educational environment and make the primary as well as the middle school education reach the level of the inflow areas. In this process, the local governments are both the executive bodies and the objectives (Zhou, 2007:85). From the perspective of the provinces' and the cities' policy, the "two oriented" policy has been implemented comprehensively. All these standards are established according to the national regulations.

Besides, generally speaking, people regard the policy as let the migrant children go to public primary or middle schools. If so, the enrollment rate becomes the only standard to value the effect of the "two oriented" policy. The migrant schools are usually called those poor implementation places (Zhou, 2007:181). However, there are different policies to value the policy execution.

Taking the Yuyao government again as an example, they adopt the principle of proximity to distribute the students. The scope spreads little by little. If the nearest school is full of students, then they try to arrange the children into another little further school. When all the public schools are full of students, the other migrant children would be arranged in the migrant schools. At the same time, the Yuyao government gives these migrant schools subsidy. Under this circumstance, the existence of the migrant school is a transitory stage. It should be used to increase the public schools' enrollment rate gradually and to ensure the migrant children's education.

5.2 Background on The Education of the Migrant Children and the Policy Changes

In the late 90s, Chinese migrant workers migrated from the counties to the cities massively. The migration has become the biggest focus of attention in Chinese economic society. The

ration of the households increased among the migrants. The number of the migrant children is growing all the time. Therefore, it makes the education problem become more and emergency and unavoidable.

Policy making in recent years, all the local governments and education department take the migrant children's education seriously. Hereby, they strengthen the system construction, and introduce a series of regulations about the educational equalities for the migrant children. These documents request that all the local governments should insist on mainly under the control of the inflow areas, sticking the principle of focusing on the public primary or middle schools. In addition, the local governments should take a variety of measures to make an overall arrangement to ensure the migrant children to be educated (Fan, 2011).

Since the 90s, a great many documents about the education problem for the migrant children has been introduced in China, such as the "two oriented" policy (Fan, 2911:108). With the involvement of the relevant policies, the central governments' obligations requirements are changes accordingly. Technically, the involvement process includes three stages.

First, there is an initial stage. It emphasizes the inflow areas have the obligation to offer the educational chances. During this period, *the Interim Measures about the Migrant Children's Education* (《流动儿童少年就学暂行办法》), which was released in 1998, is extremely significant. The Article 4 of the interim measures requests that the inflow areas' government should create chances to ensure the migrant children's compulsory education. The inflow area's educational department should afford the obligation for the education of the children. Also, the Article 7 requests that the migrant children should think about going to public full-time schools first. All these above regulations under cover the rudiment of the "two oriented" policy. The key point is that the inflow areas' government has to shoulder the responsibility to ensure the migrant students' education (Ge, 2009).

The second stage regards to the taking shape of the "two oriented" policy. This is the stage that mainly about the limitations. It emphasizes the inflow areas' government's education

investment as well as the management responsibilities. In 2001, the State Council released *The Decision about the Basic Education's Reform and Development* (《国务院关于基础教育改革与发展的决定》). The Article 14 requests that all the local governments should insist on mainly under the control of the inflow areas, sticking the principle of focusing on the public primary or middle schools, adopting a variety of forms to ensure the migrant children's educational rights.

For the first time, the way to resolve the migrant children's educational problem has been mentioned as insisting on mainly under the control of the inflow areas, sticking the principle of focusing on the public primary or middle schools. These two principles are the basic cornerstone for resolving the migrant children's educational problems (He, 2011). So far, the central government's "two oriented" policy to resolve the migrant children's educational problems has been took on the shape.

In 2003, the State Council released the document named *The Advices about Doing a Better job to Ensure the Migrant Children's Education* (《关于进一步做好进城务工就业农民子女义务教育工作的意见》). In this document, it requests that all the local governments, especially the educational department as well as the full-time primary and middle public schools should set up a system to guarantee the migrant children's education. Also have to makes the migrant children's publicity degree reach to the same level compared with the inflow areas. It is obvious that the above document by pursuing the idea that "people first, and being fair" to reaffirm these two principles.

After clarifying the "two oriented" policy it steps into the third stage of which the policy has been improved gradually. In this process, the newly amended the Compulsory-education Law became the mark. It emphasizes the obligations of the inflow areas' government is to offer an equal chance to be educated. In 2006, the Compulsory-education Law was amended and has been released. In the law, it claimed that the government that the migrant children's parents or guidance's working place belongs to have the obligations to offer the children educational equality. At the same time, it guarantees the children's rights have the legal

basis. Nowadays, the directionality of the migrant children is more and more clear, and is becoming more practical, the level is becoming more and more higher, the strengthen of the policy is more and more stronger (He, 2011).

On this basis, the central government of China released the "two oriented" policy. According to this policy, all the local governments should insist on mainly regarding the inflow government as responsibility subject as well as mainly focusing on enrollments of public primary or middle schools. These two principles formed a fundamental policy to resolve the problem of migrant children compulsory education in China.

The central governments' regulations about the inflow areas' education investment as well as the management of the obligations are more and more specifically. At the same time, the national policy to this experienced a process from tight to lose, from disorder to standard, from discrimination to fair. Accordingly, the national policy on the migrant children on the education experienced a way from limitation to acceptation, from emphasize to strengthen (Fan, 2011:108).

Chapter 6. Findings and Analysis of Implementation of the “Two Oriented” Policy

Under Meter and Horn's theoretical framework, there are two essential parts of analysis. One is policy content, the other is policy implementation. Both of them are significant for exploring how to achieve a better performance on implementation of "two oriented" policy.

6.1.1 Policy Standard and Objective

In terms of the policy content, policy standard and objective matters. First, the policy objective of “two oriented” policy is ambiguous. After the legalization of the public policy there should be a clear objective during the implementation. Through the research, it turned out to be that the only distinct definition of migrant children is found in *the Interim Measures for the Education of Migrant Children* (《流动儿童少年就学暂行办法》), which released in 1998. The definition says, the migrant children are those who age from 6 to 14 (or from 7 to 15) years old. They resettle in a new place over half a year with their parents or

guardian and have the capability to go to school there.

In government documents in different levels, there are various versions of appellations on migrant workers, for instance, “children of floating population (流动人口子女)”, “children and youth of school age in non-census register location or residence (非户籍所在地或者居住地的适龄儿童、少年)”, “children living with migrant worker families (随迁子女) ”.

For example, in 2001, *the Decision about the Basic Education's Reform and Development issued by the State Council* (《国务院关于基础教育改革与发展的决定》) guarantees that “the right and interest of **children of floating population** (流动人口子女) in respect of receiving education is in accordance with the law”.

By contrast, in 2006, it was written in *the Amended Law of Compulsory Education of PRC* (《中华人民共和国义务教育法》) that the local government should provide equal conditions for **children and youth of school age in non-census register location or residence** (非户籍所在地或者居住地的适龄儿童、少年) to receive compulsory education, if they would like to receive compulsory education in the place where their parents or other legal guardians work or live.

What's more, later the expression of migrant children has been used. In July 2014, the State Council issued *the Opinion on Further Promoting the Reform of Household Registration System*. It stated that “meanwhile **migrant children** (流动儿童) gradually enjoy the qualification to attend local senior high school entrance examination and college entrance examination combining with their continual schooling years in the inflow areas”.

These different appellations actually contain different interpretations from different interest subjects. Government documents and relevant statistical materials pay more attention to the state of census register, while not directly emphasize the specific social class attributes. However, there are subtle difference between different expressions, for instance, floating population children and migrant children are different from each other (Liu, 2015:24). The parents of the prior are not necessary farmers coming from other places, while the parents of the latter are mainly farmers, and this may lead to different statistics.

Being influenced by this, the performance of the implementation of policy cannot be truly reflected. From this, we can see that to a certain degree, this ambiguity leads to people's different evaluations on the implementation of policies and their effects. China's definitions of "floating population children" and "migrant children" are not clear on the macro level, which is not beneficial to the evaluation and advocacy of policies.

The second ambiguous concept is "major responsibilities", which is not quantified in a reasonable way. For instance, it is hard to measure the proportions of migrant children that should be accepted by the local government and match the responsibilities mentioned in the policy of "local government oriented". Also it is vague how to match the proportion of migrant children with "full-time public elementary and secondary schools oriented". As the director of Yuyao Education Bureau indicated in the interview, public admission rate proposed in recent years is determined by the economy in the local city. Admission rate of each city is different, but there is a minimum standard.

However, a city's admission to migrant children should be determined by many aspects. Economy can be one aspect. But different population structures may lead to different demands on existing public educational resources. What's more, whether the local land resources can be used to exploit new campus are all factors influencing public admission rate. Therefore, determining public admission rate only by economy lacks reasonable scientific basis.

For instance, from the perspective of the local industry properties, some cities like Yuyao pay attention to the development of manufacturing. This needs many farmers and the population coming from other places is large. However, other cities are dominated by high-tech industries, as a result, population of migrant workers with low education level decreases. The two governments may be in the same economic level, but the prior needs to pay more efforts so as to solve the education problem of the migrant children. It is therefore not reasonable for the prior to assume the same admission rate as the latter one.

Consequently, in the actual implementation of the policies, situation of different cities is different, a more scientific target is needed. It may lead to more dependence of the

subordinated agencies and promote the performance of the local government's policy implementation. Whereas, from the perspective of the central government, the target is not scientific. It is hard to collect effective evidence to certify how these "major responsibilities" concerning "migrant children" are accomplished (Zhao, Wang, 2012).

As Meter Horn indicates, problem of policy implementation usually reflects in both policy and policy implementation. The unclear definition of migrant children is policy-based. While on the implementation of policies, the ambiguity of this definition is not reflected on the phrase migrant children. When the local government delivers service of compulsory education of migrant children, it does not mean to accept all the migrant children, some sifting requirements are added instead.

However, this definition is not always the same with the local government of inflow area. For example, in 2014, the requirements for children in *Regulations of Public Compulsory Schools on Recruitment of Migrant Children in Yuyao City* (2014 年余姚市公办义务教育段学校招收随迁子女办法) were different from that made by the central government. Instead, it includes several specific requirements. It prescribed that, to get the admission of the school, children's parents have to work more than one year instead of six months in Yuyao. Also parents must have a relatively fixed abode, have a residence permit in Zhejiang Province and have to pay the basic old-age insurance or social insurance in Yuyao City at least one continuous year or more without violating the family planning policy. Only children meeting these requirements are qualified for compulsory registration of public compulsory schools in Yuyao City. However, under both regulations, some children cannot meet requirements of both of them, but only one of them. Hence, it is unequal to them. They are neglected and unable to enjoy the public school education.

The above policy ambiguity being discussed is a problem when making policies while new problems are also derived in the implementation of policies. For instance, in order to realize better policy implementation performance, the local government deliberately uses this ambiguity or not reaches at the objective of the implementation of policies. However, to the final analysis, this problem is a problem of educational resources. This can be seen in the case of Yuyao city which is a county-level city in China. The central government requires that the local government undertakes the responsibility of the compulsory education of migrant children. In doing this, governments in different levels formulate

objectives and send the responsibilities to the subordinate government. However, when the local government faces population press and resources limit, the education quality it provides to migrant children will not reach the ideal effect.

Based on the “two oriented” policy, the local government should pay for the compulsory education of migrant children, and provide resources like teachers, sites and equipment for them. As Yuyao government mentioned in the *Advisory for Enrollment Admission of Migrant Children of Yuyao* in 2016 (2016 年流动人口子女入学报名指南), “recently, Yuyao cannot fully adopt migrant children in Yuyao from other places to receive education and the supply and demand conflicts on school attendance in urban areas and most villages and towns and streets are still very evident. Parents are invited to understand and timely consider the school attendance of their children”. Only when the local government cannot fully adopt the migrant children, the ambiguity of policy objective shows up.

Apart from the problem of the ambiguity of policy objective, there is one other problem of which policy standard could not show the achievements of the policy objective effectively. Standard is a way to measure the achievements of the policy objective, and is the concrete representation of the policy objective (Meter and Horn, 1975). In the eyes of the Yuyao government, the public acceptance rate (the acceptance rate of the children of the migrant population in primary school) is regarded as a standard to access its performance of "two oriented" policy. The public acceptance rate is determined by the city economy. As a standard which emerged in recent years, it is different in different cities. Even though, there has been set a lowest standard which varies from provinces to cities.

Semester	Total Number of Migrant Children	Public School Enrollment	Migrant School Enrollment	Migrant Children Public Acceptance Rate (%)	Total Governmental Financial Subsidy (10000 Yuan)
2013 Spring Session	40005	28904	11101	87.17	276.45
2013 Autumn Session	44626	33617	11009	88.16	313.81
2014 Spring Session	42753	32109	10644	86.56	269.64
2014 Autumn Session	45258	35729	9529	88.91	306.72

Table 1. The Summary Table of Yuyao City Governmental Subsidy on Migrant Student in Compulsory Education Stage 2013-2014 Year (Amount Unit: 10000 Yuan)

According to " *The Summary Table of Yuyao City Governmental Subsidy on Migrant Student in Compulsory Education Stage* " above, the migrant children public acceptance rate of Yuyao city is above 86.56% in the past two years (Table1). As vice minister of education of China Liming Liu mentioned, by the end of 2014, the national migrant children public acceptance rate remains at 80% (Chinese Central Government Official Website, 2015). Comparing with the national rate, 86.56% which Yuyao city government achieved is relatively high. However, it is unreasonable to adopt "public school acceptance rate" as the only standard to assess the performance of local government.

The "two oriented" policy represents the fairness of overall direction of modern social education, which is also the intention of the "two oriented" policy. The value and theory of "two oriented" policy is valid. However, the low operability and limited resource of "two oriented" policy makes its implementation into a realistic dilemma. More specifically, in Yuyao city, educational resources are limited and the government is already tight in finance. But due to education funding on migrant children, it faces more financial pressure.

Under such circumstances, the government may raise Yuyao City's public school acceptance rate by using other means. For example, it may secretly exclude foreign population to reduce the number of children migrant with their parents, making its acceptance simpler. Thus, only use acceptance rate to judge government's achievement on "two oriented" policy implementation is improper. Because it may result in some divergences between policy implementation and initial policy intentions.

In addition, the acceptance rate as policy standard is unable to sensitively reflect the negative part of the implementation of government policies, but also does not reflect the positive part. For example, to achieve educational equity and ensure the children of migrant workers get better education, the government of Yuyao city chooses a mode which stresses the role of migrant school. The mode mainly improves the quality of education of migrant children by supporting migrant schools.

The private capital investment increases the total resources of the compulsory education.

This is significant because public schools in Yuyao do not have enough containing capacity in current stage. The migrant school supporting mode supports those who cannot afford to study in private schools and are not fully meet the minimum entrance requirements of public schools. It offers more opportunities for migrant children to attend school.

However, statistically, it is clear that the education improvement cannot be reflected in the public acceptance rates. Thus, a strange phenomenon emerges, that is, the grass-root government sectors are making solid investments in education for the floating population – investment including some equipment, wage subsidies for teachers and tuition subsidies. Still they receive a lower acceptance rate than that of public schools. Obviously, merely by virtue of judging "public school acceptance rate", it does not reflect appropriately the performance of the "two oriented" policy implementation.

In addition, only by evaluating the public acceptance rate, the government will be short sighted. For example, they will pay less attention to the education fairness of children in other aspects. The enrollment rate can be an example, which directly affects the implementation performance of the "two oriented" policy.

According to Meter and Horn's definition of policy implementation, there are two kinds of policy implementation. One is "one-time efforts to transform decisions into operational terms". Adoption of "public school acceptance rate" as assess standard of local government's performance belongs to this kind of effort. The other is continuing efforts to achieve what policy decisions intent to achieve (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975:447). In this case, this kind of policy implementation can be interpreted as "ensuring the educational equality of migrant children". In other words, the policy implementation aims to help migrant children receive education that as good as public schools offer to local student.

At this point, the state has formulated "treat equally without discrimination" requirement. It means that public schools must treat migrant children in the same way as the local students. This requirement is treated as an important policy spirit extension of the "two oriented" policy. However, if the government can really treat them equally in support of policy objectives need to be clarified. In an interview with the headmaster of a migrant school, he proposed that even if it was advocated by the government, there were still phenomenon that

some students were admitted according their exam scores, which resulted in many students dropping out of school in an early stage and entering the society because of low exam scores. Many migrant children were born in families with low cultural quality and received little care from their parents. Their parents had no money or no awareness to employ a tutor for them. Thus, even in compulsory education stage, their academic achievement is low as enrollment rate is poor. So far, Yuyao government has not taken any measure in this aspect yet.

Semester	Number of Migrant Children						
	Total	Public School Enrollment			Migrant School Enrollment		
		Subtotal	Public Middle School	Public Primary School	Subtotal	Migrant Middle School	Migrant Primary School
2013 Spring	40005	28904	-	-	11101	768	10333
2013 Autumn	44626	33617	7979	25638	11009	455	10554
2014 Spring	42753	32109	7317	24792	10644	186	10458
2014 Autumn	45258	35729	8747	26982	9529	0	9529

Table 2. Number of Migrant Children in Each Types of School of Compulsory Education in Yuyao City during 2013-2014 Year

If looking at the table 2 above, you can found that the enrollment rate from primary school to middle school is very low. The “two oriented” policy is to improve the quality of education of migrant children. To take 2013 autumn semester as an example, the total number of migrant children in a public primary school and migrant primary schools is 36192 ($25638 + 10554$) by only seeing the acceptance rate. In contrast, the total number of migrant children in the public and migrant middle school is 8434 ($7979 + 455$). The number of primary divide the number of middle school is equal to 4.29. This shows that the latter number is only one quarter of the former number.

Furthermore, in 2014 autumn semester, number of migrant middle school in Yuyao is 0. According to explanation of director of Yuyao Education Bureau, the migrant middle school has been abolished since then. This is because at that time public middle school in Yuyao had been able to accept all the migrant children. However, compared with the number of middle school migrant children in 2013 autumn, that of 2014 has increased slightly from 8434 ($7979 + 455$) to 8747 ($8747 + 0$), while the total number of migrant children in primary school is 36511 ($26982 + 9529$). The number of primary divide the

number of middle school is equal to 4.17. This reflects that the number of migrant children in middle school is still only one quarter of the number of migrant children attending primary school.

This situation does not occur by chance in Yuyao. According to the data of grade structure of migrant children in 2012 (The Data Report of Migrant Children in China, 2014:9), one trend emerges that population of migrant children gradually declines with the rising grade. Given that China's floating population remains rising, one reason may be that the population of migrant children always remains rising, the other may be that the children of rural migrant workers will still encounter numerous difficulties. With the rise of grade, some migrant children are forced to return to their hometown, which leads to the declining senior grade population. The two reasons may exist simultaneously (The Data Report of Migrant Children, 2014:9) .

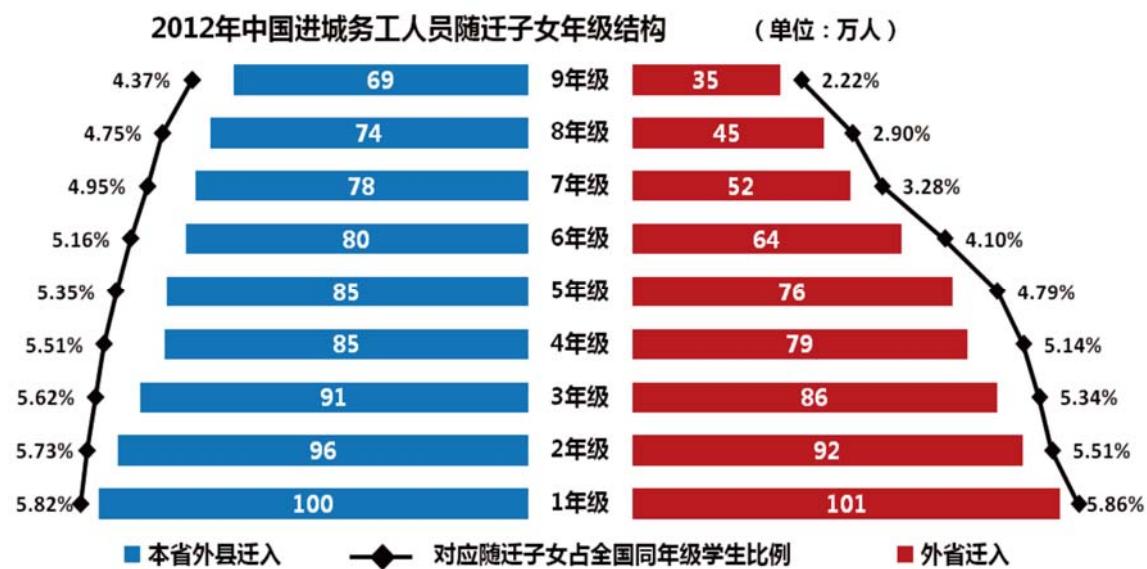


Table 4. The Grade Structure (During Whole 9 Year Compulsory Education Stage) of Migrant Student in China in 2012 (Unit: Ten Thousand Population)

Blue-migrating within province; Red- migrating between provinces; Broken Line-the proportion of amount between migrant children and students of the whole country in the same grade

To solve the difficulties migrant children face is also something that should be focused in the implementation of the “two oriented” policy. However, as the headmaster of a migrant

school points out in interview, where the migrant children who have finished study in primary school go reflects a problem.

After finishing primary school, if migrant children have poor exam scores they will not be admitted to public schools. However, most of them would not be able to study in migrant school either. Because the resources are less and environment is poor, while it requires learning fee which they cannot afford.

Moreover, migrant children's family usually has poor economic conditions and pay very limited attention to education. Therefore, the most common way of these migrant children is moving back to the original census register. After that, they either continue education in a worse study environment, or even drop out and work as peasant workers, just like their parents. This obviously does not meet the original intent of the "two oriented" policy that is to improve the equity of migrant children's education.

Facing this problem, local cities always emphasize the shortage of urban educational resources, which can hardly meet children's requirements on education (The Data Report of Migrant Children in China, 2014:9). Therefore, many thresholds against the school attendance and enrolment of the migrant children are set. However, unlike public acceptance rate, the enrolment rate is not included into assessment of local government's performance on "two oriented" policy implementation. This can be one reason of ignorance of enrolment problem and short-sightedness of the policy implementation.

Thirdly, a shortsightedness of the policy also exists. Looking back on the development of the policy, it is obvious that lots of the policies were introduced because of the urgent education problem on the children of the migrant population. The problem of the compulsory education among the children of the migrant population has existed more than 20 years since the 90s, and it has extended into the senior high school. But most of the existing policies nowadays are aimed at the compulsory education. When it related to the senior high school or university entrance examination, there is little terms until the release of *The National Long-term Education Reform and Development Plan during Year 2010 to 2020* (国家中长期教育改革和发展规划纲要 (2010-2020 年) in 2010. The policies of the entrance examinations are still introduced and executed by the local governments. Therefore, the local governments turn to be both the referee and the competitor.

Last but not the least, there is also a problem of superficiality in the policy implementation, which means that the executive bodies only do their job literally. During the process of classifying the rules and regulations, for example, we could get to know the "two oriented" policy very easily. However, the rules are too ambiguous, they provide guidelines but no practical instructions (Liang, 2014). For instance, there is national policy requests the local government to accept all the children of the migrant population to go to the full-time public primary school with no discrimination (Yuan, 2012). Hereby, there are some cities, such as Beijing and Shanghai, took actions to respond the call one after another (He, 2011). Meanwhile, there are some other cities still have no action to guarantee the children of the migrant population's basic compulsory education, despite the government already advocated it.

Taking the Yuyao government for example, they adopt the principle of proximity when it related to the distribution of students. The scope spreads gradually. If the nearest school is full of students, then they try to arrange the children into another little further school. When all the public schools are full, the students are arranged into the migrant schools. At the same time, the Yuyao government gives the migrants schools some corresponding subsidy. But it does not mean that this goal is really achieved. Also public schools do not indeed treat them fairly and given all educational resources to children.

In the process of distribution, however, registered permanent residence as well as the grades of the migrant students become some of the selection criteria. Migrant students with good exam scores allocated to public schools will be stereotyped as well as discriminated on their economic conditions, exam results and language habits. If they are rejected, they can only go to migrant schools. But in most cases, as the headmaster indicates in interview, in migrant schools teaching facilities and other conditions are poorer. The children of the migrant population's right to accept compulsory education still has not get any guarantees (Liang, 2014). Migrant children can only receive education inferior to that in public schools. Faced with this situation, the Yuyao government surely grant financial support and subsidies.

That is, seemingly, the Yuyao government really has implemented the policy and provided more opportunity to migrant children to receive compulsory education. The policy of "relying mainly on public schools" expresses the hope that "the migrant children should be

treated as equal as the local children in receiving compulsory education.” In fact, it is still not guaranteed. The implementation of the policy implementation is superficial.

6.1.2 The Policy Resources

Beside the standard and objectives of policy itself, resources which are allocated to support policy implementation is also crucial for a good program performance. Policy resources mainly include economic resources, human resources, and so on. All those resources could be used to guarantee a satisfactory performance of the policy. Generally speaking, the funds are the most crucial factor (Meter and Horn, 1975:465). In this case, lack of education resources is one of the most common problem.

The policy related to the compulsory education of migrant children released by the central government has covered financial problem like school financing of migrant school and subsidy for public schools. It also explicitly mentioned that the inflow government should be responsible for funding migrant children’s compulsory education. But it has not instructed how shall each level of government share the funding.

In 2011, Yuyao City formulated *the Usage of Education Funds Special for Children of Migrant Workers in Yuyao City* (《余姚市外来务工人员子女教育专项资金使用办法}). In this document it is mentioned that in order to improve the education of migrant children, the Department of Finance shall set up a special fund for their children's education. The total amount of this special fund is 2 million yuan annually, which is for migrant school to improve their teaching conditions, to subsidy the teachers, to train teaching staff and to reward migrant school of standard management.

In 2013, Yuyao City had granted a total amount of financial funding of 4.45 million yuan, in which 2 million yuan was paid by Yuyao city, the rest was funded by higher levels of the government (Migrant School General Situation of Yuyao, 2013). At the same time, it also introduced a number of supportive measures, one of which was “all migrant children who meet the entry conditions of the compulsory education can enjoy the subsidiary policy of exemption of textbook fees and sundry fees” (Migrant School General Situation of Yuyao, 2013). However, in 2015, the funding for migrant children’s special education was reduced to 986,400 yuan. Meanwhile, it was understood in the interview with director of

Yuyao Education Bureau that supporting measures had also been changed, the range was altered from subsidies for all migrant children to part of migrant children.

According to the interview with the government officer, recently the Yuyao government usually adopts the way of "pay first, then return support the public schools. As table 3 shows, the Yuyao government pays the public schools for the tuition and textbooks, etc. according to the number of the students, and then requests the public schools to give the money back to the students. Even though, the return proportion has not reach to 100%. The return proportion differs from one school to another. For example, the return objective is the 3 to 6 grades students in some schools, while others are from 4 to 6 grades.

学校 School	年份 Year	小学 Primary School	民办学校 Private School	公立学校 Public School	其中： 本地学生 Local Student	其中： 民工子女 Migrant Student	民工学校 Migrant School
学校数 School Amount	2010	94		89			5
	2011	88		82			6
	2012	82		77			5
	2013	83		73			10
	2014	87		72			15
在校 学生数 Student Enrollment	2010	66666	1550	53468	33629	19839	11648
	2011	68478	1626	54940	33110	21830	11912
	2012	67648	1702	55226	31570	23656	10720
	2013	68456	1750	56152	30514	25638	10554
	2014	67570	1781	56260	29278	26982	9529

Table 3. The Summary Table of the Basic Situations on Student in Compulsory Education Stage in Yuyao City (Year 2010-2014)

The reason for this is that the public schools have no capability to accept the migrant students 100%. Therefore, the funding should be distributed according to the ratio of the acceptance. The different acceptance ratio in different places is the reason for the different return proportion. Those who get the return are called the people who are willing to buy the education services. The deeper reason, on the hand, might be that Yuyao City had a small demand for migrant population under its economic restructuring. Thus, it reduced its funds in supporting the migrant children. On the other hand, it might be due to the government's

financial problems.

With the development of the economy, the number of the migrant population is growing year by year, and therefore the migrant students are more than ever before. The reality needs the government pay more and more education resources to execute the policy. It is like what the section chief of the education bureau of Yuyao said, for now, although there are more and more migrant students, the expense is within the government's capability.

However, the principal of the migrant school tells another story. The salary for the migrant school teacher comes from the tuition. The tuition, sometimes, is not even enough to pay for the teachers' salary. Considering on this, the local government promises to give all teachers in migrant school 100 yuan as a subsidy. But the fact is that until 2015, the subsidy for 2014 has not given yet. The government explained that it is because of lacking of money. Due to the economic transaction, the Yuyao government loses the advantage to earn money by developing manufacturing. The government is in debt this year, in return, the "two oriented" policy could not be well supported.

It can be regarded as the core of problem, or, the surface of the problem. In accordance with *the Law of Compulsory Education in China* (《中华人民共和国义务教育法》), the school-age children's education is mainly responded by their registered permanent residence, the education funds should be paid by the registered permanent residence according to the number of the students. If the children go to another place to go to school, the previous residence would not responsible for their education, but the inflow areas have no education funds for them. Gradually, the number of the inflow areas' students is increasing with a higher financial pressure.

Education funds in the cities are usually higher than the counties, the investment proportion for education is higher than counties, and the education resources is limited. Once all the public schools are opened to all the migrant students and treat them the same, lots of migrant students would go to the public schools. It would lead to the shortage of the education resources, a high density of the students, and the decline of the education quality (Chongjun He, 2011). All these factors and possible results make the government believe that the education resources seem to be never enough. Thus, the attitude of local government towards migrant children might be negative.

Moreover, currently the situation may have been improved in some aspects. Attitude of the Yuyao government toward migrant worker is changed. Previously, manufacturing in Yuyao shrank, the demand of migrant worker reduced, migrant worker was not as welcome as before anymore. Therefore, the government tends to neglect to pay for migrant children's education as the "two oriented" policy requires. However, nowadays Yuyao government wants to retain skilled migrants. For example, in the new points-based residency permit rules for migrants of Yuyao (2015 年余姚积分落户政策细则), the government expressed the need to retain skilled migrants and its willing to improve all kinds of public services for migrants, including education of their children. The attitude of Yuyao government towards migrant children is turning to positive.

However, the pressure still exists. The number of migrant children will increase after a period of time due to the publishing of the "two-child policy" and urbanization trends, which is a big challenge to the existing educational resources. Although, the pressure from economic resources reduces, it is necessary for the inflow government to prepare for the challenge of shortage of the number of schools, teachers and other resources.

6.1.3. Inter-organizational Communication and Enforcement Activities

According to Meter and Horn's theory, inter organizational communication and enforcement activities also affect the performance of policy implementation in some way. The most obvious problem here is that the completely deviation on the policy. The deviation of the policy is about the executive refuses to do what the policy requests or completely do the opposite things.

Essentially, the complete policy deviation is a typical way of regional protectionism. The objective could be distorted intentionally or unintentionally when it is conveyed from one executive body to another. The comprehension about the policy could differ from one person to another. Sometimes, if the policy could not be conveyed the same by the superiors, the subordinate could possibly deviate the standards or the objectives. In transmitting messages downward in an organization, or from one organization to another, communicators inevitably distort them - both intentionally and unintentionally (Downs, 1967:133-136). Furthermore, if different sources of communication provide inconsistent interpretations of standards and objectives or if the same source provides conflicting

interpretations over time, implementers will find it even more difficult to carry out the intentions of policy (Meter and Horn, 1975:466).

In order to implement the policy more effectively, the implementation bodies and the executives should get to know the goal, the criteria of assessment, the method and the procedure of the policy by using all the communication methods (Chongjun He, 2011). In order to achieve this, the superior usually adopt the following two methods which are sanctions and incentive.

In regard of using sanctions as a measure of policy implementation, there are some ways for Yuyao government. For example, superiors can reply on a wide variety of sanctions (Meter and Horn, 1975:467). In *the Notice of the Employment Management and Service of Migrant Worker* (《关于做好农民工进城务工就业管理和服务工作的通知》) and *the Ordinance about Running School under Social Support* (《社会力量办学条例》), there are regulations about the makeshift schools. The regulations are charging standards, school facilities, and the quality of the teachers. Meanwhile, these documents warranty the local government and the administrative department of education some administration authority, such as reorganizing the disqualified schools within a deadline, revoking the running school license, taking over schools, and so on (He, 2011).

In terms of incentives, the local government also tries to stimulate the implementation of the policy by using the funds or some other resources (Meter and Horn, 1975:467)." exclusively on normative and remunerative powers are the most common ways what superiors usually rely on (Meter and Horn, 1975:488). For instance, the Yuyao government seeks to influence the migrants' school facilities through control of the educational special fund. By increasing funds, it improves the migrants' school facilities. Meanwhile, Yuyao government also established twinning model of public schools and migrant schools. Through demonstration classes, investigations with specific topics and other activities between twinning schools, the education quality of migrant school is promoted.

In addition, communication also matters in delivering proper services. In order to strengthen the communication to improve the efficiency of policy implementation, Yuyao government send several officers of education bureau to migrant schools. They work as a semi-manager

at migrant schools for three years as a period. In this way, Yuyao government get to know the first hand information and situation of migrant school. Also, it is easy for government to deliver its executive order on migrant children's education. In sum, as a communicator, the officer could convey the policy goal, and supervise the implementation of the policy.

All the above-mentioned management methods have a common goal, that is, to enhance the teaching quality in migrant schools, so that their quality of education can be improved. However, there also exist shortcomings in these practices. For example, the punishment management implemented in Migrant School could dampen its enthusiasm in teaching and reducing their viability.

For the incentive aspect, special funds may not be in place, while the twinning schools might become a superficial achievement of local government. It is essential to truly improve the standard of teaching, to enhance the teaching hardware, and to improve teachers' income, all of which should be implemented. The mechanism of assigning education supervisors is a creative measure made by the Yuyao government during the "two oriented" policy implementation. It has not only improved the efficiency of government policy dissemination and implementation, but also has made up for the lack of experience of migrant school.

6.1.4 The Characteristics of the Implementing Agency

The main agencies that "two oriented" policy refers to are governments, primary and middle schools for migrants, public primary and middle schools. Among those agencies, one characteristic cooperates with another. Every single agency's comprehension as well as implementation about the policy could have an important influence on the implementation effect (Meter and Horn, 1975:478).

First, the relationships between Yuyao government and schools in compulsory education stage can be regarded as the superior-subordinate relationship. According to the review the principal of the migrants' school, they have successfully controlled the acceptance and quality for the migrant students. It largely depends on the support, supervision and order of the Yuyao government. For example, they planned to recruit 4 classes for migrant students in the summer of 2015. The Yuyao government, on the other hand, has a limitation

about the recruit number. The school was warranted to recruit only 2 classes for migrant students. Furthermore, the notice has not informed the school in time. Instead, only the education bureau knows about this.

From the perspective of the migrant schools, there is no doubt that the more students the better. More students mean the migrant schools could make more profits. The local government, on the other hand, retains the attitude to limit the recruit number in migrant schools. This attitude is because the public school's acceptance proportion could be higher, and it shows the government's advocate of focusing on the public schools has a better performance. The main method for the government to achieve this goal is by limiting the register of the student code. From 2012 to 2014, although the number of the migrant students in public school is growing, the number of migrant students in migrant school is declining all the time (table 3). Based on the circumstance above, the relationships between Yuyao government and migrant school is not only superior-subordinate, but also opposite in interest in some way.

Moreover, the governments' control of the migrant school is not all about pursuing a better performance. Because here is a problem that all these statistics are from primary school. In 2014, Yuyao government abolished the middle school part of the migrant school. Hence the migrant school in Yuyao do not have the middle school part which is another stage of the compulsory education anymore,

The explanation on this given by director of Yuyao Education Bureau is that the status quo is the public middle schools have enough capability to recruit all the migrant students. Therefore, those students who are qualified to be recruited would be accepted by the public middle schools. However, in interview the headmaster of migrant school questioned this opinion.

Apparently, the migrant students could actually go to the public middle school as long as they are qualified to study there. One of the qualifications is that their parents' social security funds must be submitted more than one year. In fact, there are lots of migrant students cannot meet this requirement. If these migrant children have no good academic grades either, they are actually facing the problem of dropping out or studying back in their hometown. In this way, the public acceptance rate of Yuyao does not reduce, however the education equality of migrant children is impaired. More specifically, Yuyao government's understanding and implementation of the "two oriented" policy could not achieve what the

"two oriented" policy intend to.

However, in 2016 China released a new policy that "state subsidies go with the migrant children (钱随人走)" in *the Notice on Further Improvement of Urban and Rural Compulsory Education Funds Safeguard Mechanism* (《关于进一步完善城乡义务教育经费保障机制的通知》)(Official website of minister of education of China, 2015). Each migrant child has an account in which state subsidies go with themselves instead of paid by certain local government. With this policy, relationship between government and migrant school is able to develop into a mutually beneficial relationship. On the one hand, economic pressure of inflow government is shared by the policy of "state subsidies go with the migrant children". On the other hand, in the future, there would be a great demand for educational resources, and public education resources are no longer sufficient to cover all students, while private schools will become a good helper for the government. In this case, the transformation of relationships between the government and the schools will bring changes to their communication and collaboration.

Relationships between the government and the schools, on the one hand, can be regarded as superior-subordinate relationships, and on the other hand, can be seen as stakeholder one, especially between the government and private schools. Before the year of 2015, they are interest competitors, and then might be "win-win" relationship, which will lead directly to changes of reward and punishment measures made by government to regulate private schools. Over time, the implementation of the "two oriented" policy will no longer be superficially focused on the "public acceptance rate", but on the active use of public school education resources. While cooperation with more private schools will promote educational equity of migrant children.

In addition to relationship between government and other organizations, the intergovernmental relationship, for instance bureaucratic structure, also matters in this case. The formal and informal characteristics of the executive bodies includes the level, scale, organization structure, preparation statement, distribution of the rights and obligations, the character of the staff, and so on.

In China, bureaucratic structure communication between upper and middle management authority is mostly top-down. As for the education funds, it is offered by these following

four financial sectors, the central financial sector, the province financial sector, the city financial sector, and the county financial sector. This was decided in 2001 when the central government established the rural compulsory education management system. The system makes government at county level as Yuyao city becomes main executive actor in policy implementation of compulsory education. The power, the funds, and the authorities are unified to the county government in this system (Sun, 2009:10). In other words, the management model that focused on the local government is about to distribute the superior's responsibilities to their subordinate.

For that reason, the governments' right and responsibility needs to be clearly clarified. However, this part is lacking. Discussion on unreasonable distribution of the rights and responsibilities almost occurs in every study of "two oriented" policy implementation. There are mainly three aspects about the unreasonable distribution of the rights and responsibilities. One is the distribution of the rights and responsibilities between the central and local governments are unreasonable. Second is the confliction on right and responsibility between government of inflow and outflow government. The third one is that the distribution of right on the compulsory education's funds and responsibility is also unreasonable (Ge, 2009).

First, the main problem is between the central government and the local government. The policies for the migrant students are improving step by step. Until now, the management model is based on the local government. But not all local government face the same situation, the pressure of management mainly focusses on local government of developed area. More specifically, there is a trend that most students migrate from undeveloped area (like central and western regions of China) to the developed areas (Southeast China). However, the central government treats all local government the same. So far it has no support measures appointed to the developed areas. This situation leads to an asymmetry between inflow governments' responsibilities and capabilities as well as between their obligations and rights.

In this way, the local government undertakes more responsibilities. The limitations and the affordability of the social economy, the environment, the resources, the population, the culture and the education, etc. make it difficult for the local government to resolve the problems (Liang, 2014). According to the observation in filed survey, local government usually ignore migrant schools in terms of management attitude. Moreover, there is a phenomenon that migrant children mainly study in migrant schools.

Secondly, there is an imbalance of rights and responsibilities between inflow and outflow

areas. The inflow areas' government has equal management responsibilities, while they have no practical rights. The result is that the inflow areas' government has a low motivation to resolve the problems. As for the outflow government, it only has the cooperation obligations, while it has no management power. The policy has no clear rights and responsibilities, then it leads to no practical effects (He, 2011). Especially during the implementation of "two oriented" policy, the local government is the main manager, but the evaluation system of the management performance is imperfect. This impairs the effect of the policy implementation (Liang, 2014).

Third, the responsibilities distribution between the central government and the inflow areas government is unreasonable. The "two oriented" policy only mentioned investment of the education funds as well as the management requirements. There is no empowerment of specific financial and taxation authority to local government, no support of education funds to local government either. Moreover, the central government has no relevant regulations to clarify sharing of financial responsibility between government in each level (Xinbin Ge:2009). In this way, the financial authority and business authority are incommensurate in the inflow areas.

These three imbalances explain why the local government are not always able to implement, sometimes even opposite of, the central government's requirements on "two oriented" policy. Except this, the other possible reason is that the central government has no concrete responsibilities aimed at the outflow government. According to a field survey, there is almost no connections or cooperation between the inflow and the outflow areas government (Xinbin Ge, 2009). Not only because of the outflow areas' government's responsibilities, but also the central government's ambiguous requirement one of the most important factors.

Furthermore, the policy has no feasibility. "Two oriented" policy does not give the executive agent a clear definition when it related to both their responsibilities and obligations. The rights, responsibilities and interests are not coinciding with each other. On the one hand, the responsibilities are too abstract, while on the other hand, the freedom for the power of execution is too high. Besides, the education policy about the children of migrant population is not concrete enough. Above all, the content of the policy has flexible space and lacks of authoritative forces (Chongjun He, 2011:163).

The result of the game between governments is that the “two oriented” policy exists in name only. It is obvious that this is because the central government could not distribute the education responsibilities reasonably, and could not give the inflow areas the proper policy resources in time. As for the inflow areas’ migrant children, most of them have the only choice to go to the private school. And they could not share the equal educational rights in the inflow areas as *the New Law of the Compulsory Education* (《义务教育法》) requested.

6.1.5 Economic, Social, and Political Conditions

The society background of the policy, the economic and political situations, could have influences on the effects of the implementation through the characteristics of the executive bodies and the executive staff. As what has been discussed in resources part, Yuyao government has a bad situation on economic recently. The related fund seems insufficient because of industry transition. In sum, the economic conditions for implementation of "two oriented" policy is not optimistic.

However, this circumstance is going to turn positive. On the one hand, economic transition of Yuyao is going well recently, the dilemma of resource would be improved. On the other hand, as a complementary policy of “two oriented” policy, the generalization of “two free one subsidies” policy will enable the government to further reduce the economic pressure. The “two free one subsidies” policy (“两免一补”政策) and hence be generalized to every student in compulsory education stage in 2017. According to the policy, central government will provide compulsory education with “free administrative fees, free textbooks, and gradually boarders living subsidy” (Official website of minister of education of China, 2015). This will support local government in an economic way.

From a social environment perspective, there are two additional problems that affect the efficiency of the service delivery. Firstly, the publicity is not sufficient. For example, there is a great number of the migrant workers in the review could only think about bribing the official the remedy the registration problem. The migrant workers’ low awareness of the policy leads to a lack of supervision for the policy’s implementation. The policy objective is the migrant workers. Many relevant policies could not be comprehended by the migrant

workers, because of their low education as well as insufficient publicity of the policy. Do not mention to protect their own rights by using the law. Even there is way to supervise the implementation, it is too superficial to find out the problems or amend the policy (He, 2011).

The other problem is the attitude of private interest groups. In Yuyao, the attitude is positive. However, the power of private interest group has not been distributed systematically and equally. For instance, in Yuyao, whenever there are enterprises donate money, the district would distribute the money to the public school firstly.

6.1.6 The Disposition of the Implementers

Policy implementers' cognition of policy, the direction of their response toward it and the intensity of that response may affect their ability and willingness to implement the policy (Meter and Horn, 1974:472). For example, the incomplete policy execution or the expansion of the policy happens sometimes.

The incomplete policy execution here means that the executive bodies comprehend the policy according to their own interests. They partly execute the policy, and hinder the development of the policy's overall functionality. As a result, the policy goal could not be well achieved. For example, when it related to the compulsory education funds, the "two oriented" policy requests the local government should resolve the funding problem by themselves. The utilitarian policy definitely reduces the initiative of policy implementation and the related service delivery of local governments like Yuyao government and makes them doubt the true value of policy introduced by central government.

The executive bodies rejection attitude towards the "two oriented" policies because of the policy maker and the executive's interests are different. The policy makers starting point is to resolve the migrant students' education problem. The local government, as the executive body, is afraid of shoulder any responsibilities, such as increase the inflow areas' financial burden, increase the management cost as well as management difficulties, have potential positive influences on the enrollment rate, increase the teachers' tasks, and so on. Especially about the improvement of the migrant schools' environment and the legalization, it allows more and more migrant students have the chance to go to the city to get education. And it could bring the population management more difficulties. Thus, all the executive

bodies are not active enough to implement the policy.

As for the officer of the government, the director of education who works for the migrant students' school thinks that only those who has registered permanent residence have a chance to be accepted by schools in theory. But the principals of the migrant students' school won't refuse to accept any students who bring money with them. The students are clever or not, it does not matter. The more students, the more profits they will make. As long as all the migrant students are safe the migrant school only care about the money. Thus it can be seen that the principals of the migrant students' school are not strictly implementing the policy as the statutory regulation conveyed, they put their own interests in the first place instead.

Yuyao government also strives for interests which are mainly about the increase of the public acceptance rate. The government do not wish to have any ineligible migrant students. But from the standpoint of that education bureau officer, he won't be punished if a new ineligible migrant student was accepted by migrant school. In addition, he even has a deeper understanding about the position of the migrant school. Therefore, he would not be strongly against to have an ineligible migrant student. Hence, the attitude of executive officer and the government is not completely consistent. This will easily lead to an incomplete policy execution.

Consequently, the executive bodies' comprehension of the policy content as well as the specific standards and policy objectives are not the same. Their attitude towards the policy standards or objectives could have a big influence on the policy goal's achievement.

6.2 How to Improve the Implementation of “Two Oriented” Policy in Yuyao

Based on analysis above, problems of the “two oriented” policy implementation are discussed. In this section, several suggestions on solving the problem and improving the performance of "two oriented" policy implementation of Yuyao government are listed.

Firstly, balancing the interests of each organization or agency is the most essential thing. On one hand, rights and responsibilities should be clearly defined, while the relevant agency bears related responsibility, it should at the same time get the corresponding subsidy. Local governments should not bear the cost of basic education of migrant children

completely. Instead the central government should intensify subsidies. On the other hand, local government is evaluated by its achievement. In order to make the local government able to focus on the real intentions of the “two oriented” policy, using unscientific single standard to evaluate local government policy implementation performance should be avoided.

Secondly, setting up a more perfect supervision mechanism for policy implementation is significant. The "two oriented" policy does not involve any rule about responsibility for unfinished policy goal. For example, for the financial funding problem, which is the core of the entire policy, there is no mandatory punishment and restriction system for insufficient fund appropriation. Besides, the "two oriented" policy requires that receiving migrant children should be public schools based, but it does not clarify the consequences of insufficient policy implementation (Yue & Yu, 2013:11. Defining corresponding punishment mechanism can effectively improve existing problem in Yuyao, like subsidies to migrant school is not in place or public schools filter migrant children secretly during enrolling students.

Thirdly, to establish a more scientific and diversified performance evaluation system of policy implementation is also very important. Policy maker should not only take "public acceptance rate" as the sole evaluation standard, but also incorporate graduation rates into the assessment. What's more, they can also transfer some experienced staff who is related to policy implementation from government, public schools, migrant schools and organizations. Thus, through setting up an investigation team, a series of scientific, practical and multivariate evaluation standards can be worked out.

In addition, it is proposed to encourage innovation and encourage policies executor to create a "win-win" mode. Such as it is good for Yuyao government to began to send director of education to each migrant school. It helps the migrant school improves education quality through existing resources as well as provides the government an effective communication and supervision mechanism without causing any more financial pressure of local government. In achieving this kind of innovation, it is good to host seminars among local government, promote learning from each other in various cities and give awards to the most innovative government.

The other suggestion on policy resource aspect is to ensure a proper direction of educational resources allocation. With the generalization of the two-child policy and urbanization, there would be more migrant children live in city. This is a huge challenge for the local government. Existing public education resources are insufficient to fully involve all migrant children into the public schools. Hence, developing private schools are the trend of future. Yuyao government has already adopted a "private-run and government-subsidized" model, which focus on supporting private school. However, how to make private schools obtain the same quality of education with public schools is what Yuyao government need to explore.

Last but not the least, to deliver a better service, a policy should be known by its policy beneficiary. Especially, due to the low education level of migrant workers the government ought to reinforce publicity efforts. At present, Yuyao government announces measures related to migrant children's compulsory education only on official websites and in newspapers. However, rarely migrant workers access to these sites and newspapers. Thus, to promote efficiency of publicity and achieve a better performance of "two oriented" policy, Yuyao government could do more publicity in several regions in which migrant workers usually live.

Chapter 7. Conclusion

Better performance on policy implementation of "two oriented" policy would leads to a higher level of educational equity of migrant student in the stage of compulsory education. In achieving this, a study on implementation of policy has been done. This study mainly focusses on why the performance of "two oriented" policy has not been satisfactory in the past years.

Within theoretical model proposed by Van Meter and Van Horn, the problems of policy implementation are mainly of two kinds. One takes the policy itself, resources for its implementation and mechanisms to ensure policy enforcement and compliance into account; the other one puts research emphasis on features external to the policy, such as economic, social, and political conditions, the characteristics of the implementing agency and the disposition of the implementers.

Following this model, problems of the "two oriented" policy and its implementation performance of Yuyao government is described and explained individually above. This provides a picture of the problems within the framework of six factors. Moreover, this six factors not always impact policy performance independently, they work with each other in shaping policy performance as well.

Economic, social, and political conditions determine relationships that the government is willing to establish with each relevant organization. This affect the characteristics of the implementing agency and inter organizational communication, and enforcement activities are also changed accordingly. During these process, interest is the core which determines how these factors work together and lead to a policy performance.

Therefore, allocation of policy resources is not only determined by policy need, but also determined by interest of each relevant organization in the implementation of policies. So is policy standard and objectives. They are able to determine the relative agency's executive priority in policy implementation. The case of Yuyao government which encounters many problems in the implementation of the "two oriented" policy is a miniature of interests.

Yuyao's economic transformation, also affects the relationship between Yuyao government and migrant schools. At the beginning, Yuyao focused on manufacturing which needs a great deal of migrant workers. In order to actively attract migrant workers, Yuyao government appropriated much funds for migrant children education. Later Yuyao entered economic transformation period, the demand for migrant workers reduced correspondingly. Its attitude towards the implementation of the "two oriented" policy becomes not as positive as before.

In addition, in recent years, the government's debt also causes Yuyao government inactively to grant subsidies to migrant schools. Supplementing the migrant children does not meet their interests. They no longer need immigrant population, spending on migrant children's education is not beneficial to their development. Thus, to continue granting migrant children education is mainly for completing the task from upper level government. Therefore the subsidies for migrant children from Yuyao government are sometimes even not in place.

Similar to the circumstance of policy resources allocation, the interpretation of policy standard and objectives are also affected by interest. For example, lack of clear definition of policy is not the whole reason of problem of ambiguity of the "two oriented" policy. There is also a deeper reason. It is possible that the central government in making the "two oriented" policy deliberately blurs the policy text. Because of the complexity of local governments and their unwillingness to bear all the responsibility, the central government fails to give detailed measures and subsidy way, but only to point out such a ambiguous direction.

Consequently, the local governments, to carry out the "two oriented" policy and solve the problems of migrant children, needs to appropriate funds from their own finance. At this time in order to protect their own interests, Yuyao government will use the fuzziness of policy, to partially implement policies. At that time, the fuzziness of policy is no longer just a matter of policy text, but leads to the policy execution problem. In the face of such incomplete policy implementation, Yuyao government's explanation is that the education resources is not enough. Education resources is a factor that restrict government to implement policy. But in the end, the local government's maintenance of their interests is the source of the problem.

Fuzzy problems are true of other policy goal problems. All superficial policy implementation, shortsighted policy goal, are like this, Yuyao government can report to the government at a higher level, give a seemingly good performance of policy-making. At the same time, they ensure that their invested resources on this issue is not more than their gains. In addition, the higher level, namely the Zhejiang provincial government, can also well report to central government. This is in the interests of "two oriented" policy implementer. While "two oriented" policy's real intention, namely, promote fair education for migrant children, in the process, is no longer the concern of policy implementer.

Besides, the analysis implies that the other five factors usually affect the performance of policy implementation through affecting the disposition of the implementers. The link between them is still interest. For example, problems of the "two oriented" policy implementation usually caused by inconsistent interests between the central and local governments, between inflow governments and outflow government, or between local

government and schools. Something that is demonstrated the incomplete policy execution and the deviation of the policy in Yuyao government's case.

This analysis contributes to a better understanding of implementation of “two oriented” policy in Yuyao. However, different condition and time period make government have different interpretation of policy content and leads to different ways of policy implementation. Therefore, this study on Yuyao's problems may provide experience for other county-level cities. Moreover, as what Van Meter and Van Horn clarified, factors that may affect the execution of a policy in its initial stages may be of little consequence at a later point in time. A further study could focus on later challenges that the city would meet.

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Appendix

Table 1. The Summary Table of Yuyao City Governmental Subsidy on Migrant Student in Compulsory Education Stage 2013-2014 Year (Amount Unit: 10000 Yuan)

Semester	Total Number of Migrant Children	Public School Enrollment	Migrant School Enrollment	Migrant Children Public Acceptance Rate (%)	Total Governmental Financial Subsidy (10000 Yuan)
2013 Spring	40005	28904	11101	87.17	276.45
2013 Autumn	44626	33617	11009	88.16	313.81
2014 Spring	42753	32109	10644	86.56	269.64
2014 Autumn	45258	35729	9529	88.91	306.72

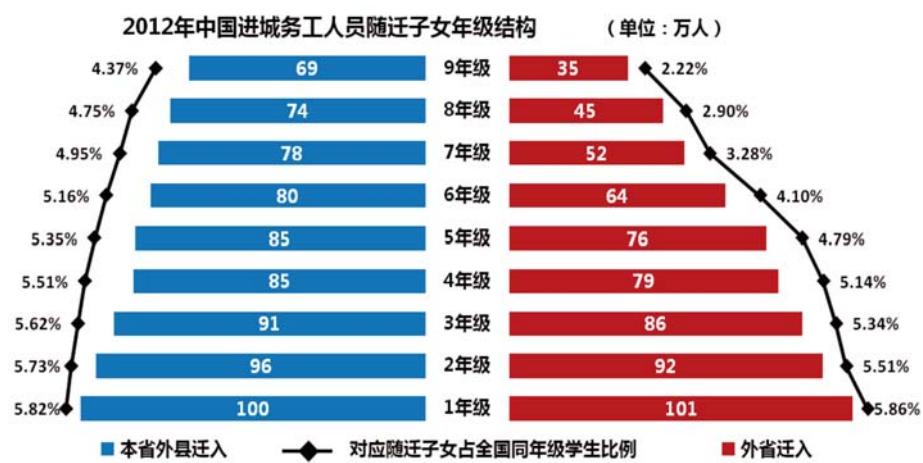
Table 2. Number of Migrant Children in Each Types of School of Compulsory Education in Yuyao City during 2013-2014 Year

Semester	Number of Migrant Children						
	Total	Public School Enrollment			Migrant School Enrollment		
		Subtotal	Public Middle School	Public Primary School	Subtotal	Migrant Middle School	Migrant Primary School
2013 Spring	40005	28904	-	-	11101	768	10333
2013 Autumn	44626	33617	7979	25638	11009	455	10554
2014 Spring	42753	32109	7317	24792	10644	186	10458
2014 Autumn	45258	35729	8747	26982	9529	0	9529

Table 3. The Summary Table of the Basic Situations on Student in Compulsory Education Stage in Yuyao City (Year 2010-2014)

学校 School	年份 Year	小学 Primary School	民办学校 Private School	公立学校 Public School	其中: 本地学生 Local Student	其中: 民工子女 Migrant Student	民工学校 Migrant School
学校数 School Amount	2010	94		89			5
	2011	88		82			6
	2012	82		77			5
	2013	83		73			10
	2014	87		72			15
在校 学生数 Student Enrollment	2010	66666	1550	53468	33629	19839	11648
	2011	68478	1626	54940	33110	21830	11912
	2012	67648	1702	55226	31570	23656	10720
	2013	68456	1750	56152	30514	25638	10554
	2014	67570	1781	56260	29278	26982	9529

Table 4. The Grade Structure (During Whole 9 Year Compulsory Education Stage) of Migrant Student in China in 2012 (The Data Report of Migrant Children in China)



Blue-migrating within province; Red-migrating between provinces; Broken Line-the proportion of amount between migrant children and students of the whole country in the same grade

Interviews

Interviewee 1, Director of Yuyao Education Bureau (2015/02/28)

Interviewee 2, Officer of Yuyao Education Bureau (2015/03/03)

Interviewee 3, Headmaster of a Migrant School (2015/03/07)