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RIHE International Seminar Reports

DIVERSIFYING HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEMS IN THE INTERNATIONAL AND COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES

Report of the International Workshop on University Reform, 2010

Organized by: Research Institute for Higher Education, Hiroshima University
Co-organized by: Japan Association of Higher Education Research

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Research Institute for Higher Education

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Diversifying Higher Education Systems in the International and Comparative Perspectives

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FOREWORD

Higher Education in Japan is continuing to face great and difficult challenges. We had a huge earthquake and tsunami disaster on March 11, 2011, in eastern Japan, which may cause immense damage to the higher education system. In addition, we had had rapid socio-economic changes, including globalization, the emergence of a knowledge-based society, and the ageing of society as the number of young people began to decline even before the disaster. We believe that higher education in Japan must adapt to this situation and recover quickly through a process of university reform and a government commitment of sufficient resources to the system. Higher education research, thus, must play an important role in attaining these goals that are essential for the future of Japan.

In this context, the Research Institute for Higher Education (RIHE) at Hiroshima University, through special funding by the Ministry of Education and Science in 2008, has been able to implement a new research project on the reform of higher education in the knowledge-based society of the 21st century. Research for designing of the future higher education system, including graduate education and other important topics on higher education, is a very important part of this project. Thus RIHE hosted the third International Workshop on the Higher Education System under the theme of "Diversifying Higher Education Systems in the International and Comparative Perspectives", which was followed by the 38th Annual Study Meeting on the same topic.

We invited four speakers whose activities are internationally recognized: Professor D. Bruce Johnstone, University at Buffalo, SUNY, USA, Professor Aya Yoshida, Waseda University, Japan, Professor Weihe Xie, Tsinghua University, China, and Professor Peter Maassen, University of Oslo, Norway. I sincerely appreciate the contributions of the four guests to the International Workshop.

I hope that this volume, the record of the International Workshop, will advance the understanding of those who are interested in the future of higher education systems around the world as well as in Japan.

April, 2011

Shinichi Yamamoto
Director & Professor,
Research Institute for Higher Education,
Hiroshima University

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Acknowledgement

We would like to acknowledge the invaluable contribution of Professor Martin J. Finklestein, Professor of Higher Education at Seton Hall University, USA, who edited all the manuscripts in this report.

Shinichi Yamamoto
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Presentations

Higher Educational Diversification in the United States

D. Bruce Johnstone*

An overview and some definitions

Higher Education in the United States is noteworthy for many aspects, including its overall size, the renown of its leading research universities, and its pervasive role in American culture (which includes the role of intercollegiate athletics in the worlds of entertainment and sports). But perhaps nothing so sets American higher education apart from higher education in the rest of the advanced industrialized world as the diversity of its institutions and the students they serve. A classic definition of diversity in higher education was given in 1996 by Martin Trow: "…the existence of distinct forms of post-secondary education, of institutions or groups of institutions in a state or nation that have different and distinctive missions, educate and train for different lives and careers, have different styles of instruction, are organized and funded differently, and operate under different laws and relationships to government." (OECD, 1998, pp.40-41)

Higher educational diversification in the United States is marked in 2008-09 by more than 4,400 degree-granting institutions, including:

- some 1,676 that were public, almost all of which are under state or local control and ownership, including 1,024 that are two-year, and 652 colleges and universities that grant bachelor's and higher degrees, with many of the

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latter category taking the form of public corporations with substantial institutional autonomy.[1]

- An additional 1,629 institutions that were private non-profit, mainly four-year, colleges and full universities, including many of the most selective and prestigious in the world and many more (mainly four-year bachelor's degree colleges) that are predominately local and minimally selective.[2]
- Finally − and a number that fluctuates year-by-year − some 1,104 two- and four-year institutions that were for-profit, or proprietary, colleges awarding various associate and bachelor's degrees.

Beyond this array of degree-granting institutions of higher education are several thousand short cycle non-degree-granting post-secondary institutions, mainly for-profit, awarding certificates and other forms of vocational preparation corresponding to UNESCO's post-secondary, non tertiary level 4 classification.[3]

An alternative classification scheme for US colleges and universities was devised in 1973 by the non-governmental Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, which was founded by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (and superseded in 1974 by the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education). This scheme first ignored the public-private distinction and classified institutions of higher education instead by specialization, selectivity, and highest degree awarded: associate, or two-year degree colleges; bachelor's degree or liberal arts colleges; masters degree or comprehensive colleges (that were sometimes called *universities*); and Ph.D. and advanced professional (*e.g.* medicine and law) degree universities.[4] Within the

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[1] Figures in the first three bulleted paragraphs are from the US Office of Education's National Center for Education Statistics *Digest of Education Statistics* Table 266.

[2] The term *college* as used in the United States has several meanings, some of them only suggestive and not precise. The most common usage refers to institutions of higher education that grant two or four-year (associate's or bachelor's) degrees and sometimes master's degrees, but not the Ph.D. or the advanced professional degrees associated with universities. *College* may also refer to the strictly undergraduate student body of a university (as in *Harvard College* of Harvard University). In a very different sense, it is may be used to designate a faculty or school within a university, as in *College* of Arts and Sciences). At the same time, many institutions that might with more distinct usage be called *colleges* call themselves *universities*, and a few universities continue to use the term *college* (as in Dartmouth College, or Boston College). The United States Department of Education avoids the confusion by calling all institutions that grant bachelor's, master's or doctoral degrees *4-year institutions*, setting them apart from *2-year institutions*.

[3] UNESCO, *International Standard Classification of Education 1997*, Retrieved October 2010, from http://www.unesco.org/education/information/nfsunesco/doc/isced_1997.htm

[4] No federal or state laws regulate the name of a private institution of higher education, and only some states rigorously regulate the nomenclature for public institutions of higher

Bachelor's degree, or liberal arts colleges classification, institutions were further sub-divided by selectivity into Liberal Arts I and II. Within the third broad classification of Ph.D. degree awarding universities, institutions were subdivided by the number of Ph.D. programs and degrees and by the volume of sponsored research into four sub-categories: Research I (thought to be the *highest* classification) and II, and Doctoral I and II.

In response to widespread concerns that this classification missed many important institutional characteristics and dimensions of quality, and furthermore overemphasized scholarship and student selectivity − tempting institutions to become ever more oriented to research and less oriented to teaching and to diversity − the Carnegie Foundation has revised the classification several times, most notably and extensively in 2005 in order to respond to such criticisms.[5] Nonetheless, scholarly prestige, measured by such criteria as sponsored research dollars, numbers and percentages of faculty elected to the elite national scholarly associations, numbers of citations in the scholarly citation indices, number of post-doctoral awardees, and scholarly reputation of the faculty, continues to dominate how universities are classified. Similarly, student selectivity (that is, the numbers of applicants denied admission) and examination scores of entering students continue to dominate the aspirations of most colleges and universities (except for the two-year associate degree colleges and many of the four-year colleges that are virtually open admission). The apparent success of this emphasis on scholarly prestige, buttressed by the highly competitive quest for public research funding, enormous resources, and open competition on the part of the leading US universities for top academic talent, is reflected in the US claim of the lion's share of the world's most prestigious universities (that is, as identified, however imperfectly, by entities that purport to rank universities throughout the world.)[6]

At the same time, many of America's degree-granting colleges and universities, in comparison to most of the rest of the world, are accessible to

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education. Thus, in keeping with the pronounced *institutional drift* in the direction of the research university, many institutions that are bachelor's and master's degree only and do little true research nonetheless carry a *university* name.

[5] Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education: Retrieved October 8, 2010, from http://classifications.carnegiefoundation.org/ See also McCormick & Zhao (2005).

[6] The principal world university ranking entities are: The Times Higher Education World University Rankings (website at: http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/); the ARWU (Academic Ranking of World Universities) of The Center for World-Class Universities of Shanghai Jiao Tong University (website at: http://www.arwu.org/); and QS (Quacquarelli Symonds Limiteds) World University Rankings, which spun away from the Times World Rankings in 2009 (website at: http://www.qs.com/).

students with only minimal academic secondary school preparation[7] and even minimal academic ambition, many of whom complete a short-cycle degree and then transfer into a much more selective four-year college or university and even go on to prestigious advanced professional programs in law, medicine, and management. Built into this system (sometimes considered more of a non-system) is a range of curricular and programmatic flexibility that is unknown in most of the rest of the world's higher educational systems. A student can (and is often even encouraged) to experiment with different academic programs and can easily change programs in the midst of the degree. A student can drop out for a semester or longer and return, sometimes being given second or third chances after initial academic difficulties, or a student can change institutions, frequently with no loss of time toward the ultimate degree. The average time-to-degree may suffer, and the United States higher education is marked by what would be considered *wastage* in many other countries.

United States college and university students are also diverse. More than 57% are female (not unlike the proportions in most OECD countries). According to the US Office of Education, 63.3% of students in 2008 were identified as White or Caucasian, ranging from 68.7% in private four-year colleges and universities to just 59% in public two-year colleges. Black or African American students comprised 13.5 % of all students, ranging from 11.7% in private non-profit colleges and universities to 14% in public two-year colleges, to 26.8% in private for-profit colleges.[8] Hispanic or Latino students comprised 11.9% of US students, ranging from 6.8% of those at private non-profit colleges and universities to 16.9% at public two-year colleges.[9] International students

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[7] It is possible in the Unites States for students to receive federal financial assistance for entering a two-year associate degree program (most of the academic credits from which are transferable to most bachelor's degree programs) without even have finished high school or having earned the General Education Diploma on the so-called *Ability To Benefit* program, which is designed to give a chance at college level work to those who may have dropped out of secondary school for reasons of academic failure or disinterest that may have been contributed to by *e.g*. extreme poverty, a poor secondary school, military service, pregnancy and child rearing, or incarceration.

[8] The very high percentage of low income and minority students in private for-profit colleges reflects the vocational orientation and virtual open-admissions policy of such institutions, as well as the federal financial aid that can cover most or all of the tuition fees and that is given irrespective of the institution, the program of study, or the academic preparedness or promise of the student.

[9] US Department of Education data reported in *The Chronicle of Higher Education, Almanac Issue*, August 27, 2010, p.36.

represent 3.4% of all US postsecondary students, mainly concentrated in graduate and advanced programs, with some 23.7% international students.[10] Also reflecting the diversity of US college and university students as well as the diversity of institutions, some 24% are over the age of 24 and almost 40% are enrolled part time. The proportion of full time students who are employed during the term time is 45 %, 29% of whom report employment of more than 20 hours a week. (Blum, 2010)

The US higher education context

This institutional and student diversity should be viewed within the context of those features unique, or most nearly unique, to higher education in the United States. The following seven such features are salient to the examination of institutional diversification in the United States.[11]

1. Federalism, or the absence of a national ministry

Few features are more difficult to explain to the foreign observer than the absence of an American ministry of education and the relegation of public education (basic as well as higher) to the 50 states. It is difficult partly because virtually all other countries have a national ministry − and the United States has a federal agency (The US Department of Education) that seems like other national ministries. In the absence of a national (in the United States called a *federal*) ministry, it is also difficult to account for why the bachelor's and the Ph.D. degrees are essentially the same in all states. The very substantial institutional differences that are the focus of this paper, then, do not vary systematically by state, but primarily by the institution's highest degree awarded, level of selectivity, and scholarly reputation of its key faculty − and therefore by its prestige. The US federal government is immensely important to the funding of students and to the support of research. But the absence of any kind of real ministry of higher education that would be similar to so many other countries is reinforced by what the United States Department of Education does *not* do: that is, that it has nothing to do with standards for entry or the admission of students,

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[10] OECD *Education at a Glance* reported in *The Chronicle of Higher Education, Almanac Issue*, August 27, 2010, p.46.

[11] This section draws upon D. Bruce Johnstone, *The US Higher Education System: A Brief Introduction for International Students and Scholars*, downloaded on 10/8/10 from the International Comparative Higher Education Finance and Accessibility Project at: http://www.gse.buffalo.edu/org/IntHigherEdFinance

the requirements or the standards for degrees, the qualifications for faculty or anything else about the terms and conditions of their employment, the selection of governing boards or chief executive officers or anything else about how institutions, public or private, are governed and/or operated.

2. The extensive and bi-modally prestigious private sector

That we have an extensive private sector is unusual only to Europeans. Japan, India, and many countries in Latin America and East Asia, especially South Korea and the Philippines, have extensive private sectors, and private institutions of higher education have also been emerging throughout the former Communist world and even in Africa − although most of the private institutions there function more as *demand absorbing* institutions rather than as models of academic and social prestige, as in the United States. What is unique to American private institutions of higher education is the bi-modal nature of their selectivity − and thus of their prestige. Both the most and the least selective and prestigious institutions tend to be private. The most selective and academically elite also, almost unavoidably, tend to be socially elite. But the least selective colleges − some of the most accessible and open to the children of the poor − are also private. And although the reach of government into the affairs of these private institutions is limited by tradition and law, the mission and level of public accountability is virtually the same for private colleges and universities as it is for their public counterparts. (Johnstone, 2002) The position of the highly selective private universities and colleges at the pinnacle of selectivity and prestige has been maintained in large part by their enormous donated wealth and by the willingness of American parents and students alike to bear a significant portion of the high and always rising costs of elite colleges and universities, as well as by federal governmental policies that accord equal access to research and student aid funding to private institutions.

3. Governance and ultimate authority (in both private and public sectors) in the hands of voluntary, lay governing boards

The combination of the peculiarly American mistrust of government (especially of *centralized* government), and also the peculiarly 19th century American explosion of private colleges, which had earlier borrowed from the Scots and the Dutch the vesting of ultimate governing authority of most such institutions in part-time, voluntary, lay boards, extended this lay governing board model as well to the nation's emerging public (state) universities − and ultimately even to the 20th century public comprehensive and community colleges. This mode of public governance, in combination with the status of

most public universities as *public corporations* rather than as *governmental agencies* accounts for the relative autonomy of most state universities from their patron governments. In turn, the so-called *buffer* model of the lay governing board leads to the substantially more powerful American university and college president, especially compared to their European rector counterpart, who is elected by, and accountable to, the faculty.

4. The extensive financial reliance − in both private and public sectors − on non governmental, or non tax-based, funding

Following upon the prevalence of the private, oftentimes sectarian, American college in the life of the middle and upper middle class American family from the middle of the 19th century, and undoubtedly reinforced by the growing wealth of this American middle class and by the aforementioned absence of a public university at the national, or federal, level, the American family became accustomed to bearing the lion's share of the costs of their children's higher education. Thus, although the public colleges and universities were overwhelmingly publicly financed through the 1960s, the enormous added costs stemming from the explosion of numbers in US public institutions, fueled first by the GI Bill and then by the post World War II baby boom, was able to be financed in substantial part by *non-governmental revenues* − tuition fees, private philanthropy, and competitive contract research − and to be relatively well-funded in spite of the American voter's disinclination to being taxed and the growing public sector competition from the demands of health and welfare, basic education, national defense, and corrections.[12]

5. The responsiveness (in both private and public sectors) to the needs and interests of the community and the state, including government, business, and the citizenry

"Responsiveness" to the needs of government (whether national, state, or local), to business, and to the public generally (especially to the students and his or her family) seems good and noble − perhaps because its converse or absence (non-responsiveness, or irresponsibility) − seems petty and ignoble. But the responsiveness of the American college and university, in sharp contrast to most other university systems, even in the formerly Communist (*i.e*. pre-1990) world, comes not from any particularly noble academic inclinations, but from the

[12] The US taxpayer and state politicians may grumble about the costs of their public colleges and universities. But no country's taxpayers have it so easy and get so much quality higher education for the relatively few taxpayer dollars, than in the United States.

combination of peculiarly American institutional features already identified and especially to the dependence of all institutions on non-governmental revenue, and thus on serious attention paid to potential donors, to state and local governments, and to potential tuition-paying students and their parents.

6. The modularization of academic degree programs

The marketization of American higher education, the reliance on tuition, and the unusual degree of responsiveness to student career interests and needs, are made possible (or made inevitable) by the modularization of academic degree programs. The American degree is given primarily by the accumulation of credits in some sort of acceptable pattern of general education, major program, and free electives. The significance of this model (which has been loosely copied in the *European Higher Education Area*[13]) is that institutional competition and cross state attendance is heightened, and the competition continues even after a student's initial matriculation. If a student loses interest, or if the institution appears to the student to have promised more or better than it can deliver, he or she can simply take those credits down the street to another institution, which will probably admit the student with no loss of time or credits. This feature also serves to undergird another feature of American higher education: the *ever-open door* to college. It does this by ensuring that academic failure need almost never be absolute or irreversible. A student can almost always take what credits he or she has successfully completed, in spite of academic difficulties and changed minds, and transfer them to some other (usually less initially selective) institution that will accept all or most of them, thus keeping alive the possibility of attaining a degree − a chance that would have died long before in most other countries.

7. The separation of bachelor's-level from graduate and advanced professional studies

Related to the modularization of the degree is the relegation of advanced professional study (such as law, medicine, and advanced management studies) to post-bachelor's degree study, generally in a university and frequently in an institution other than the one entered for the first degree. This is unlike the traditional European university, which historically featured the so-called "long first degree" and the direct entry of first-year university students into what Americans would reserve for advanced, or post-bachelor's, professional study.

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[13] Referring to the signatories of the Bologna Accord − as of 2010 extended to 47 countries.

Most European universities are struggling at this time to implement a form of a three or four year first degree in accord with the Bologna Reforms, although what are referred to in America as *advanced professional programs* are still generally entered directly after the completion of the academic secondary school. It is this easy and almost preferred separation of the American bachelor's from advanced scholarly and professional study that has maintained that most unique of all American higher educational institutions: the elite, four-year, (generally, but not exclusively private) liberal arts college, referenced above in the section dealing with the Carnegie Classification of institutions. Only with the assurance that a student's chances at a medical or law or other advanced degree would in no way be diminished − and might well be enhanced − by first attending "only" a four-year liberal arts college and then having to reapply to a university, likely in another city or another state, could the elite private liberal arts colleges continue to attract much of the academic cream of American high school graduates.

8. The importance accorded to accessibility and the "ever open door" to higher education

The combination of: (a) enormous post secondary education capacity, including a postsecondary institution in most states within commuting distance of most of the population; (b) a great range of entry standards, including the possibility of admission to a community college or to a non-selective private college with no academic credentials other than a high school diploma (and sometimes with even less); and (c) sufficient financial assistance supplemented by abundant part-time employment possibilities combine to enable almost any young person − even one whose parents are unable to provide any financial assistance, but who has just a modicum of interest and aptitude and the willingness to assume some indebtedness − to find a place at some college. Furthermore, the door almost never shuts altogether. Academically failing at one institution does not preclude admission to another, albeit generally less selective and less prestigious. In similar fashion, academic failure or the loss of interest in one's initial academic specialization, does not stop a student from trying another − or still another. Nowhere else in the world can a 25 year-old with a bachelor's degree in English and history decide she wants to be a physician and have a chance at entering medical school. Similarly, the concern on the part of most colleges and universities for ethnic and racial diversity is so strong that young persons from an "underrepresented minority" background are

courted with preferences on both admissions standards and financial assistance.[14]

All of these distinctive features, then, form the background for an American higher educational system that varies greatly along the important dimensions of:

- public and private (the latter including both non-profit, and proprietary);
- scholarly-oriented research universities, and short-cycle, vocationally-oriented colleges (and all forms in between);
- large, comprehensive, multi-faculty institutions, and institutions that are small and narrow in mission;
- academically selective colleges and universities, and institutions that are virtually open to all; and
- universities that are national (both public and private), and those that are strictly local in orientation and clientele.

Current rationales for higher educational diversification

While we will return to institutional differentiation in the United States, we turn now to a more generic consideration of institutional differentiation – specifically in the context of higher education throughout the world. Diversification of institutions is now a veritable mantra of higher educational reform agendas across the globe. Institutional diversification, or purposeful differentiation, takes several related forms. The most common is a differentiation of mission, generally departing from the classical Western university model, with its emphasis on high entry standards, a faculty orientation to research (and a corresponding de-emphasis on teaching), and at least traditionally (*i.e.* pre-Bologna) a lengthy first degree. Institutional diversification, then, stresses a relatively greater attention to *non-university* institutions that feature shorter cycle, more vocationally-oriented programs, less academically rigorous standards for both entry and completion, and a faculty appointed and rewarded for teaching and the ability to impart practical knowledge. Such institutions include the former (pre-1992) polytechnics in the United Kingdom, *Fachhochschulen* in Germany, *Institutes Universitaires de Technologie* in France, higher vocational schools (HBO Institutes) in The

[14] Skeptics maintain that what may appear to be a US preoccupation with access and equity is something less, as revealed by the fact that the results − that is, the awarding of undergraduate degrees, and even more the awarding of graduate and advanced professional degrees from the most prestigious institutions (the gateways to status and power in American society) − remain highly skewed toward the White and the affluent.

Netherlands, technical institutes in Mexico, university colleges in Kenya, and similar institutions in virtually all countries.

This form is exemplified in the United Stated most clearly by the two-year, or community college, featuring a two-year Associates Degree either of the kind that prepares for a transfer to a four-year college or university or for direct entry into the job market. Also in the non-university category are the large number of institutions commonly labeled *comprehensive colleges*, which are largely public, which feature bachelor's and master's degrees but not Ph.D.s or advanced professional degrees, and which stress teaching more than research (although the faculty are still held to some scholarly requirements in addition to satisfactory teaching). Both the comprehensive colleges (although commonly called universities), which are mainly public, and the peculiarly American four-year liberal arts colleges, which are mainly private, are within the UNESCO International Standard Classification level 5, which is summarized as: *first stage of tertiary education (not leading directly to advanced research qualification)*.[15]

Commonly cited rationales for institutional diversification − mainly for creating more capacity and facilitating greater participation in the non-university forms described above − are three. First, they are generally thought to be more appropriate to the interests and academic abilities of increasing numbers of students, particularly of those at the so-called *participation margin*: that is, who might not have attended a post-secondary institution some years ago, but who are now enrolling as higher educational capacity increases, as academic standards are eased, as their fellow students are increasingly joining them, and as the better jobs are increasingly demanding some form of tertiary level education. Such students, it is generally thought, are less likely to be interested in the highly theoretical, academically rigorous, and lengthy programs associated especially with the classical European universities.

Second and related to the first, the economy and the labor market, although needing levels of education and training that are post-secondary, or tertiary, also need training that is more practical, less theoretical, and shorter in duration than is traditionally provided at the classical research university. Furthermore, the labor markets in many middle and low income countries frequently cannot productively absorb the growing numbers of university graduates, especially in the traditional university fields of law and economics that formerly were keys to civil service employment. Thus, more attention to the shorter and more vocationally-oriented forms of higher education is viewed as necessary to most

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[15] UNESCO, *International Standard Classification of Education 1997*. Op. Cit.

countries in today's competitive and globalized world economy.

Third, shorter-cycle higher (or tertiary, or post-secondary) education is generally thought to be lower in cost, especially to the governments or taxpayers but frequently as well to parents and students, which may be increasingly important as countries become more and more burdened with the rising costs and revenue needs of all forms of higher education. The lower costs of the non-university forms of higher education may be due to several factors, including:

- higher student faculty ratios, made possible by faculty who spend more time teaching and less on scholarship;
- (sometimes) less extensive and less expensive academic support such as scientific equipment, libraries, or computing resources;
- lower salaries than typically enjoyed by research-oriented university professors;
- more use of part-time, non-tenured, and less expensive adjunct teaching staff; and
- degree programs of shorter duration (than the typical university degree), thus further lowering the cost *per* degree.

Returning to *mission* as the core element of institutional differentiation, institutional mission is associated with a number of related variables on which institutions of higher education typically vary, most frequently − as with mission itself − along *continua* rather than dichotomously these dimensions may include, for example: (1) the dominant knowledge orientation of most degree programs (*i.e*. whether predominantly theoretical or applied); (2) the requisite academic preparedness and ability expected of students; (3) the academic and scholarly standards expected of the faculty and the status thus accorded the institution, the faculty, and the graduates; (4) the average age of the students and whether they are predominantly full- or part-time; (5) the dominant form of internal governance and the relative influence of the faculty versus management; and finally, (6) the typical *per*-student costs of instruction.

These variables and their associated continua are summarized in Figure 1. A number of important related dimensions of institutional variation track closely with mission and with each other. For example, prestige is associated with scholarly reputation, which is gained through research and the training of advanced students, who are engaged in longer-term study, (usually) in more theoretical disciplines. A research orientation, although relevant mainly to advanced doctoral training in the arts and science disciplines, is associated with

high entry standards for undergraduate or first degree students who will likely have little association with the prestigious professors, but will reap the rewards of a high status degree largely because of these high entry standards and the all-important signal to the outside world of their requisite intelligence, academic preparedness, ambition, and probable social background, all of presumed value to employers, future friends, and mates. An institution seeking to raise its prestige and to be perceived as more "scholarly" is likely to emphasize the traditional arts and science disciplines and the classical professions of law and medicine.

Figure 1. University and Non University: the continua of institutional mission variation

Dimensions of Mission Variation	←---------- ***Continua*** ----------→		
	Classical Research University	↔	**Non-University: Practical & Short-Cycle Orientation**
Dominant Knowledge Orientation	Theoretical, scholarly, broadly generalizable	↔	Practical, vocational, immediately useful
Requisite Academic Rigor for Students	High: rigorous academic secondary school preparation	↔	Medium to low: can be less than academic secondary school
Requisite Academic Standards for Faculty	Terminal degree in field: doctorate or equivalent	↔	May be master's or lesser degree
Expected & Rewarded Faculty Behavior	Rewards & time oriented to research and scholarship	↔	Rewards & time oriented to teaching
Image of Prestige & Status	High	↔	Medium to low (relative to university)
Dominant Degree Programs or Courses	Arts and sciences & advanced professional (law, medicine)	↔	Business, human services, entry technical (computer programs)
Duration of Programs	Long (typically 4-7 year first degrees)	↔	Short: may feature certificates and diplomas of less than 1 year
Time Commitment (full or part-time)	Typically full-time study	↔	Typically part-time study
Dominant Form of Governance	Curriculum & rector selection dominated by faculty	↔	More bureaucratic-management domination
Typical Instructional Unit cost	High	↔	Medium to low

Source: Johnstone (1998)

An institution not likely ever to attain genuine university status might be more cost conscious and seek fields of study that can be taught (and presumably learned) in large lecture formats, with little or no specialized equipment and with inexpensive adjunct professors. Finally, an institution that must work to maintain enrollment − generally meaning one that is minimally selective and that

attracts students on the basis of location, service, and program rather than prestige − will present the programs in greatest student demand (although generally also mindful of costs), regardless of future employment prospects or the social need for more practitioners.

An American anamoly: the elite private liberal arts college

The greatest anomaly in higher educational diversification in the United States, and the institutional sector that does not fit the *research university − bachelor's-degree college* continuum is the four-year, elite, liberal arts college. In international comparisons, this institution is the most nearly unique of all US institutions of higher education. These colleges award the bachelor's degree, but only very rarely and exceptionally the Ph.D. or advanced professional degrees such as law or medicine. They are generally private, expensive (tuition fees alone may be upwards of $35,000 *per* year), and usually well-endowed (some have *per*-student endowments in excess of $500,000). Many are more selective than all but a very few of the elite research universities. The faculty are not only excellent teachers but frequently significant researchers, as the affluence of these institutions, together with the academic preparedness of the undergraduate students, allows teaching loads, equipment, and libraries comparable to the research universities.

The key to the quality of these elite liberal arts colleges − aside from their affluence and the American cultural tendency to associate *quality* with *private*, and *expensive* − is the relegation of advanced professional study such as law, medicine, and advanced management studies to post-bachelor's degree study, generally in a research university and frequently in an institution other than the one entered for the first degree. This is unlike the traditional European university, which continues to feature the direct entry of first year university students into what Americans would reserve for advanced, or post baccalaureate, professional study. It is this easy and almost preferred separation of the American baccalaureate from advanced scholarly and professional study, as described above, that has maintained the elite, four-year, bachelor's, or baccalaureate, degree college. Only with the assurance that one's chances at a medical or law or other advanced degree would in no way be diminished − and might well be enhanced − by first attending "only" a four year college and then having to reapply to a university, likely in another city or another state, can these elite colleges continue to attract much of the academic cream of the American high school.

Trends in US higher educational diversification

From the vantage point of the year 2010, at least six trends are already evident in the further diversification of higher educational institutions in the United States.

1. Increasing diversification within institutions

Colleges and universities in the United States will continue to *broaden* or widen, rather than narrow or focus, their positions along the various continua outlined in Figure 1. As in virtually all countries, institutions that feature teaching and provide less attention to scholarship nevertheless tend to emulate, at least to the degree possible, research universities. The absence of any official binary lines unambiguously separating research universities from more teaching-oriented institutions, as well as the interest of politicians in aggrandizing the status of their regional institutions, aggravate this phenomenon. However, many research universities also tend to *drift* in the direction of teaching and market responsiveness, accentuating their advanced professional master's degrees and their applied research, sometimes at the expense of the more scholarly Ph.D. programs and basic research.[16] Factors underlying this *within-institution* diversification in the United States include the large, vibrant, and market-oriented private sector, the relegation of public higher education to the several states − and the absence, therefore, of any national rules limiting the kinds of programs colleges or universities might offer or the status to which they might aspire − and the factors noted above that make US public colleges and universities so responsive to students, parents, and local politicians.

2. The creation of diversified branch campuses

Similarly, some public flagship universities that are not part of comprehensive state systems will continue to diversify by creating new branch campuses that are more teaching-oriented and less research intensive, thus competing with, or actually preempting, the expansion of, or creation of new, public colleges in the non research university systems created for the express purpose of expanding along the non-research university continua. Thus, flagship public research universities that are governed separately from the public state college systems − such as the Universities of Michigan or Minnesota, or the

[16] For a description of the interplay of both research and teaching drift, see Clark (1955, pp.12-15).

state-related Pennsylvania State University − will create their own branches that are more teaching-oriented and avowedly less research intensive. Thus the Pennsylvania State University two-year campus system that effectively competes with both the Pennsylvania community college system and the Pennsylvania State College and University System; or the branch campuses of the flagship Ann Arbor campus of the University of Michigan located at Dearborn or Flint that effectively compete with the purposefully less research-intensive Universities of Western, Eastern, and Central Michigan; or the University of Minnesota branches at Duluth, Crookston, and Morris, that compete with the colleges of the Minnesota State University System that was created to consolidate the less research-oriented institutions of that state.

3. Increasing diversification through the Internet and other forms of technologically delivered instruction

Technologically delivered instruction, especially through the Internet, will continue in the United States, as in all countries, to diversify the provision of post-secondary education, especially to students who are older, fully employed, or otherwise place-bound and who are unable to reside in, or even commute to, an established college or university campus. The technological revolution foreseen by some, who were predicting the virtual demise of the traditional college or university campus, has not occurred and almost certainly will not. For young people just out of secondary school, no matter how technologically savvy they may be, the experience of living away from home and attending a college or university where they can learn with their colleagues and see their instructors will continue to be the preferred mode of higher education − at least for a first degree. At the same time, the Internet and other forms of instructional technology will continue to permeate and enrich all facets of the undergraduate college experience, whether at a traditional research university, a public comprehensive college or university, a four-year liberal arts college, or a two-year college. Additionally, there will be increasing numbers of students who fit the older, fully employed, place bound potential suggested above, who will have access to higher education via the Internet and who otherwise might be denied the opportunity. And the extension of technologically-delivered instruction across international borders and many time zones to students in other countries promises to further diversity United States higher education.

4. A slowing of the recent (first decade of the century) rapid growth of for-profit colleges

For-profit colleges have grown very rapidly in recent years in spite of not

having the financial advantages either of the tax-based revenue support for operations enjoyed by public institutions or the tax advantages of philanthropy enjoyed by the private non-profit sector. They have done this through keeping costs low and by responding quickly to the changing needs of local job markets and the interests of students. In turn, the low costs were facilitated by businesslike management, aggressive marketing, the hiring of low-cost, part-time faculty, teaching substantial loads without the diversions of research, service, or involvement in college governance, and also without the costly perquisites of tenure and sabbatical leaves. But the financial viability of the for-profits also depended on the eligibility of their students for federal financial assistance, both grants and loans, and the common practice of setting their tuition fees at just the amounts that their students would be awarded in grants and loans, thus allowing a marketing approach that could portray the college as fully affordable to students with no family financial support − even though their graduates might well be saddled with student loan repayments that the typical starting salaries associated with their training programs could not afford. The rapid expansion of the for-profit sector also occurred at a time when the US Congress and the Executive Branch of the Federal Government were exceptionally pro-business and enamored by colleges that were both private and for-profit.

Although many for-profit colleges were indeed highly responsive to the needs both of students and the surrounding employers, questions began emerging in 2009 and 2010 about some of the recruiting practices that seemed to be over-selling the value of the degree or certificate, especially to students unlikely to complete the program or to land a well-paying job. The result, exacerbated by the difficulty of graduates carrying unmanageable debt loads and the absence of bankruptcy protection for such students, was a combination of costly defaults and personal hardships − allegedly attributable in part to unprincipled practices of at least some for-profit schools. At the time of this writing, it appears that there will be limits on the amounts of student debt that can be accumulated − limits that in turn would be tied to actual average salaries of the program's graduates. This backlash, in combination with the Obama Administration's emphasis on public community college, and a considerably lessened tilt toward the for-profit sector, may well signal at least a slowdown of the growth of for-profit colleges in the United States.

5. Articulation, or facilitating the transfer between two- and four-year colleges

Another trend is the linkage of two-year associate degree granting colleges

(mainly public community colleges) with four-year bachelor's degree granting colleges. There are several forms of associate degrees provided by the two-year colleges, but the associate of arts degree is assumed to be fully transferable towards a four-year bachelor's degree, whereas other forms − *e.g.* an associate of science or associate of applied science − are designed to prepare for direct entry into employment and are generally only partially applicable towards the bachelor's degree. However, the requirements for a bachelor's degree − although almost always within the range of 120-140 credits, signifying successful completion of eight semesters for students carrying full course loads − are up to the particular four-year college or university and will generally vary by academic program or department, particularly with regard to the mix of *e.g.*, general education, mathematics or other so-called basic skills courses, courses in the major itself, and free electives. Therefore, while all of the credits awarded by a community college (say, 60, or one-half the minimum number required for most bachelor's degrees) may be accepted for transfer, these credits might or might not be the right course credits for one-half of a particular bachelor's degree program at a particular four-year college or university (for example, if the introductory courses taken at the community college are not accepted as proper prerequisites for the advanced courses required for the particular major program at the four-year college).

To facilitate such transfer, two- and four-year colleges are increasingly implementing *articulation* agreements, where the four-year college or university (more commonly, the particular department or program at the four-year institution) stipulates precisely which of the community college courses will be acceptable in place of the courses that a student would have taken if he or she had begun at the four-year institution. Thus, a community college student planning to transfer upon successful completion of the right courses after two years will enter the four-year college or university as a full-fledged third-year student and can expect to graduate in two additional years of full time study − just as though he or she had begun at the four-year institution. Such articulation agreements strengthen the diversification of the system, adding to the attractiveness of the two-year college − which may be easier to enter, more conveniently located, less expensive to the student, his or her family, and the state.

6. Community colleges awarding bachelor's degrees

A more radical departure from the usual separation of two- and four-year undergraduate colleges is the authorization by several states of a two-year

college to grant a four-year bachelor's degree in certain subjects or disciplines. A survey conducted in 2010 by the association of four-year public colleges in the United States found some 54 community colleges in 18 states offering some bachelor's degrees − most commonly in teacher education and nursing (fields in high demand in many states) (Russell, 2010). This practice is still very limited: the number of bachelor's degree programs authorized at two-year community colleges is a very small fraction of the total number of associate degree programs offered by two-year community colleges in the United States. Furthermore, the practice is very different from the typical *academic drift* observed at four-year, predominantly teaching-oriented institutions throughout the world aspiring to become research universities with scholarly missions and advanced degrees. The awarding of bachelor's degrees by community colleges is not only small, but limited to particular bachelor's degrees in particular locations that some state authority has deemed were being granted in insufficient numbers relative to community needs.

At the same time, the practice remains highly controversial. It is perceived by some four-year college and university leaders as cutting into programs that they believe to be more properly theirs to offer. These college leaders may stress what they believe to be an important qualitative advantage of an entire student body and faculty oriented to bachelor's and master's degrees, with a (generally) greater academic selectivity of the student body and higher academic expectations of the faculty. They may view the granting of bachelor's degrees by community colleges as a loss of the traditional distinction between the university-like, four-year, mainly full-time, and largely residential collegiate experience that the four-year colleges at least attempt to provide, and the (mainly) non-residential, open admission, and largely part-time character of the community college experience. Such a viewpoint would prefer a strengthening of articulation agreements in which the four-year college retains control over the requirements and standards associated with the bachelor's degree. At the same time, some community college leaders and faculty may also be skeptical of the practice of community colleges awarding bachelor's degrees. They may view the principles of open access, second chances, training for employment, and responsiveness to the local business climate as fundamental to the mission of the two-year public community college. Thus, they may resist the awarding bachelor's degrees as reinforcing the notion that students' acquisition of bachelor's degrees is an appropriate measure of their success.

Higher educational diversification in the United States: a postscript

Colleges and universities in the United States and the students they serve are exceptionally diverse and, as in all countries, are becoming more so. At the same time, there is also a stability in the US institutions of higher education. Especially those institutions that are modeled after the classic research university, with mandates to seek the truth and to preserve a heritage of culture, as well as the peculiarly American elite liberal arts college, are likely to remain much as they are today and have been for more than a century.[17] But around these sentinels of scholarly and cultural stability will be increasingly diverse institutions, responding to rapidly changing needs and interests of students, governments, employers, and higher educational entrepreneurs.

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[17] For elaboration on the notion of the minimally changing research university, see Johnstone (1999), and Johnstone (1998).

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Functional Differentiation or Hierarchical Differentiation?: the case of Japan

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1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to examine the issue of diversification of the higher education system in Japan over approximately the last twenty years (from the 1990s) in terms of the following three dimensions: 1) policy discussions and stipulations regarding diversification of the universities; 2) responses of the universities to these discussions and stipulations; and 3) the ways in which the higher education system is being transformed as a whole.

In Japan, the general framework of the higher education system is prescribed by the Ministry of Education's Standards for the Establishment of Universities. In 1991 these Standards experienced a drastic deregulation that was influenced by neo-liberal policies. Historically, higher education institutions had little room for determining their curricula, number of students, *etc*.; however, 1991 marked the starting point for higher education policies to embark on the path toward liberalization and reform. In addition, at that point, it had become necessary to reconsider the scope of the system, long focused on expansion, as the rapid decrease in the 18-year-old cohort drove a reduction in size. Thus, the beginning of the 1990s was a turning point in Japanese higher education.

This paper aims to shed light on the transformations that have occurred since this turning point by using "diversification" as a parameter. In Japan, the higher education system consists of universities, graduate schools, junior colleges, colleges of technology, and specialized training colleges. In this paper,

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however, I focus on universities, which are not only the most numerous, but show enormous "internal" diversification in the mix of functions that they perform and in their relative emphasis on individual functions.

2. Diversification of the higher education system

The 2005 report by the Higher Education Subcommittee Meeting of the Central Council for Education titled *The Future Prospects of Higher Education in Japan* ignited debates regarding the diversification of universities. This document aims to further clarify the characteristics and features of the various types of institutions that constitute the higher education system, and, for universities in particular, outlined the expected differentiation by function. The seven functions are as follows:

1. A base for global research and education;
2. The development of highly specialized professionals;
3. The development of a broad range of professionals;
4. A comprehensive liberal arts education;
5. Education and research in specific fields (such as art, physical education, *etc*.);
6. A base for regional lifelong learning opportunities; and
7. Functions that contribute to the society (such as regional contributions, industry-academic collaborations, international exchanges, *etc*.)

The report explains these seven functions as follows:

> In general, each university does not hold all of these functions but only a selection of them based on its own choices; in addition, in cases where multiple functions are held in combination, the proportion in which they are put in place is different and they vary with time. The proportion in which they are put in place forms an expression of the characteristics and features of the university. It can be conceived that each university loosely differentiates by function between a few held functions based on differences in the proportion in which they are put in place. Categorization of institutions is not fixed. (The Central Council for Education, 2005, p.14)

This report emphasizes that the categorization of institutions is not fixed, but is rather formed by a variable functional differentiation by which each university selects by itself.

Since the deregulation of the Standards for the Establishment of

Universities in 1991, higher education policies "have moved from an era of 'drawing up higher education plans and regulations' to one of 'presenting a vision of the future and the induction of policies'." (*Ibid*., p.6) Insofar as each university has already experienced increased discretion to select its own functions, why does this report once again emphasize differentiation? The answer lies in a sense of crisis regarding a decrease in the 18-year-old cohort, and the perceptions that neither plans nor regulations are able to respond to this underlying crisis.

The council report discusses the crisis as follows:

> In an era in which the 18-year-old population declines from 2 million to 1.2 million, each university needs to "re-position" itself in the marketplace. When doing this, each university should aim to clarify those characteristics and features that set them apart from other universities, keeping in mind functional differentiation. (*Ibid*., p.15)

As stated above, functional differentiation is being considered a survival strategy for universities. For example, in 2005, approximately 30 percent of the universities did not meet their quotas of students[1] and several private universities closed their doors. It was the first time in Japan that universities closed. It is clear that the number of universities facing these same challenges will increase. The council or the ministry considers that the only way for universities to survive is to ensure that they have their own "distinctive" functions.

Since then, the functional differentiation of universities has taken a predetermined path in the subsequent debate. In 2008, the Ministry of Education referred "the mid- and long-term forms of university education" to the Central Council for Education, and in 2009, the council summarized the progress of the discussion in Report No.1. As shown below, amid further reductions on the size of universities, functional differentiation is discussed using a set of quantitative indicators.

> In conducting specific investigations on the form of quality assurance systems and quantitative scales, universities pressing forward with diversification and individualization should not be treated the same but should presuppose functional differentiation. Each university is expected to diversify with respect to function while giving full play to

[1] When new universities are established by the Ministry, they are assigned a student enrollment quota, a species of agreed upon "workload." If they fail to meet their enrollment quota in successive years, they are issued a "warning" by the Ministry.

> their own characteristics, in which case they should encourage initiatives that complement educational activities through collaboration and cooperation between universities. (The Central Council for Education, 2009)

As for a quantitative scale, the number of universities and junior colleges and the number of entrants to them has declined. Even in this situation, the functional differentiation among them is reinforced/emphasized. Because Japan's university entrance rate is not high compared to Europe and the United States, and because nontraditional students such as working adults, elderly people, and overseas students have not increased substantially, we can expect to increase potential student demand by ensuring functional differentiation among universities.

In addition, it seems contradictory to require functional differentiation on the one hand and collaboration between universities on the other. One possible pitfall is that after planning for functional differentiation takes place, the mutual collaboration and cooperation imperative could unleash a survival-oriented scramble for a diminishing slice of the pie. Based on this principle, investigations of "policies to promote functional differentiation while respecting the autonomy of each university (institutional and financial)" has become an important issue.

After the Second World War, the different types of higher education institutions then in existence[2] were reorganized and integrated into a single system of universities modeled after the U.S.; and this system has been a symbol of democracy in the postwar Japan. Since then, there has been stiff opposition to the diversification of higher education. When the council reports introduced the categorization of higher education institutions to adapt to the massification of universities in the 1960s, the categories were strongly opposed by academics, who felt that the diversification of universities implied a restoration of the pre Second World War era, and thus the categorization remained unrealized. Debating diversification in reference to the categorization of institutions became a kind of taboo. This is why there is a note in the Report on Future Prospects stating that a fixed categorization of institutions is not being recommended; rather, the self-selection of functions by universities is being recommended. It was at the end of the period of ever-increasing expansion of the higher education

[2] Before the WWII, there were different type of institutions such as Universities, Specialised Colleges, Higher Schools, Normal Schools *etc*. The length of programs, their articulation with secondary schools were different among them. After the WWII, the diverse institutions were integrated into a single system.

that functional differentiation finally came to be advocated as a survival strategy for universities.

The re-introduction of functional differentiation was met with a certain amount of skepticism, such as (1) the extent of its potential as a strategy; (2) whether it was being framed as an alternate solution that set out conditions under which the Ministry of Education could implement restrictive measures and plans; and (3) whether it was in reality, just the existing "laissez-faire" policy towards universities being reworded as functional differentiation. Thus, it is important to determine how functional differentiation of universities works as a survival strategy.

3. University responses to the diversification imperative/mandate

I will now investigate the ways in which individual universities reacted to these kinds of reports by discussing two surveys. One is a December 2004 survey of university presidents throughout Japan. As shown in Table 1, when asked to select one of the seven functions, it is noticeable that university responses did not differ widely, even among institutions differing in control (national, local, and private)[3]. These three types of universities indicated that their focus was on "development of highly specialized professionals," and that they do not focus on being a "base for regional lifelong learning opportunities" and on "functions that contribute to the society (regional contributions, industry-academic collaborations, international exchanges, *etc*.)"

There are, however, some differences among the types of universities. For example, national universities tended to select "base for global research and education" and local and private universities tended to select "development of a broad range of professionals." In spite of these differences, it is worth noting that there were many similarities among the types of universities. This indicates that Japanese universities have similar future goals regardless of their control as national, local or private. Would it be possible for universities to be differentiated by function?

When asking for the most important function, for instance, we can conceive that the ability to select "base for global research and education" is in fact limited to the universities with a large proportion of doctoral programs. Further,

[3] Control refers to the organizational sponsorship under which universities are established and maintained. We identify three categories of control: the national Ministry, local prefectural or municipal authorities and private sponsors. By 'function' we refer to the mission or program – related features or characteristics among which universities are required to select their foci.

we can also understand why there are few universities that select "base for regional lifelong learning chances" and "functions that contribute to the society (regional contributions, industry-academic collaborations, international exchanges, *etc*.)" because the most important role of universities is regarded as education for the young. The role of lifelong learning or contribution to the society is not necessarily the primary goal. In addition, universities composed of a single faculty in a specific field or only a few faculties can select "education and research in specific specialist fields," but not many universities chose this option.

Table 1. Functions Selected by Universities

(%)

	National	Local	Private
Base for global research and education	33.3	10.5	4.3
Development of highly specialized professionals	41.0	31.6	23.1
Development of a broad range of professionals	3.8	17.5	31.9
Comprehensive liberal arts education	2.6	10.5	18.5
Education and research in specific specialist fields (art, physical education, *etc*.)	3.8	8.8	6.6
Base for regional lifelong learning opportunities	0.0	3.5	2.0
Functions that contribute to the society (regional contributions, industry-academic collaborations, international exchanges, *etc*.)	2.6	5.3	5.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Yokoyama (2005, p.65)

Table 2. Degree to which Importance is given to the Roles of Universities

(%)

	National	Local	Private
Base for global research	46.6	9.7	24.5
Base for global education	44.5	16.1	22.2
Base for community-based research	74.6	*84.4*	53.5
Base for community-based education (including lifelong learning)	*81.4*	*93.8*	*78.3*
Development of highly specialized professionals	*86.9*	*75.9*	*62.1*
Development of a broad range of professionals	44.1	45.2	*66.2*
Comprehensive liberal arts education	41.4	36.8	57.7
Practical education (art, physical education, *etc*.)	19.3	24.1	20.8
Functions that contribute to the society (industry-academic collaborations)	76.7	54.8	51.5
Functions that contribute to the society (international exchanges)	*78.0*	58.1	57.4

Note: Refers to the magnitude of importance, on a 3-point scale − important, somewhat important, and not important.
Source: The Research Institute for Higher Education, Hiroshima University (Ed., 2007, pp.183-184)

However, the findings of a 2006 survey of university presidents show different results. In this survey, there were ten functions based on the original seven functions and the respondents were asked the degree of importance that would be ascribed in the future to each of the ten functions (Table 2).

If we look at the top three items with the highest degree of rated importance, these three types of institutions emphasized "development of highly specialized professionals" and "base for community-based education (including lifelong learning)." Although many national universities in the 2004 survey selected "base for global research and education," if we separate this into "global" and "community-based," then we find that there are many that selected "base for community-based research." The frequency of national universities selecting "community-based" is higher than that for "global." Local and private universities also select research that is "community-based." This means that it is not easy for Japanese universities to be global in terms of education or research.

The function of contributing to the society is relatively high among all three types of institutions, and specifically in among national universities. Contribution to the society has recently been advocated as a role of universities. This shows that this new role is already regarded as important in Japan in terms of both industry-academic collaborations and international exchanges, although it is less highly rated than the function of education or research.

Even when dividing the functions and further questioning the degree of importance attached to each function, we can say that there are no clear differences among the types of universities, and instead, the similarities have been highlighted. Does this mean that universities are all aiming at conformity in their own functions? Can universities be differentiated?

4. Background of hierarchical[4] differentiation

I would now like to investigate how the higher education system as a whole is being transformed, using data from applicant trends, fund allocation, and education environment.

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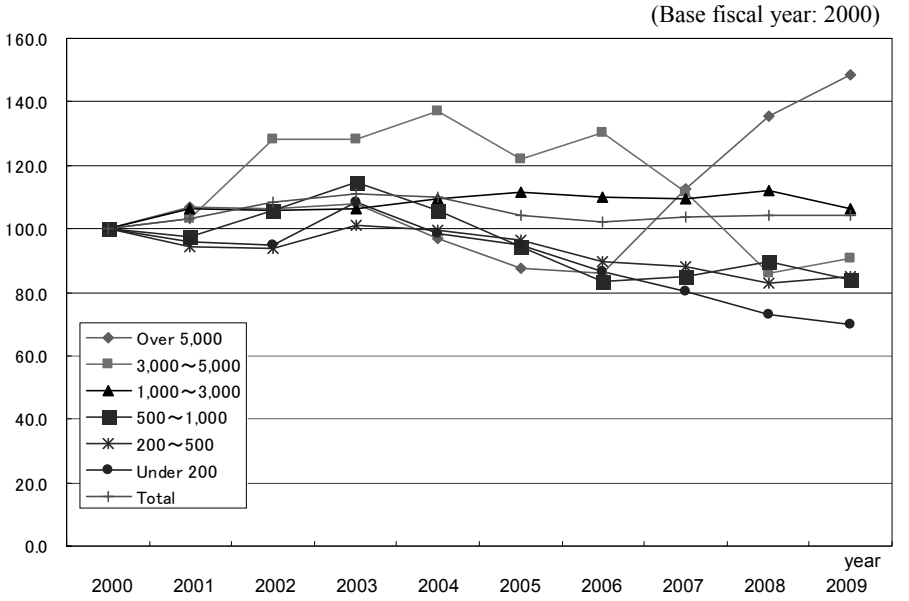
[4] I will use 'hierarchical' in contradistinction to 'functional'. Hierarchical differentiation means that universities, whatever their functional differences, have already stratified by some indicators such as applicant trends, fund allocation, education environment.

4-1. Applicant trends

Applicant trends by the universities size are shown in Figure 1, taking fiscal year 2000 as 100. We see that the number of applicants from 2000 to 2009 is stable as a whole, while there is a big difference in trends among universities of different sizes. Large-scale universities that have over 5,000 students by assigned Ministry quota annually have an increasing number of applicants, with an increase of approximately 50 percent since 2000. In contrast, the universities whose student quotas are fewer than 1,000 show a marked decrease in applicants over time. This is especially notable in the small-scale universities with less than 200 students, where there is a decrease of approximately 30 percent.



Source: Recruit Co. Ltd., "Survey of the Current Situation of Entrance Examinations"; data provided by Obunsha Entrance Examination Information Center Co., Ltd.

Figure 1. Trends in the Number of Applicants by University Size, 2000-2009

It is interesting to note the relationship between the universities with over 5,000 students and those with 3,000 to 5,000 students. After admitting an increasing number of applicants up to 2006, the universities with 3,000 to 5,000 students show an annual decrease in the number of applicants. As if superseding this event, the universities with over 5,000 students show an increasing number of applicants beginning in 2006. This is because the universities with 3,000 to 5,000 students had newly established faculties from

the mid-2000s, and thus increased in size. While the universities with 1,000 to 3,000 students do not show any large increases or decreases and remain stable, when size decreases in this range, it continues to decline consistently. The dividing line for survival seems to depend on the student annual admissions around 1,000 to 3,000.

Needless to say, among small universities that have a decreasing number of applicants, many are not meeting their quotas. In 2009, approximately 40 percent of the universities did not meet their student quota. The smaller the university, the more difficult it is to attract applicants.

The large universities that have increasing numbers of applicants are private universities that were established before the Second World War and that are located in the Tokyo Metropolitan Area or the Kyoto-Osaka-Kobe area. In addition, data are available on the number of applicants in each private university for the 15 years from 1995 to 2009; however, I did omit a table and a figure. The top 20 universities with the most applicants account for 40 to 45 percent of all applicants, and for the last few years, this percentage has increased. These top 20 universities are traditional universities located in urban areas and have not changed much in the past 15 years.

Thus, it is apparent that on the basis of the number of applicants, differentiation due to university size becomes more important and the economics of scale in university finances play a strong role. Although small universities try to highlight their characteristics in order to encourage applicants, it has become difficult for them to take this kind of action because of dwindling number of applicants. I refer to this situation as hierarchical differentiation. Thus, there is fear of a downward spiral.

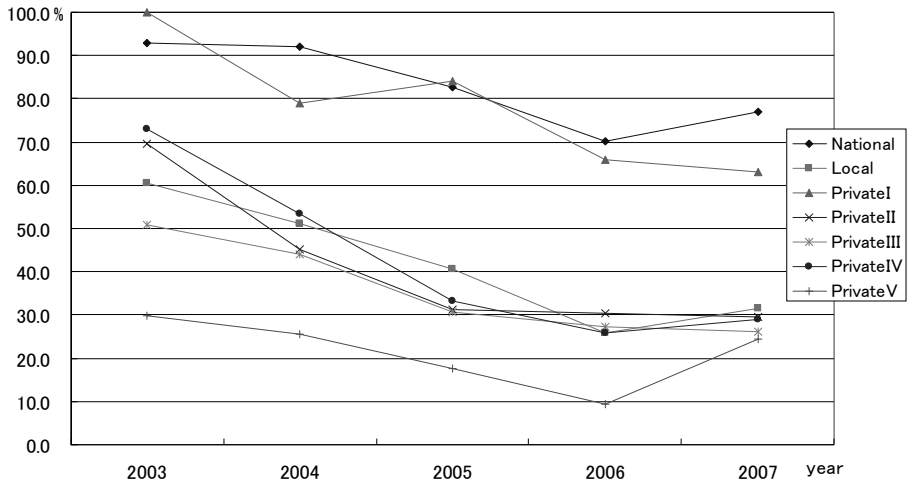
4-2. Fund allocation

The Ministry of Education has reduced subsidies for the administrative costs of national universities and grants for the current expenditures of private universities. Instead, it channels its energy into short-term competitive funding projects that support the organizational activities of universities and junior colleges, and also considers using this as an aid to promote the functional differentiation of universities. The proportion of competitive funds aimed at universities as organizations (not to individual professors in universities) − such as COE (Center of Excellence) for creating research bases and GP (Good Practice) for improving education − has risen. (The Central Council for Education, 2008)

Let us now examine the results of the Support Program for Good Practice,

aimed at improving education, which was held for five years from 2003 to 2007. How does this program benefit universities? "Characteristics GP" was established with the aim of evaluating the performance of organizational projects in undergraduate education and shedding light on the steady everyday educational activities over five years. This project was created to provide support to further develop the characteristics of education at each university. This is much related to the functional differentiation of universities.

The program framework is as follows: (1) the annual acceptance rate should be just over 10 percent of the number of applications; (2) each university submits a single application *per* year; (3) the unit of application is an institution or a faculty; and (4) each university is allowed to reapply the following year if its application is not accepted. This presents a very fair selection system because each university has a single application regardless of size.



Note: Group I Private: established before 1948; Group II Private: established between 1949 and 1960; Group III Private: established between 1961 and 1980; Group IV Private: established between 1981 and 2000; Group V Private: established between 2001 and 2007.
Source: Yoshida (2010)

Figure 2. Application Rates for Characteristics GP

How has this framework worked? Figure 2 shows the application rates (the total number of applications for all the universities within each type) by the types of institutions and year of establishment. There are three clusters in the trends of application rates. Cluster 1 comprises national universities and Group I private universities (which were established before the Second World War). They have an overwhelmingly high application rate in any fiscal year. Cluster

2 comprises local universities and Groups II, III, and IV private universities (which were established between 1949 and 2000). The application rates of all these universities declined sharply from approximately 60 percent to 30 percent. Group 3 comprises Group V private universities (which were established after 2001). They have the lowest application rates in every fiscal year.

Regardless of the fact that each university has a single application there are big differences in application rates by the type and size of the university. The unit of application is either the university as a whole or a particular faculty within the university. Universities with many faculties could apply for the GP. If a proposal from a university with a single faculty is accepted, it is hard for the university to apply for GP next year because the evaluation criterion is based on the educational activities over five years. Many national universities and traditional private universities are large, and this is reflected in the application rates.

This means that from the outset it is difficult for small universities and newly established universities to have opportunities to apply for these competitive funds for functional differentiation. Although equality between universities is emphasized in the framework of this project, the result is that large and traditional universities disproportionately benefit from this competitive fund. It appears that hierarchical in contradistinction to strictly functional differentiation between universities is progressing in terms of fund allocation.

4-3. Education environment

These differences in fund allocation associated with university size also have an influence on the education environment. Tables 3 and 4 are the results of the surveys of university faculty in the 2007 fiscal year regarding the education environment. I will employ the number of classes each faculty member teaches as the indicator of teaching load and Teaching Assistants (TAs) provision as the indicator of faculty support. Although we are not able to trace the trends from these data, we are able to estimate that hierarchical differentiation due to university size exists. Table 3 shows the number of classes each faculty member teaches by the size of the universities. Irrespective of institutional control, faculty members who affiliate with small universities teach many classes and faculty members who affiliate with large universities teach a small number of classes. Faculty members teach many classes in private universities as compared to in national or local universities, and the teaching load is particularly substantial for faculty members in small private universities.

Table 3. Number of Classes *per* Professor by Size of Affiliated Universities

(%)

	0–3 classes	4–6 classes	Over 7 classes	Total (N)	
National					
1–2 faculties	31.2	39.4	*29.4*	100.0 (218)	
3–4 faculties	39.2	39.7	21.1	100.0 (232)	
5–6 faculties and over	*47.9*	33.5	18.6	100.0 (1,261)	p < .001
Local					
1–2 faculties	31.6	35.3	*33.1*	100.0 (136)	
3–4 faculties	33.7	47.4	18.9	100.0 (95)	
5–6 faculties and over	*49.6*	33.6	16.8	100.0 (119)	p < .01
Private					
1–2 faculties	18.4	37.4	*44.2*	100.0 (843)	
3–4 faculties	13.9	46.3	39.8	100.0 (540)	
5–6 faculties and over	17.8	43.6	38.6	100.0 (916)	p < .01

Note: Figures correspond to the first semester of fiscal year 2006
Source: Yoshida & Taguchi (2008)

Table 4. Provision of TAs by Size of Affiliated Universities

(%)

	Provided	Not Provided	Total (N)	
National				
1–2 faculties	78.9	21.1	100.0 (213)	
3–4 faculties	82.7	17.3	100.0 (225)	
5–6 faculties and over	82.9	17.1	100.0 (1,229)	n. s.
Local				
1–2 faculties	37.8	62.2	100.0 (135)	
3–4 faculties	45.7	54.3	100.0 (95)	
5–6 faculties and over	58.1	41.9	100.0 (117)	p < .01
Private				
1–2 faculties	44.8	55.2	100.0 (822)	
3–4 faculties	50.3	49.7	100.0 (525)	
5–6 faculties and over	66.7	33.3	100.0 (881)	p < .001

Source: *Ibid*.

Teaching assistants (TAs) are available to provide faculty support. As shown in Table 4, there is no statistical difference regarding TA provision by size in the national universities, and the rate of TA provision in the national universities is much higher than that in local and private universities. For both local and private universities, there is a clear difference regarding TA provision by size. Small local and private universities are not likely to provide TAs.

We can assume that the teaching load (many classes and no TAs) becomes

difficult in smaller local and private universities and that this situation has an impact on the education environment. We can also assume that hierarchical differentiation regarding education increases. As noted above, small universities are finding it difficult to attract applicants and they have little chance of obtaining competitive funds. Is it possible to remove these teaching disparities?

Education is the biggest factor in highlighting the characteristics of a university and is a condition for planning functional differentiation. An increase in the load on faculty is likely to undermine this.

5. Discussion

The functional differentiation of universities has been discussed since 2000 and it is said that a system and a financial policy should be designed for functional differentiation. The characteristic of this discussion is that the functional differentiation is not a fixed external categorization of institutions but includes features based on the universities' own self-selections. Functional differentiation is, however, emphasized as a survival strategy in response to a dwindling birth rate.

University presidents in all types of institutions are likely to select similar functions among the seven or ten identified by the Central Council for Education. Both "base for community-based education" and "development of highly specialized professionals" are regarded as common tasks for universities. "Education" is recognized as an important function for every university, and universities select it as a future expectation. To what extent do universities prepare for the conditions of functional differentiation?

When examining trends in the number of applicants, resource allocation, and education environment − which are the conditions for functional differentiation − it is clear that in all cases, the larger the university, the more advantageous the conditions are. As such, small universities continue to be trapped by increasingly difficult circumstances. While functional differentiation is discussed as a policy task and *functional* differentiation based on education is intended, we would not be inaccurate in saying that what is actually occurring is *hierarchical* differentiation among universities, which is strongly determined by resources. A spiral exists in which small universities are not able to attract applicants or acquire funding allocations, and are therefore unable to solidify a teaching environment, which in turn becomes the cause of this inability to attract applicants. It is not easy for small universities to

improve their profile under these conditions.

Although another study is required to determine whether or not universities can break free from this spiral through promoting inter-university "collaboration," it should be noted that few universities can form these types of "collaborations."

While we cannot state that the cause of this situation lies in the policies of the Ministry of Education, or in the lack of effort on the university side, it is certain that the promotion of functional differentiation alone will not solve the problems. It is important to first admit that a certain number of universities have entered or been pushed into a spiral of decline, and to determine whether we should protect universities that have fallen into hard times.

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The Diversification of China's Higher Education and its Challenges

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Introduction

Diversification of students and mission is a common theme in the development of higher education worldwide. At the same time, it poses a major challenge to the future development of higher education in each country. In a sense, current processes of diversification of higher education are (re)shaping a new vision or model of universities at a global level. China's universities are experiencing the same pressures to diversify its system. Meanwhile, in the process of massification diversification is becoming one of the important new characteristics of the development of China's and universities.

Major types and characteristics of the diversification of China's higher education

China has established a huge higher education system. At present, there are 2,305 higher education institutions: 1,215 two-year higher vocational colleges, and 1,090 four-year universities, one-third of which (N=322) are independent colleges[1]. In addition, there are 384 adult higher education

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[1] These independent colleges are four-year universities operated by private corporations or individuals, but often have close linkages with their mother's universities from which they developed. In most cases, the independent colleges use their mother university's names, facilities, faculty and other infrastructure to attract students and undertake educational activities. However, in contrast to their mother's universities, they typically charge much higher tuition and fees for largely similar educational programs. Initiatively, these colleges were called Second-Level Colleges within their mother universities. In recent years, as the

institutions[2] and 812 institutions.[3] All these institutions – degree and non-degree granting, public and private – are expected to play different roles and to fulfill corresponding functions. Among the four-year higher education institutions (N=1,090), approximately half (about 500) are authorized to confer Master's degrees, nearly 300 to confer doctoral degrees. Moreover, among the doctoral conferring universities, 112 are designated as the "211 Project" universities and 39 are designated as "985 Project" universities.[4] In the context of the history and reality of China's higher education, and universities in the comparative perspective, the major types and characteristics of China's higher education institutions can be categorized as follows:

1. Diversification at the national system level

Most basic is the diversification at the national system level, reflecting the essential features of China's higher education system, particularly in terms of the administrative and governance arrangements of different universities, including sources of operational expenditure. It takes five major forms:

First is a group of universities *directly administered* by the Ministry of

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Chinese government has sought to ask these colleges to be independent from their mother universities, they are renamed as Independent Colleges-by translator.

[2] These institutions only enroll mature students or students in service. Though they are non-degree granting institutions, graduates can subsequently be awarded bachelor's degrees, which are different from those issued by regular universities, if they meet the relevant requirements and pass the national examination-by translator.

[3] These institutions are often referred to as the Non-governmental sector or institutions founded and operated by social forces. They are exclusively operated by private resources, relying significantly on tuition and fees. However, they differ from the Independent Colleges, insofar as they have no affiliation with any mother universities or other higher education institution. Moreover, though some are accredited to confer bachelor degrees, the vast majority only provide short-cycle programs-by translator.

[4] The "211 Project" universities refer to those leading universities which are listed in the national project by the Chinese government to build up approximately 100 world-universities and some key disciplines as well as specifications in the 21st century. The project was carried out in early 1990s and has experienced several phases. The "985 Project" includes approximately 39 universities which have been selected by the government to become world-class or first-class universities. The project was implemented by the Ministry of Education of China based on a speech made by the former President Jiang Zemin in Peking University in May 1998. In the term "985 Project", the number "98" means the year of 1998, while the number "5" stands for May in Chinese, therefore, it is abbreviated as "985 Project". In relation to the relationship between the two Projects, originally only two universities, Peking University and Tsinghua University, were selected by the Chinese government to become world-class universities, however, with a strong support by local authorities, the number of the universities which are included in the "985 Project" has been increased to thirty-nine nowadays. These thirty-nine universities are part of the universities which are listed in the "211 Project" − translator.

Education. In general, these universities are research-intensive institutions offering advanced graduate degrees. A majority of them are authorized to award the Ph.D. and all of them are designated as the "211 Project" universities. These universities are expected to produce high-quality graduates. No doubt, the operational revenue of these universities is basically allocated by the central government. These universities admit new entrants based on a national competition.

The second type includes a large number of local universities. These are financially supported by local authorities, including provincial-level and municipal governments. Fields of study offered in these institutions are mainly relevant to the economic development needs of local community. Furthermore, a majority of these institutions are teaching-centered universities with four-year programs, but only a very few of them are authorized to confer Master's degrees.

The third type includes those institutions established and administered by other central-level ministries[5]. These institutions concentrate on some particular professions and vocations Educational activities carried out in these institutions are closely related with particular demands from these central-level ministries, including their research activities. The relevant central-level ministries provide these institutions with financial support and various favorable policies. There exist considerable diversity among these institutions; some are research-oriented while others are teaching-based institutions.

The fourth type includes a number of non-governmental institutions. These higher education institutions are established with self-generated funding sources through various channels. They are more flexible in their governance and management arrangements. Their teaching activities are more responsive to changes in the labor market. More importantly, there exist some differences in quality among these institutions. A majority of these institutions provide four-year and short-cycle programs. Some of them have been approved by the government to award officially-recognized academic degrees and diplomas, but most of them are not allowed to award any officially-accredited qualifications.

2. Diversification of institutions at the regional level

This category denotes higher education institutions located in different regions or areas in China. Due to their locations, they play different roles and tend to be more responsive to different local needs and therefore have developed

[5] For example, those institutions run and operated by Ministry of Transportation, such as Shanghai Railway College.

their own characteristics. From this perspective, three major types can be identified as follows.

The first type is a group of institutions which are located in economically developed regions, including those located in big cities and the relatively wealthy eastern parts of China. These institutions have sufficient revenue and favorable environments. As a result, they attract more qualified faculty and students than other types of institutions within this "regional" category. Moreover, they are more internationalized, too. A majority of national leading universities are located in these Eastern regions.

The second type includes a large number of higher education institutions located in the middle part of China. Like their geographical location, these institutions are considered to be located at middle-level of academic and social prestige in the overall higher education system. Except for a very few of national leading universities and key disciplines in some of these universities, there are gaps between the educational environments of a majority of the institutions in these regions and those in economically developed eastern parts of China. Therefore, most institutions in the regions put a great emphasize on meeting with regional needs, including recruiting students from the local region, producing graduates for local society, and providing social services for the local community as well as undertaking research activities focusing on local development and so on.

The third type includes a few higher education institutions in some western parts of China. The academic environments and facilities or infrastructures in these institutions are relatively poor, and they have problems in obtaining sufficient operational funding from either national or local authorities. Moreover, the biggest problem in these institutions is the issue of brain drain. Because it is very difficult for these institutions to attract qualified faculty and students, these institutions play a highly circumscribed role in producing graduates for social and economic development at the local community level. However, the central government has increasingly recognized the important role played by these institutions and they have been allocated increasing special budgets in recent years.

It should be noted that the last two types of institutions have much more distinguished and remarkable characteristics in serving the social and economic development of the local community. Moreover, as they have made huge contributions to the massification of China's higher education, the distinctive contribution of these institutions has become integral part of the overall diversification of China's higher education.

3. Diversification of higher education institutions administered by central-level ministries related to specific professions or occupations

A number of higher education institutions in China's system have a very close relationship with particular professions or vocations in society and are administered by the relevant central ministries. This feature is closely associated with the history of China's higher education development. The early 1950s witnessed a radical reform of China's higher education called the "Adjustment of Universities and Departments in Higher Education". According to the documentation, one of the primary principles in implementing this "Adjustment" was to facilitate a closer linkage of higher education institutions with some professions or occupations in order to ensure institutions' responsiveness to society and economic construction. As a result, many comprehensive universities were transformed into specialized institutions intent on training highly-specialized manpower for some relevant professions or occupations. This resulted in a close relationship between some Chinese institutions and the corresponding professions or occupations. With economic reforms since the 1990s, a large number of new comprehensive universities have been established and have provided much broader educational programs; but this post 1990s initiatives have continued in various forms.

First, there still exist some higher education institutions which are administered by central-level ministries[6]. The chief function performed by these institutions is to serve some professions and occupations in terms of their subjects, specifications, and employment of their graduates. Moreover, these institutions are basically financed by central-level ministries. It is very interesting to note that these institutions may receive more funding through budgeted allocation than other universities at the same level and of the same type. This is perhaps due to their relationship with these central-level ministries. Therefore, significant accomplishments have been made in these institutions in recent years.

Second, though some institutions which were originally funded and operated by central-level ministries have been transformed into comprehensive universities, they remain fundamentally characterized by providing educational programs with a focus on some specific professions and occupations and enjoy some advantage in this regard.

Third, from the perspective of reform trends, currently a large number of

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[6] For example, Beihang University, one of the leading universities in China, is operated and funded by the Ministry of Industry and Information Technology − translator.

higher education institutions are attempting to strengthen their linkage and collaborations with certain professions, occupations and industry in terms of research activities and workforce production, *etc*. For example, some universities have established joint labs with industry, provided educational programs, and applied for joint research projects in order to develop their own distinctiveness.

4. Diversification of institutions by cultures, learning style and campus atmosphere

The so-called diversification of cultures denotes that each individual higher education institution or university has its own values and mission which guide its operations and distinguish its graduates. Moreover, it can exert a profound influence on the atmosphere of a university, and on behaviors of faculty and students. Generally speaking, the diversification of cultures may be represented in the following aspects.

First is the distinctive culture and value of a university formed in the history of its founding. This historical background has a significant impact on the development of a university. It may exert a longstanding impact on the structure of educational programs and specialized programs as well as the model of manpower production.

Second is the cultural atmosphere and specific values on a campus resulting from some special event in its history. The tradition of a university is a highly valuable resource. Because a university is a kind of loosely-structured social organization, in some cases, it is conventions, traditions or culture that plays more important roles in than those written documents or regulations. All these conventions or culture have been formed during its history and have become the tradition of the university. In such a country as China in which history is highly emphasized, the role played by the tradition of a university in diversification is very important.

Third is the particular culture and values which exist in a university because of its outstanding faculty, graduates, presidents and so on. This feature of the diversification of China's universities is closely connected with university mission and related activities. Therefore, a university pays a great deal of attention to its prestigious faculty, alumni and students, and takes them as exemplars for educational purpose.

There is no doubt that, in addition, other factors, including the culture of a region in which a university is located, also affect its cultural characteristics and values.

5. Diversification by level or by role

The so-called diversification by level refers to the difference in roles played by different institutions among research-intensive universities, teaching-centered universities, specialized universities with one single discipline, vocational preparation-based universities, adult universities, and junior colleges. Such differences reflect a variation in university customers and educational programs.

The basis and characteristics of the diversification of China's higher education

The diversification of China's higher education is at once a new phenomenon, but at the same time, it is also a perennial one. Many people take it for granted that China is a country which emphasizes a rigid and unified control and regulation. Or they assume that there is a very powerful administrative department responsible for education in China and, therefore, China has a highly homogeneous system reflecting the planned economy. Actually, it is not true. When we say that diversification is perennial, we mean that there has naturally come to form different styles and features of universities because there exists a considerable disparity of development in China in terms of social, economic, and cultural differences among different regions or areas. Despite government emphasis on the unification of administration and governance, in practice government policies are carried out only as their meanings are interpreted according to different context and universities. When we argue that diversification is a new issue, we mean that restructuring of higher education has become a common interest shared by government and individual universities with the massification of China's higher education and its transformation into near universal access.

From the perspective of the national government, public policy should promote the development of higher education institutions of different types and levels in order to further social and economic development and meet various demands from the public. It is, after all, government's responsibility to establish higher education institutions of different types and at various levels. Therefore, many such similar statements can be found in government documents in recent years. For example, in the newly-issued outline of middle and long term educational reform and development, the issue of the diversification and features of higher education is specially mentioned. According to the Item 22, it is stated that:

> Each higher education institution should be encouraged to form its own distinctiveness. The system of categories of higher education institutions should be developed and an administrative regulation on each institution according to its category should be exercised. The function of national policy and budgeted allocation should be greatly performed, the appropriate role of each institution should be identified, the tendency of homogeneity of higher education should be avoided, and the distinctiveness of each university ideal and pattern should be achieved. The distinctive feature should be pursued at different levels and in different disciplines, aiming at top level.

Furthermore, whether an institution possesses its own distinctive characteristic has become the standard against which institutions are approved in the national evaluation of n teaching activities in four-year universities in China. Whether a university could identify its own distinctive operating style has also directly affected the result of the national evaluations.

From the perspective of an institution itself, this kind of diversification has a direct influence on survival and future development. The massification of China's higher education has resulted in an increased competition among the ever larger number of institutions. Especially with the delegation of more power or authority to each institution, there has seen a wider and more evident gap among different institutions. It has become a very critical principle for each institution to know how to be able to press its advantage in such a competition, to achieve more resources and social prestige. Therefore, it has become a priority for an individual higher education institution to identify and develop its own unique strength, to develop its own distinctive niche, and to form its own distinctiveness which cannot be replicated by other institution.

Needless to say, the diversification of China's higher education is similar to that of other countries. However, China has its own peculiar characteristic. Namely, the essence of it or the aim of it is to stimulate and to enhance the quality of higher education. In other word, the diversification of China's higher education is associated with the improvement and assurance of higher education quality.

Such a characteristic is related to the basic philosophy of China's higher education. The basic mission and philosophy of China's higher education is to be responsive to the needs of social and economic development in different regions or areas and to provide a satisfactory education for people. Even as some research-intensive universities focus on academic and intellectual advancement, they also attach great importance to their contributions to the local community. Therefore, one of the indicators of quality a university is the extent

to which it meets the demand for higher education by different people in different regions or areas. In this sense, the demand for higher education has become a very strong incentive for the development of China's higher education, and also a basic driving force in shaping the structure of China's higher education, enabling each institution to shape its own identity. As a result, the imbalance in China's social and economic development and its diversified needs for higher education will inevitably lead to diverse standards for the quality of higher education. Moreover, the diversification of China's higher education is consistent with the diversification of higher education quality. They interact with mutually reinforce each other.

The characteristic of the diversification of China's higher education emphasizing its quality is also linked with the practice of the diversification of China's higher education. In the indicators adopted in the national evaluation on four-year universities, one of the most important is *distinctiveness* of an institution. It does not seek to measure a single subject or educational programs in an institution, but rather aims at the tradition and culture of an institution which has been formed in its operation and history, a peculiar spirit or a cultural resource, and even a sort of value which is inherent in its faculty and students. All these have become hidden curricula which have affected manpower production or the quality of educational activities in a direct or indirect way.

In addition, diversification of China's higher education has played a significant and practical role in encouraging each institution to build up its own "brand" and enhance its competiveness in the increasingly competitive educational market.

Therefore, in China's higher education, to build up an outstanding distinctiveness has become a very important part of the quality of higher education. Without any distinctiveness the quality is not high.

Notable issues in the diversification of China's higher education

Although diversification has been a trend in the development of Chinese higher education, the phenomenon of homogeneity is also notable. This issue relates to some higher education policies in China, the development of the theory of diversification of higher education, as well as the misunderstanding on diversification of higher education because the relevant theory is lacking.

The phenomenon of homogeneity in China's higher education is typically represented in the ambitions of institutions. It has directly affected the process

of diversifying higher education in China. To illustrate, some junior colleges with short-cycle programs have sought to develop into four-year universities; some four-year universities only qualified to confer Bachelor's degrees have sought authorization to award master's degrees and even Ph.D. Because some people believe that the level of an institution called a university is much higher that one only called a college many institutions have made efforts to change their names into much "bigger" names. I would argue that this is because the relevant theory is lacking and administrative staff has confounded the level of higher education institutions with their quality. That is to say, they simply consider the level of an institution based on its length of study as equal to its level of quality.

In general, the level of an institution in terms of duration of study is different from its level of quality. In most cases, the former means that institutions with different degree levels cater to different customers or students. However, the latter emphasizes the quality of service, namely whether the quality of an institution is good or not. It reflects the quality of products and service provided by different institutions. Evidently, even if some institutions are only providing short-cycle programs or a short duration of study, they can still provide a high-quality or high-level of services or educational products. Similarly, even if some four-year universities are able to admit excellent students with high scores, if they do not pay any attention to their teaching quality, they might provide educational services or products with low quality. Even if some people know the difference between the two in theory, they have no clear of how to distinguish the two in practice.

The different understanding of the relationship between the level of an institution in terms of its duration of study and the level of its quality has become a major issue affecting the diversification of China's higher education. The outcome of the national evaluation can provide a clear example in this regard. Because in China there are research-intensive universities at a high level, on the one hand, and teaching-centered universities directly contributing to the local community in China, on the other; some universities with a long history, and others newly-funded, the question has arisen as to how to undertake a national evaluation on these institutions. To put it in a more direct way: How does one interpret the outcomes from the national evaluation on such very different institutions. Namely, does the same judgment of excellence in different institutions have the same value? Some have argued that there should be two levels of excellence, namely the outcome of excellence in research-intensive universities should be regarded as superior to that in teaching-centered

universities. Others think so long as an institution is able to provide excellent educational services or products, no matter whether it is research-intensive university or teaching-centered university, the value of excellence should be the same. While in the last national evaluation, excellence was achievable by all institutions there remain much discussion and different views. No doubt, different policies will surely lead to different trends and practice of higher education development.

It is very important to identify the difference between a level of an institution in terms of duration of study and the quality of an institution. It will lead different institutions to find their own niche and help each institution to enhance its quality of educational products and services without pursuing a higher level in terms of its length of study. As lower degree level of institutions with short cycle programs can also provide educational products with high quality, these local universities do not need to upgrade in level in order to provide educational services with high quality. This will greatly stimulate the diversification of higher education, provide educational services with overall higher quality for society, and satisfy people's diversified demands for higher education.

Higher Education Diversification in Europe

Peter Maassen*

Introduction

From the 1950s on, Europe has been a continent with a strong focus on equality of opportunity, and a negative attitude towards the marketplace and competition in public sector governance. This applies also to higher education, where, as in the rest of society, trust in government was in general higher than trust in market forces. While this public policy preference applies to continental Europe, it applies to the UK as well where, first and foremost, it has been government intervention rather than the marketplace that has created the British higher education system as we know it today.

This point of departure is important for understanding the developments with respect to higher education diversity in Europe. From a governmental policy perspective diversity in European higher education has not been linked so much to student demand or student characteristics *per se*, but rather to structural features of higher education systems. In many European countries differences between students have to a large extent been ignored if not denied in national policies, and the underlying ideological driving force for the governance, organisation, and (public) funding of higher education has long been equality and equity at all relevant levels. Among other things, the establishment of elite institutions, the selection of students on the basis of merit, and, in many countries, the imposition of tuition fees in higher education funding, have been taboo. What is of relevance in this is that over the last ten years cracks have appeared in the basic European attitudes towards the governance, organisation

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and funding of higher education. At the European level as well as nationally,[1] a new reform agenda has emerged that addresses directly the issues that higher education policy in Europe has avoided for so long: the introduction of professional institutional management, high(er) tuition fees, the creation of elite or top universities, partnerships with industry, organisational and funding separation of the best (institutions, staff, students) from the rest, performance based salary systems for academic staff, *etc*. An important question is how these reform efforts are affecting higher education diversity. In addressing this question structural issues at the national level – the traditional way of addressing diversity in European higher education – will be discussed, as well as two major new policy developments: the issue of research excellence, and the growing European level focus on Vocational Education & Training (VET).

Reforms in European higher education

During the last two decades higher education in Europe has undergone an almost continuous wave of reforms aimed at changing the governance relationship between higher education and the state. Initially these were 'repair reforms', mainly addressing the consequences of the massification of national higher education systems in Europe (Goedegebuure, *et al*., 1994). More recently the reforms have been based on new ideas concerning the nature and role of higher education (Maassen & Olsen, Eds., 2007). As a consequence, the governance, funding and organisation of European higher education, and especially of the traditional research university, are in a state of transformation. This is to a large extent caused by far-reaching change processes in the environments of higher education institutions, including general reforms of the governance and organisation of the public sector, and European integration efforts. The former concern national reforms aimed at improving the effectiveness of governments and the performance of the public sector; the latter include specific higher education initiatives (Corbett, 2005), such as the Bologna

[1] The European Union (EU) consists of 27 member states, *i.e*. independent countries that form an economic and political Union. The European Commission is the 'government' of this Union, and it has some level of formal competence in almost all policy areas. The EU governance level is referred to as the supranational level. Since not all European countries are member of the EU the continent of Europe as a geographical entity has to be distinguished from the EU as a European supranational governance entity. A complicating factor in this is that in some areas all (or nearly all) European countries, including the non-EU members states have come to an inter-governmental agreement. An example of the latter is the Bologna Declaration from 1999, and its implementation process (referred to as the Bologna Process).

Process, and the creation of a European Institute of Innovation and Technology (EIT) (European Commission, 2006a, 2008), as well as more comprehensive reform attempts, such as the Lisbon Agenda (Gornitzka, 2005, 2007).[2] One of the underlying tensions created by these reforms is a growing feeling of imbalance between the demands placed on higher education institutions by socio-economic actors and the institutional capacity to satisfy these demands (Clark, 1998).

The effects of the change processes have been interpreted differently by different scholars. Some suggest that the changes, in their rapid pace and comprehensive scope, amount to a fundamental transformation of higher education (*e.g.* Marginson & Considine, 2000). Others have emphasised that the traditional institutional dynamics of universities and colleges in handling external and internal pressures, *i.e.* their evolutionary change capacity, continue to dominate in the current period. These scholars suggest that current changes are to a large extent stepwise and incremental (see, *e.g.* Birnbaum, 2000; de Boer, 2003).

This apparent disagreement raises a number of questions about the nature and the outcomes of the change processes. Where are we regarding our understanding of the dynamics of higher education as the core 'Knowledge Institution' in Europe? How is diversity in higher education interpreted, maintained and promoted? What is the effect of European integration initiatives, such as the Bologna Process, on diversity in higher education? What is the extent of change and in what direction is it going? How does the *Europeanisation* (Olsen, 2002) of higher education compare to the changes higher education institutions in other parts of the world are undergoing?

These questions are an indication of the complexity of the change processes going on in European higher education at the moment. Of special importance in this are the "shocking diversity" of European higher education (Neave, 2003, p.151), the lack of valid problem analyses and the "simplicity" of the proposed solutions (Schleicher, 2006), and the fact that largely as a consequence of European integration efforts, higher education has become politically "more

[2] The Bologna Process is discussed later on in this chapter (see also Neave, 2003). The European Institute of Innovation and Technology (EIT) is an EU institution that is aimed at contributing to sustainable European growth and competitiveness through stimulating innovations. This is mainly done through the funding of 'Knowledge and Innovation Communities' (KIC's) which consist of representatives from the academic, technology and business worlds (see: http://eit.europa.eu/home.html). The Lisbon Agenda was agreed upon at a summit in 2000 of the EU's Heads of State. The implementation of the Lisbon Agenda is aimed at strengthening the EU's economic competitiveness and bolstering its social cohesion.

important", but at the same time received "less special" treatment (Maassen & Olsen, Eds., 2007).

Over the last 20 to 25 years, the governance relationship between the state and higher education institutions has been a persistent item on the political agenda of most European countries (Goedegebuure *et al*., 1994; Kogan, Bauer, Bleiklie & Henkel, 2006; Maassen, 2003, 2008), and higher education diversity has been an important element in these debates. As indicated, initially the reforms were aimed at 'repairing' the consequences of the massification of higher education, especially in terms of quality and funding inadequacies. More recently the reform focus has been on the governance and organisation of higher education in Europe.

A standard claim underlying this new reform focus is that environments are changing rapidly and that the universities and colleges are not able or willing to respond in ways that are expected of them. Especially at the European level there is a perception that it is time to rethink the internal organization and governance of higher education institutions, as well as their role in society simply because these institutions, and especially the research universities, do not learn, nor adapt to new societal needs fast enough. This can be illustrated by the following quotation from the European Commission:

> After remaining a comparatively isolated universe for a very long period, both in relation to society and to the rest of the world, with funding guaranteed and a status protected by respect for their autonomy, European universities have gone through the second half of the 20th century without really calling into question the role or nature of what they should be contributing to society. The changes they are undergoing today and which have intensified over the past ten years prompt the fundamental question: can the European universities, as they are and are organized now, hope in the future to retain their place in society and in the world? (European Commission, 2003, p.22)

This instrumental view on the role of higher education in society forms the basis for a set of specific reform proposals, as presented, for example, in the European Commission's Communication on the modernization agenda for universities (European Commission, 2006b), Schleicher's policy brief produced for a Brussels based lobby group (Schleicher, 2006), and the report by the Bruegel group on European universities (Aghion *et al*., 2009).[3]

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[3] For a more detailed discussion of the listed items, see: Maassen & Olsen (Eds, 2007)

The nature of this set of reform proposals is based on the premise that "European higher education systems have fallen behind over the last few decades, in terms of participation, quality, and in research and innovation" (Figel[4], 2006, p.3). The Bologna Process is seen as an example of the reforms needed, but it only covers core aspects of the educational structures of European universities and colleges, and not its leadership/management and research structures. In addition what is needed is "root-and-branch reform of the way our universities are managed, structured, funded, and regulated" (Figel, 2006, p.5). The 'analysis' underlying this position, using international rankings, as well as general funding and participation statistics, concludes that European higher education is over-regulated, underfunded, fragmented, and isolated, and is suffering from a lack of institutional diversity, problems of cross-border recognition of academic credits and degrees, as well as poor academic staff career structures. The necessary reforms include: less government, more institutional autonomy and accountability, increased private funding of higher education (including tuition fees), partnerships with industry (also in education), and increased mobility of students and academic staff. The proposed changes are argued to advance knowledge, produce functional improvement, and benefit society in general, while the dominant language is emphasizing the economic functions of higher education.

A striking characteristic of the reform proposals is that they are based on "strong convictions and weak evidence" (Olsen & Maassen, 2007, p.13-16). This implies that there are "large gaps between the claims and the solutions advocated by reformers, and the quality of the evidence they have forwarded" (Olsen & Maassen, 2007, p.12). An example can be found in the claimed gap between Europe and the USA in the area of educational revenues *per* student enrolled in public higher education institutions. The Bruegel report (Aghion *et al*., 2009, p.5) claims that "the EU25 spends on average €8,700 *per* student versus €36,500 in the US", while the European Commission (2006b) suggested that there is a revenue gap of some €10,000 *per* student. However, a national US information center indicates that in 2008 the revenues *per* full-time equivalent student (public appropriations and tuition revenues) were on average less than $8,000 for all public universities and colleges in the USA[5]. This example illustrates that the claims on the European side concerning the 'reform

[4] Jan Figel was European Commissioner for Education, Training and Culture in the period 2004-2009.

[5] See: http://www.higheredinfo.org/dbrowser/index.php?measure=36

needs' may not be based on firm data and convincing evidence.

In order to promote a better understanding of the effects of European integration on higher education dynamics, it is useful to discuss the notion of 'diversity' and relate it to some of the enduring and recurrent themes in the study of higher education and society in general, as well as to the study of the role and adaptive power of social institutions. This involves in the first place the way in which integration and change in higher education systems have been conceptualized in the academic literature on higher education (Clark, 1983). Second, it involves the issue of unity and diversity (Olsen, 2007), *i.e*. balancing system-level coordination with institutional autonomy.

Conceptualisation of diversity

When analyzing the dynamics of a higher education system, it is necessary to discuss the balance between unity and diversity. In European countries, as elsewhere, the need for system-level coordination, is accompanied by the acceptance of some degree of institutional autonomy. The drive for strengthening institutional autonomy leads naturally to more diversity (or disorder) within the system, while system coordination is aimed at creating unity in a system, or a minimum level of integration and order. In his seminal book from 1983 "The Higher Education System" Burton Clark has described these counter forces as follows:

> In an infinitely complex world, the higher education system has difficulties in pulling itself together that belie simple descriptions and answers. Tasks proliferate, beliefs multiply, and the many forms of authority pull in different directions. Yet in each case, some order emerges in various parts: disciplines link members from far and wide, universities symbolically tie together their many specialists, bureaucratic structures, local and national, provide uniform codes and regulations. And the bureaucratic, political and oligarchic forms of national authority contribute to the integration of the whole. (Clark, 1983, p.136)

The efforts to integrate European higher education are part of a more general process of integrating sovereign states in a new political and institutional order (Olsen, 2007). An important element in the creation of a new order with respect to higher education is the need to balance integration and change, unity and diversity, *i.e*. system-level coordination and university autonomy (Clark,

1983; Olsen, 2007, pp.22-23). Maintaining such a balance has traditionally been a responsibility of the nation state. However, the emerging "competence"[6] of the supranational European Commission with respect to higher education (Pollack, 2000; Maassen & Olsen, 2007; Maassen & Musselin, 2009), and the intergovernmental (Bologna) agreement to create an open European Higher Education Area, imply that the efforts to create unity with respect to higher education in Europe must occur increasingly at the European, as well as at the national level. According to Clark (1983, p.205) there are tensions in any higher education system between the forces that create stability and unity, and those that cause adaptation, change and diversity. These forces very much contribute to the complexity of higher education institutions and systems, also because they operate in different ways at different levels in a higher education system. "Hence, it is always necessary, when speaking of a type of academic change, to specify the levels at which it operates, since an opposite disposition is likely to characterize the levels not directly in view" (Clark, 1983, p.209).

In principle, any higher education system consists of three organizational levels, *i.e*. the basic academic units, the central institutional administration and leadership, and the system level governance arrangements and actors, or in the words of Clark (1983, p.205) the understructure, middle structure and superstructure. In the case of European higher education an additional layer has been emerging that can be referred to as the *supra*structure composed of all agencies and actors, including those representing national authorities, aimed at creating unity that links together the higher education systems of the member states of the European Union.

More recently, Johan Olsen (2007) has discussed from a political science perspective how each society must find an effective balance between the state level's need for unity and integration in the governance of each public sector, and each public sector's need for institutional autonomy and diversity. This balance is not static and stable, but instead societies go through periods of relative stable balances between order (unity) and disorder (diversity) and periods of renegotiation and reform of the unity/diversity balance. This has been formulated as follows in Gornitzka *et al*. (2007):

> Under some conditions change and reform take place routinely and incrementally within a fairly stable institutional framework. Under

[6] Competence refers here in the first place to the formal agenda setting power of the Commission, and not to its formal legal authority.

> other conditions institutional frameworks are themselves changing as the shared understandings underlying the political and social order are questioned and possibly modified or replaced.

From the perspective of the search for a new balance between unity and diversity, the emergence of the new multi-level governance system is a clear challenge for European higher education. While institutional autonomy is continuously promoted as an aim in itself, there is now not only the need to maintain system level unity in the form of an effectively coordinated national higher education system, there is also the additional expectation of the creation of an integrated European Higher Education Area (EHEA). How are the fragmented basic academic units of the national higher education institutions linked to the European level structures aimed at creating unity and order in the EHEA? How does the integration of higher education fit the general process of European integration? Here we follow Olsen's definition by viewing integration as "a process which turns previously separated units into components of a relatively coherent and consistent system" (Olsen, 2007, p.21). What are the conditions for creating a coherent and consistent European Higher Education Area composed of autonomous higher education institutions operating as part of national higher education systems?

Traditionally, the efforts of the European Commission to influence the national institutional arrangements with respect to higher education have been met with suspicion and rejection by the member states. Higher education – like the rest of the education sector – is a nationally sensitive policy area closely related to national identity (Gornitzka, 2007; Neave & Maassen, 2007; Olsen, 2007, p.78). The Treaty of Maastricht of 1992 confirmed through the *subsidiarity* principle that the prime responsibility for (higher) education lies at the national level, implying that the European Commission cannot undertake any initiatives itself aimed at converging European higher education (Maassen & Musselin, 2009). This starting-point has not been changed legally, but in practice political space with respect to (higher) education has been created at the suprastructure level in Europe (Gornitzka, 2007). This is especially true since the turn of the last century with the signing of the Bologna Declaration and announcement of the Lisbon Agenda as important moments in the increasing acceptance of the need for integrating European higher education.

With respect to the implementation of the Bologna Process, the Ministers of (Higher) Education of the relevant countries decided against establishing a separate joint executive capacity to support implementation beyond a small (3 staff member) rotating secretariat. As a consequence, administrative executive

capacity of the European Commission was employed more and more for organizing and funding evaluation studies of the Bologna Process as well as progress conferences and seminars. A complicating factor is that the Bologna Process currently encompasses 47 countries, *i.e*. 20 of whom are non-EU member states. This implies, among other things, that the change dynamics of higher education is less driven by the 6 large member states of the EU (Olsen, 2007, p.43).[7] It also means that there is a fairly unclear division of policy responsibility with respect to higher education between the supra- and superstructure, both formally and in day-to-day policy practice. The gradual development by the European Commission of competence with respect to a large number of policy issue areas (including education and research) has been referred to as 'creeping competence' (Pollack, 2000). This can be argued to represent one of the main challenges with respect to the system level governance of European higher education after 2010: formalizing an effective division of authority over the relevant system level governance layers: European, national, (and in some cases, sub-national) as well as institutional (Maassen, 2009).

How do theses developments affect the diversification of higher education in Europe? A brief overview is provided below of the development of structural diversity of a number of national higher education systems, followed by a reflection on the Bologna Process's effects on institutional diversity.

National level system diversity

System diversity is a multi-faceted concept. It refers, for example, to the distinction between (research) universities and other types of higher education institutions, such as polytechnics, *Fachhochschulen, Hogescholen*, Colleges, and *Høgskoler* (see also below, section on VET). Referring to Neave's observation concerning the "shocking diversity" of Europe's higher education systems, an obvious challenge for developing an appropriate balance between institutional autonomy and an integrated European higher education system is the transparency and comparability among Europe's types of higher education institutions. This is the underlying issue in the EU funded project undertaken by CHEPS[8] to design a European classification of tertiary education institutions as a tool for mapping the diversity of the European tertiary education landscape

[7] The member states referred to are: France, Germany, Italy, and the United Kingdom.
[8] Center for HE Policy Studies, University of Twente, Enschede, the Netherlands (www.utwente.nl/cheps).

(van Vught, 2009). While it is beyond the realm of this paper to discuss this project any further,[9] the short overview of the structural development of national higher education systems in Europe that follows is partly based on the work underlying the development of the classification (Huisman & van Vught, 2009, pp.27-34), partly on other projects undertaken by the *Hedda* group in Oslo (see: Stensaker *et al*., 2007; Maassen, 2008).

The most important national trends in Europe can be illustrated by the examples of the following five countries

Denmark

The Danish higher education system is structured as a binary system consisting of two strictly separated sectors, *i.e*. a research university sector and a professional college sector. The university sector has recently undergone two major reforms. In 2003, the autonomy of the universities was increased and the institutional governance structures adapted accordingly, followed in 2007 by a merger process between universities and between universities and independent public research institutes. Also the colleges sector has gone through a merger process. The result is two free standing sectors consisting of 8 universities and 10 colleges. The Danish government expects its top universities to be able to compete with the best universities in the world for staff, students and resources within the next ten to fifteen years. The expectation is that the number of universities will be reduced further.

France

The French higher education system is highly diversified, segmented, and complex. It consists of a small professional oriented elite sector, *grandes ecole*, which do not have a research mission, a university sector which only relatively recently developed a research profile, two types of institutions offering professional higher degrees, and national research centres. Recently the boundaries between the various segments are blurring. This is, among other things, visible in the so-called PRES (*Pôles d'enseignement supérieur et de recherche*), which are meta-structures in which different institutions can join and develop common activities, such as graduate schools (PhD programmes), and research projects. In some of these PRES, universities as well as the grandes ecoles are involved (Musselin, 2009).

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[9] For a presentation of the design of the classification, see: Kaiser & van Vught (2009).

Germany

In German higher education, the boundaries between *Fachhochschulen* and universities are blurring mainly as a consequence of the Bologna Process. However, the most important development when it comes to the diversity of higher education is the so-called *Exzellenzinitiativ* of 2004. It is inspired by US higher education, and aimed at identifying the best German universities and stimulating them to strengthen their research quality and become world class institutions. Since Germany has been one of the strongest proponents of the equality of opportunities principle in Europe, this initiative can be regarded as 'revolutionary'.

The Netherlands

Dutch higher education, traditionally organised as a binary system, is undergoing considerable change. Traditionally the two sectors, research universities and higher professional education institutions, were strictly separated. Currently, the boundaries between the two sectors are blurring. This is mainly the result of developments in the higher professional education sector, where we can observe the emergence of a research function, the development of Master's level programmes, and the growing use of the term universities of applied sciences. Unlike the situation in some other countries, *e.g*. Denmark and Germany, there are no initiatives to develop top universities. Instead of promoting inter-institutional diversity, the responsible Ministry stimulates intra-institutional diversity. One of the results is the emergence of a kind of intra-institutional liberal arts college at the bachelor's level for the best and most motivated students.

Norway

Like most European countries, Norway has a binary higher education system consisting of higher professional education institutions (colleges) and research universities. However, the major difference with the other European countries is that the Norwegian government has formally opened the boundaries between the sectors and allows the colleges to apply for university status. In addition, all colleges have the right to offer Master's and PhD programs, they have an explicit research task, and they have an academic personnel policy system (Kyvik, 2008). Since 2004 the Norwegian university sector has grown from 4 to 8 institutions. In addition to the 8 universities, there are 14 more higher education institutions that are currently offering at least one PhD program. For a country with barely 5 million inhabitants, this 'lack of diversity' is seen is a

challenge to strengthening the (future) quality and effectiveness of the system.

Overall the structural diversity of European higher education systems in the form of the binary divide between universities and institutions, such *Fachhochschulen*, polytechnics, colleges, *hogescholen*, and *høyskoler*, seems to be decreasing as the 5 cases show. However, even in this brief overview it is clear that there is no uniform trend in the development of higher education systems throughout Europe. Denmark is strictly maintaining its binary higher education system, as are countries such as Austria, Finland, Portugal and Switzerland. On the other hand, in the Netherlands and Norway we can clearly observe the blurring of the traditional binary divide, which is also the case in Ireland and has been the case in England in the early 1990s. Further, a number of countries do not fit the binary model, for example, France with a segmented system and Italy with a university dominated system.

The Bologna Process and diversity in higher education

When 29 European Ministers of (Higher) Education met in Bologna in 1999 they agreed that European higher education needed to be strengthened. In their view the most effective way to do so was to create a European Higher Education Area (EHEA). The meeting in Bologna culminated in the Bologna Declaration that was aimed at taking away national barriers that hindered the forming of the EHEA. The Bologna Declaration the Ministers signed had as its main objectives:

1. Creating a European Higher Education Area (EHEA) by 2010.
2. Adopting a transparent and comparable higher education degree structure for all European universities and colleges, consisting of a two cycle degree system: Bachelor (3 years) and Master (2 years) level. This would be followed by a 3 years PhD level.
3. Introducing a credit transfer system: European Credit Transfer System (ECTS).
4. Introducing a Diploma supplement for all graduates.
5. Adapting national laws to stimulate mobility of students and staff.
6. Developing a joint European quality assessment system.
7. Promoting necessary European dimensions in higher education.

(European Ministers Responsible for Education 1999)

What do the studies on the process of implementation of the Bologna

Declaration, tell us about the effects of Bologna on higher education diversity? First, it is important to emphasize that the Bologna Process is an example of translating a common agenda into national contexts, instead of a homogeneous diffusion of the agenda throughout the included countries (Gornitzka, 2006). This implies that the common Bologna reform agenda is adapted in each country to national realities. Consequently, while there is some level of convergence between the Bologna countries when it comes to degree structures, and other features of the Bologna Declaration, there are still considerable differences between them. These differences have been explained by Huisman and van Vught (2009, p.23) in the following way:

> National policy-makers adjust the Bologna objectives and instruments to fit the particular national context, interest groups within the system have their input in the further operationalisation of the Bologna agenda at the national level, and at the institutional level it is up to institutional leaders, managers and academics to further substantiate the Bologna elements at the operational level. Hence, issues of policy "translation", wilful influence on or hindrance of the implementation have a considerable impact on what actually happens in reality.

It can be argued that one of the most important diversity-related topics in European higher education concerns the definition of a university. In this sense history repeats itself, given that this issue also was central in the development of higher education in Europe in the second half of the 19th century (Gerbod, 2004a, 2004b; Gornitzka & Maassen, 2007). In the current period of higher education transformation, like in the 19th century, the university is being redefined. Two forces that have an important effect on the outcomes of this transformation period are relatively neglected in the studies on European higher education *i.e.* research excellence and vocational education and training (VET). I will briefly discuss these aspects here, beginning with the growing focus on research excellence.

Research excellence and innovation policy

Triggered by the increasing political awareness of the role of new knowledge in innovation and economic growth, research policy in Europe is focused on identifying those institutions, groups and individual researchers that stand out from the rest (Aghion *et al*., 2009). These initiatives can be identified at the national level, for example, in Denmark, Finland, Germany, Portugal and Russia. But also at the European level examples can be found of this 'research

excellence drive', for example, in the form of the establishment of the European Research Council (ERC), and the process of setting up a European Institute of Innovation and Technology (EIT). Hence, while the policy debate may have different labels attached to it, not least the search for institutional diversity and or more performance-focused funding schemes, the issue often on the agenda is greater concentration of research talents and resources (Geuna & Martin, 2003).

Still, as for other policy initiatives in higher education, the effects have so far been modest. Overall, the distribution of most institutions' funding components have not changed dramatically over the last 20 years (CHINC, 2006). Nonetheless, the change taking place should not be underestimated. Even if the share of public funding has been stable, more emphasis is given to commercialised research and patenting (Bonaccorsi & Daraio, 2007) indicating stronger competition among universities.

Compared to the ambitious but delimited aspirations of the Bologna Process, the European Commission sought a general debate on the role of European universities with the aim of developing a vision for university-based research and innovation for the next 15-20 years (European Commission, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006b). The backdrop is the emerging knowledge economy and doubts that the universities will be able to contribute effectively to the European knowledge economy's global competitiveness. The European Commission seeks to build a single market for research and to mobilize the brain-power of Europe in order to enable universities to make their full contribution to the realization of the Lisbon Strategy (European Commission, 2005, 2006b).

It is relevant here to point to the so-called European paradox, *i.e*. the claim that EU member states play a leading global role in terms of top-level scientific output, but lag behind in the capacity to convert this strength into wealth-generating innovations. The ideas underlying the Commission's research policy (Gornitzka, 2007) were very much geared towards better extracting the university's potential for contributing to private sector innovation and economic growth in Europe. In the Lisbon Agenda, research policy has been clearly linked to innovation and has an undisputed place as a core element in competitiveness (Larédo, 2003). The normative and ideational underpinnings of the EU's existing research policy and policy instruments were not radically challenged by the Lisbon Agenda in this respect. A more overt collision of the understanding of the university's research function and its links to the European level are seen in the discussions concerning the ERC (European Research Council) – where the role of the university as the main locus of pathbreaking research has been the subject of competing visions.

A drastically changing economy compels the system of research and higher education to change. Increased demands for higher education, the internationalization of education and research, the need to develop effective and close co-operation between universities and industry, the interdisciplinary reorganization of knowledge, and the emergence of new expectations make European universities face an imperative need to adapt and adjust (European Commission, 2003, pp.6-9; see also Bilbao-Osorio & Rodriguez-Pose, 2004). The Commission has also claimed that the time of "heated debates" over university organization has come to an end and that there is agreement about the need to "modernize" universities (European Commission, 2006b, p.4), thereby framing reforms as technical questions of finding efficient organizational forms and network structures consistent with necessities and shared goals. The fact that such clear-cut models have been difficult to identify (Geuna & Muscio, 2009, p.93) seems to be of less importance.

Overall these European and national level policy processes and programs have led to a renewed focus on the role of the university in basic research. What we can observe on Europe is an attempt to create top research universities that can compete with the best universities in the world for staff, students and resources. This implies a gradual emergence in most countries of a national 'pyramid' like higher education system, with one or more universities at the top and the rest of the system being adapted to these institutions. While the UK has been the first European country to move in this direction, we can currently see the same intentions in countries such as Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, and of late also Russia. Other countries, such as Belgium, the Netherlands and Norway, try to promote research excellence not through stimulating inter-institutional diversity, but intra-university diversity, among other things, through the nationally funded establishment of research centres of excellence across the system.

Vocational Education and Training (VET) and higher education

The EU summit in Lisbon 2000 and the Lisbon Agenda clearly mark the European ambition to become the world's most competitive and dynamic knowledge economy. Education and training are vital common aspects for the translation of this ambition into actions, and the Lisbon 2000 Agenda has been an important driver behind the increased European policy focus on Vocational Education and Training (VET). A mobile, highly skilled and competent labor force is regarded as vital for the further development of the European knowledge economy.

Since 2000 the European-level policy ambitions with respect to education and training have been further elaborated and implemented through political summits, expert meetings and focused studies, the results of which have been published in various policy documents and background papers[10]. Earlier this year the European Commission re-launched the Lisbon Strategy and formulated its targets for the coming ten years, as presented in the European Strategy 2020 Communication published March 2010 (European Commission, 2010a). For the field of VET the Europe 2020 strategy is elaborated in a Communication, published June 2010, entitled "A new impetus for European cooperation in Vocational Education and Training to support the Europe 2020 strategy" (European Commission, 2010b). The latter document states that there is a need for a well-functioning European VET system – including at the higher education levels – which is transparent and results in qualifications that are recognised throughout Europe.

How does the political and economic interest in VET in Europe, including tertiary level VET, relate to national policy developments, and the issue of higher education diversity? This question refers in the first place to the vertical policy relationships, *i.e.* the relationships in the VET policy area among European level, national level, regional level and organisational or institutional level. However, there is also a horizontal policy dimension, *i.e.* the coordination of the VET policies with policies in other relevant areas. In the multi-level and multi-actor European governance systems related to education and training the main focus over the last ten years has been on *vertical* governance challenges, for example, the implementation of the Bologna Process and the Copenhagen Process (see, *e.g.* Kehm *et al.*, 2009). The horizontal governance challenges have received less attention (Braun, 2008; Gornitzka, 2010). This also holds true in the VET policy area, as illustrated by the recent VET Communication which focuses on vertical governance challenges and ignores horizontal governance challenges related, for example, to coordinating between VET and, labour market, research, innovation, and technology policies (European Commission, 2010b). What are

[10] For an overview of the main European level E&T policy developments between 2000 and 2008 see: European Commission "Education and Training 2010. Main policy initiatives and outputs in education and training since the year 2000" Retrieved February, 2008, from http://ec.europa.eu/education/policies/2010/doc/compendium05_en.pdf
For an overview of the E&T policy documents published since 2008, see: http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-policy/doc1120_en.htm Of the latter the core policy document is the "Council conclusions of 12 May 2009 on a strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training 2020 (ET 2020)" (eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2009:119:0002:0010:EN:PDF).

the aims of policy coordination and why is it of importance? The following five objectives for policy coordination have been identified in the relevant literature (see, *e.g*. Painter, 1981; Braun, 2008, p.230):

1. Minimisation of duplication and overlap.
2. Avoidance of policy inconsistencies.
3. Reducing the chances of conflict, both bureaucratic and political.
4. Quest for coherence and cohesion and an agreed ordering of priorities.
5. Promotion of a comprehensive or 'whole government' perspective against the constant advocacy of narrow, particularistic or sectoral perspectives.

What are the main VET policy coordination challenges from a vertical as well as a horizontal perspective, especially when it comes to their effects on higher education diversity? Overall it can be argued that in the education and vocational training policy areas there is no clear formal division of authority in Europe between the supranational and national governance levels. This also goes for the tertiary education policy area (Maassen, 2009). Contrary to, for example, the situation in the USA, where there is a clear division of labor between the individual states and the federal government, the latter being responsible for a limited number of policy areas in tertiary education, *i.e*. funding of basic research, accreditation and student scholarships, in Europe there is no clear division of authority between the supranational and national governance levels (Pollack, 1994, 2000). A consequence of this relative lack of formal vertical governance coordination is a great diversity in the translation of European level policy agreements at the national level.

How about the horizontal coordination perspectives in the area of VET? Here one has to think about the coordination of VET policies with other policy areas. In two recent articles Braun (2008) and Gornitzka (2010) address the challenges that Europe is facing in the horizontal coordination of its 'knowledge policies'. While Braun's focus is on innovation policy which in its third phase needs to coordinate traditionally separated knowledge policy areas spanning basic research, technological research, professional education, and higher education, Gornitzka is focusing more specifically on the European level governance context of the Bologna Process. Both authors emphasise the crucial importance for Europe's economic competitiveness of organising an effective coordination of the core knowledge policy areas, including professional/vocational education and training.

Stone Sweet, Fligstein & Sandholtz (2001) have characterised the European

level in the 1950s as a 'primitive site of collective governance'. According to Gornitzka (2010) this primitive site has been replaced by multiple arenas of sectoral specialisation. "Policy communities underpinning sectorally differentiated governance and policy making systems have developed around specialised issue areas" (Haas, 1990; Gornitzka, 2010). This has, amongst other things, led to separate Directorate Generals for Education and for Research[11]. This sectoral governance and policy differentiation is stronger at the European level than at the national level, where there has been a long tradition of organising, for example, all education and research policy issues in one Ministry. Braun (2008) has discussed the ambitious attempts at the national level in the EU's member states to develop a more cross-sectoral focused knowledge policy. According to Gornitzka (2010, p.544) this is an indication that "after a period of European level agenda setting and reform push with respect to the policy area of education and training as a core knowledge area, realising a cross-sectoral knowledge policy in Europe may seem to be addressed currently more directly at the national level than at the European level."

Based on a series of interviews with core actors in education policy, Gornitzka (2010) reports that in the area of lifelong learning there also has been an inter-sectoral rivalry between education and employment policy. Prior to 2000, lifelong learning was, as an area of cooperation, part of the European Employment Strategy (EES). As a consequence, education was regarded as part of the employment policy area. A number of core joint educational policy decisions were therefore not made by education ministers, but by national employment or labour ministers, and these decisions were prepared by DG Employment, and not by DG Education. This situation, in which national Labour Ministries and not Education Ministries followed up the educational elements of the EES led in the end to a response of the Education Ministries. DG Education and national Education Ministries 'claimed' lifelong learning as an educational policy issue, thereby using a wider definition of lifelong learning than the Labour Ministries, including all levels of education, as well as non-formal learning. Accordingly, the Education & Training 2010 policy paper:

> ... should be read as a sector defence enacted by the core European institutions in the field of education. The 'collision' that contributed to

[11] A Directorate General can be regarded as the EU's equivalent of a Ministry.

> creating this governance site was between the cognitive and normative understanding of 'education and learning' as part of labour market policy, rather than as an education policy issue. Education ministers and DG Education headed the defence of the sectoral logics. Yet, the E&T process became the arena that linked this policy domain to the larger European agenda. (Gornitzka, 2010, p.542)

Overall, as argued by Braun (2008) and Gornitzka (2010), the ambitious European and national level strategies to strengthen Europe's global economic competitiveness require a strong and effective vertical as well as horizontal coordination of all relevant innovation and knowledge policies. These include VET and higher education policies. An analysis of the national policies with respect to VET at tertiary education levels as presented in the next section reveals a significant differentiation at the national level of policies. This implies that the European level policy initiatives with respect to tertiary VET are not followed up in a consistent way throughout Europe but are interpreted and translated into local policies within a specific national context. This suggests that the vertical coordination of VET tertiary policies is still relatively weak. Second, at the national level tertiary VET policies are integrated with national higher education policies, and to some extent with other knowledge policies, including research and technology policies. This is in line with the observation that cross-sectoral knowledge policy coordination is addressed more directly at the national than at the European level (Gornitzka, 2010).

Regarding national policy understanding of VET at tertiary education levels, we can discern the following broad categories. The national VET policy approaches are:

1. Dual system: *e.g*. Austria and Germany.
2. Integrated system of certification and recognition: *e.g*. England, France, Ireland
3. Tertiary VET part of higher education policies
    a) higher professional education and university education increasingly integrated: *e.g*. Norway.
    b) higher professional education and university education kept separate: *e.g*. Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands.
4. Policy emphasis on academic tertiary education: *e.g*. Greece, Poland.
5. No explicit focus on VET at tertiary education levels: *e.g*. Portugal, Romania.

Overall, there appears to be a common policy vocabulary and a common set of policy goals with respect to academic and VET education at higher education levels across most of Europe. This applies to the countries with separate policy approaches for VET and academic tertiary education, such as Germany, England, Ireland, and France, and the countries that have an integrated policy approach towards tertiary academic and VET education, such as Finland and Norway. Exceptions are the countries that do not have a specific policy approach towards VET at higher education levels, for example, Greece, Poland, Portugal and Romania. While there are national differences in emphasis and policy instrumentation, this common set includes issues of the quality of tertiary education, the relationship between educational providers at these levels and the private sector, the need to strengthen the autonomy of the providers, the need to make all tertiary education programs more labor market oriented, and the need to increase private contributions to the costs of tertiary education.

The emergence of lifelong learning as an important policy issue can also be observed in several countries, through a focus on adult learners (Germany and the Nordic countries), on the recognition of prior learning, *e.g.* Denmark and Norway, and on the learning outcomes approach as a basis for qualifications, *e.g.* England and Ireland. Again, it should be emphasised that there is a great variety within the group of countries studied as regards the policy instrumentation with respect to lifelong learning, as well as the lifelong learning structures in practice.

In a number of countries, *i.e.* Greece, Poland, Portugal, Romania, and the Czech Republic, one of the main problems of the national education and training system is the low effectiveness of its link to the labor market. As a consequence, various policies in these countries are aimed at strengthening the relationship between VET providers and the labor market, for instance, through a continuous dialogue that is intended to result in both a high quality VET provision and better prepared professionals. However, this does in general not refer to VET at higher education levels in these countries, but instead to VET at (upper) secondary education levels.

It can be concluded that in most of the European countries the policy understanding of VET at higher education levels covers a number of common areas and aims at achieving comparable policy goals. However, the policy instrumentations and tertiary education structures are varied, in the first place concerning the location of tertiary VET education – ranging from fully integrated in the overall tertiary education system to part of the tertiary level VET development being outside the established academic higher education system.

In the second place, it concerns the structure of the tertiary education system, where all countries that approach tertiary VET as an integrated part of the national tertiary/higher education system have some form or another of a binary tertiary education system with VET/professional tertiary education forming one sector and the universities another. In some of these countries, for example Ireland and Norway, the difference between the university sector and the professional tertiary education/VET sector is blurring, or the relevance of the difference between the two sectors is being discussed, *e.g*. the Netherlands. In other countries, *e.g*. Denmark and Finland, the distinction between the university sector and higher professional education/VET sector is maintained rather strictly.

Conclusion

European higher education is in a transition period in its academic foundations, as well as in its underlying political and socio-economic ideas. As a consequence one can observe a rather endless set of reforms aimed at adjusting national higher education systems to national as well as European level common political agendas and strategies. Overall one of the implicit aims of the reforms is to reducing the "shocking diversity" of European higher education (Neave, 2003). And indeed, some level of convergence around degree structures and curriculum organisation has been realised, as well as a more common understanding of how to promote research excellence and the role of the university in this. On the other hand the emergence of Vocational Education and Training programmes at higher education levels has led to an increase in inter-country higher education diversity, with Germany and Austria having a dual higher education – VET system, while other countries, such as Portugal, Greece and Romania, do not have any provision for VET at higher education levels.

Another important observation is that after 2000 it was at the European level that most initiatives concerning higher education (and research) policies and reforms were taken. This had in many ways a converging effect, but there are also diverging effects emerging from the European level focus on higher education and research. For example, the establishment of the European Research Council in 2007 stimulates the concentration of research talents in Europe, and as such it can be expected to have a long-term effect on the diversification of European higher education. More recently the focal point for higher education reform has moved back to the national level. This development will most likely not stimulate the diversification of European

higher education. The higher education (and research) reform agendas of European countries have become more alike, but the reform instrumentation and reform outcomes are leading to a greater structural diversity in European higher education. All in all it can be argued that in some respects the "shocking diversity" of European higher education has been reduced in certain structural aspects, such as degree structures, but at the same time there is a growing diversity in other aspects, such as funding, the legal status of higher education institutions, and the institutional governance structures.

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Conclusion

Massification and the Growing Diversity of Higher Education

Futao Huang*

With the advent of the knowledge-based society, and the increased massification of higher education especially since the 1990s, large-scale reforms have been undertaken in higher education by many nations with the intent of being more relevant and responsive to rapid changes and especially the needs of students, government, employers and other stakeholders. These reforms touch on almost all aspects of higher education at both the macro policy and institutional levels. Among the most important issues has been how to diversify the structure and roles or functions of higher education in order to be able to "catch up" with the changing world.

Given this context, the Research Institute for Higher Education (RIHE) of Hiroshima University as part of the Strategic Research Project on University Reform co-organized its second international workshop with the Japan Association of Higher Education, entitled 'Diversifying Higher Education Systems in the International and Comparative Perspectives', from November 10-11, 2010. The workshop focused on the increasingly complicated structure and diversifying roles of higher education in individual nations as well as the role of government in the process of massification of higher education and the shift from the mass higher education to a near universal access to higher education. At the workshop, Professor Emeritus D. Bruce Johnstone, from the Graduate School of Education, State University of New York at Buffalo, USA, Professor Aya Yoshida from Faculty of Education and Integrated Arts and Sciences at Waseda University, Japan, Vice President & Professor Weihe Xie from Tsinghua University, China, and Professor Peter Maassen at the Faculty of Education, Oslo University, Norway made invited presentations. They were

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joined by approximately 50 participants from different parts of Japan. Based on the presentations and discussion, the key points addressed by each speaker can be identified as follows.

Professor Johnstone focused on higher education diversification in the US. In his presentation, major issues were largely dealt with from an historical perspective, leavened with a comparative analysis. By providing an overview of the US higher education system with some illustrations of key terms, he made an in-depth analysis of the context in which institutional and student diversity has proceeded. In his argument, he dealt with seven features which are salient to the examination of institutional diversification in the United States. He discussed the current rationale for the institutional diversity in the US in comparative perspective. Based on his long-standing study, he presented a diagram comparing the major characteristics of the university and non-university sectors. He examined, in particular, the elite private liberal arts colleges as a distinctive institutional type and describes their role in the US higher education system. In addition, he summarized trends in US higher education diversification by pointing out six evident aspects. He concluded his argument by stating that while US higher education, like other nations, is becoming more and more diversified there still exist some institutions which are more stable and little changed.

Professor Yoshida presented a case study of Japan questioning whether diversification of higher education in the Japanese context means functional differentiation or hierarchical differentiation. She began her discussion on the topic by reviewing government policies concerning the diversification of Japan's higher education system which were issued in 2005 and 2008 in particular. Then she used the data from the two national surveys of university presidents to analyze the responses of each individual university to government policies on diversifying higher education system. In her third section, Professor Yoshida investigated how the higher education system as a whole is being transformed by using trend data on trends in student applications, fund allocation, and the education environment. She concluded her presentation by arguing that since the latter part of the 1990s, stimulating functional diversification has been employed as a survival strategy by many universities, especially small-sized institutions, to avoid being closed. However, she emphasized that the promoting functional differentiation of higher education institutions alone would not solve the problems, which require more effective policy and strategy at the national level.

Professor Xie's presentation concentrated on the diversification of China's higher education and its challenges. He began his presentation by giving a

detailed account of the major types of institutions in China's higher education system. According to Professor Xie, the diversification of China's higher education can be described at the national system level, regional level, by administration, by cultures, learning styles, and campus atmosphere. Having identified these different types, he describes the characteristics of each type and reviews their history. In relation to the differentiation of higher education institutions at the national level, he divided these institutions into more refined subgroups by administrative arrangement and source of expenditure and examined the characteristics of each subgroup. In his third section, Professor Xie identified the context and rationale for the current diversification of China's higher education. He emphasized that the diversification of China's higher education is associated with the improvement and assurance of higher education quality and with promoting "distinctiveness" in mission among institutions. He concluded his presentation by identifying notable issues facing China's higher education and especially the risk of homogenization in China's higher education in its quest to achieve greater diversity.

The fourth presentation was delivered by Professor Maassen on higher education diversification in Europe. In his introduction, he touched on the distinctiveness of reforms in European education, including higher education, with an emphasis on the important role of government and public expenditure on regulating higher education reforms. Then he looked back into reforms in European higher education over the last decades and made an analysis of the concept of diversity. By taking five countries as examples, he provided a general picture of the diversification of higher education systems at the national level. With regard to the relationship between the Bologna Process and the diversification of higher education in member countries, he stated that there is some level of convergence between the Bologna countries when it comes to degree structures, and other features of the Bologna Declaration; however, there are still considerable differences among the countries involved. In particular, more diversity has been facilitated in two areas: research excellence and vocational education and training (VET). He concluded his presentation by further mentioning that there is an evidently growing diversity around other aspects in the European countries through the Bologna Process.

Though there exists a huge difference in the diversification of higher education systems among the US, Japan, China and Europe, it is evident that more diversification has been achieved in many aspects of higher education. As discussed earlier, in the US, except for a very few traditional institutions, the diversification of institution and students is especially profound. In Japan, more differentiation of function of higher education institutions has been

encouraged at a policy level, but there still remain a lot of issues to be tackled, especially for small private institutions. In China, numerous efforts have been made to diversify its higher education system focused on improving the quality and promoting the distinctiveness of each institution. Though striking accomplishments have been achieved, the phenomenon of homogeneity has become one of the most serious issues affecting the further diversification of China's higher education. With relation to the European illustrations, the most noticeable outcome resulting from the Bologna Process is that some level of convergence has been achieved at the European level while diversification could also be found in many aspects of higher education in individual country. Another important argument is concerned with the rationale or the driving forces behind initiatives to diversify higher education in the three countries and one continent. Due to the fact that no central government has direct control over higher education institutions in the US, the diversification of the US higher education is stimulated more by market forces and the responsiveness by each institution to the needs of students, industry, employers in particular. In contrast, the government has assumed leadership in guiding the direction, content and even the level of the diversification of higher education in Japan, China, and most European countries.

Apparently, the workshop has produced fruitful outcomes and helped us to develop a more comprehensive and deeper understanding of the similarities and differences in the diversification of higher education in related countries. However, it seems that in future discussions are needed to deal with such issues as the rationale for, objective(s), aspects, and consequences of the diversification of higher education at different levels, and general trends of diversifying higher education in the process of moving towards universal access to higher education in the knowledge-based society.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Conference Program

International Workshop on University Reform

Date: November 10-11, 2010
Venue: Hiroshima University

Wednesday, November 10

12:30 - Registration

***** Opening Addresses *****

13:00 - 13:15 Toshimasa Asahara, President, Hiroshima University, Japan
Shinichi Yamamoto, Director & Professor, Research Institute for Higher Education (RIHE), Hiroshima University, Japan
Akira Tachi, President, Japan Association of Higher Education Research (Professor, J.F.Oberlin University, Japan)

***** Presentations *****

MC: Futao Huang, Professor, RIHE, Hiroshima University, Japan

13:15 - 14:00 **Presentation 1**
"Higher Educational Diversification in the United States"
D. Bruce Johnstone, Professor Emeritus, Graduate School of Education, University at Buffalo, State University of New York, USA

14:00 - 14:45 **Presentation 2**
"Functional Differentiation or Hierarchical Stratification?: Japan's experience in the last two decade"
Aya Yoshida, Professor, Faculty of Education and Integrated Arts and Sciences, Waseda University, Japan

14:45 - 15:00 Coffee Break

15:00 - 15:45 **Presentation 3**
"The Diversification of China's Higher Education"
Weihe Xie, Vice President & Professor, Tsinghua University, China

15:45 - 16:30 **Presentation 4**
"The Diversifying Higher Education in Europe: from traditional and VET higher education perspectives"
Peter Maassen, Professor, Faculty of Education, University of Oslo, Norway

16:30 - 17:30 Q & A

Thursday, November 11

***** Panel Discussion *****

MC: Shinichi Yamamoto

9:30 - 12:00 **Panelists:**

D. Bruce Johnstone
Aya Yoshida
Weihe Xie
Peter Maassen

Commentator:

Akira Tachi

Appendix 2: List of Participants*

OVERSEAS PARTICIPANTS

Invited Experts

D. Bruce Johnstone	Professor Emeritus, Graduate School of Education, University at Buffalo, State University of New York, USA
Peter Maassen	Professor, Faculty of Education, University of Oslo, Norway
Weihe Xie	Vice President & Professor, Tsinghua University, China

and another 6 overseas participants

JAPANESE PARTICIPANTS

President

Toshimasa Asahara	President, Hiroshima University

Invited Experts

Aya Yoshida	Professor, Faculty of Education and Integrated Arts and Sciences, Waseda University
Akira Tachi	President, Japan Association of Higher Education Research (Professor, J.F.Oberlin University)

Research Institute for Higher Education (RIHE)

Shinichi Yamamoto	Director and Professor
Ikuo Kitagaki	Professor
Tsukasa Daizen	Professor
Futao Huang	Professor
Jun Oba	Associate Professor
Masataka Murasawa	Associate Professor
Kazunori Shima	Associate Professor
Satoshi P. Watanabe	Associate Professor
Hideto Fukudome	Associate Professor
Yumiko Hada	Associate Professor

and another 50 Japanese Participants

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* As of November, 2010

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RIHE International Publication Series

No. 1: Kaneko, M. (1987). *Enrollment Expansion in Postwar Japan*.
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No. 8: Arimoto, A. (ed.) (2002). *University Reforms and Academic Governance Reconsidered: Report of the Six-Nation Higher Education Research Project*.
No. 9: Arimoto, A., Huang, F., and Yokoyama, K. (eds.) (2005). *Globalization and Higher Education.*
No.10: Huang, F. (ed.) (2006). *Transnational Higher education in Asia and the Pacific Region.*

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