Frontier of Private Higher Education Research in East Asia

東アジアにおける高等教育研究のフロンティア

RIIHE Research Series
私学高等教育研究所研究叢書

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Research Institute for Independent Higher Education (RIIHE)
日本私立大学協会附置　私学高等教育研究所

まえがき

私学高等教育の国際比較研究を、日本人としてどのような形で進めるべきか？ 20 年近くの歳月がたってしまったが、私学を中心とした高等教育の発展という切り口で日本の高等教育の特質をとらえ世界の高等教育研究に影響を与えた天野郁夫先生たちや、一足先を行くアメリカの高等教育の動向を示し続けることで日本の高等教育に大きな影響を与えた喜多村和之先生などは、私たちの世代の日本の高等教育研究者の目標となってきた。高等教育研究の国際化は、着実に進んでいる。アルトバック先生とともに英語でアジアの高等教育についての著書をまとめられた馬越徹先生のお仕事は、アジア人によるアジア高等教育研究の水準が高まっていることを見事に示した。また、21 世紀に入って日本人、そしてアジア人の高等教育研究者による英語での発信は、飛躍的に増加している。同時に、現在の英語での出版事情は、すでに「日本」という国に市場価値を見いだせなくなっており、日本人の研究者は「アジア」「OECD」など、国際的な地域やグループの一部として、自らの高等教育システムをとらえ、分析し、発信しなければならない時代となっている。

他方で、高等教育研究のなかでの比較研究の立場は、非常に難しくなってきている。外国の高等教育のあり方を日本語で書くとき、その教育システムや社会全体がもつ文脈を十分語らなければ、なぜ、ある政策手段が選択され、ある効果が起きるのかは説明できない。そうすると、日本へのインプリケーションをいち早く得たい読者に対し、前提ばかりが妙に長いとの印象を与える。比較研究はそこまで大変な仕事なのに、最近は英語が共通語として普及することで、簡単に外国人と出会い、あるいは一度も会ったことのない外国人とインターネットを通じて「共同研究」ができ、誰とも連絡を取らずとも、ウェブサイトを覗くだけである種の論文は書けてしまう。おまけに、各国の高等教育研究のコミュニティが拡大し、実践との結びつきが増す中で分野が細分化し、純粋な「比較高等教育研究」は、日本のみならず、米国の高等教育学会などでもマイナーな存在となっているようである。グローバル化は、国際比較研究を日常化させ、同時に、その手軽さのなかで、日本語でも、英語でも、誰をオーディエンスとし、何を問題として提示するのかが不明確になっている。日本語で、英語以上に早く国際比較の情報を書き続けることは不可能である。英語もまた、世界が「フラット」化して国籍を問わず誰もが国際比較研究をリードできる時代が訪れたのはよいが、国境を越えて資金を得て、多様な国の人々をネットワークし、その分野において世界で一番働いて、リーダーとなっていくことは並大抵のことではない。

アジアの高等教育研究者がもっとも身近に感ずる「私学」というフィールドで、自ら国際研究を組織し、新しい研究領域を切り開き、世界に向けて発信することができないかと思い、私どもは、標記のテーマでのワークショップを 2006 年 12 月に開かせていいただいた。私学高等教育研究所の英語名が示すとおり、私学が「独立 independent」を意味する

のであれば、国境は関係ない。アジア、あるいはさらに広い地理的、社会・経済的広がりの中で、どう自らの世界を定義し、研究枠組みを確立し、世界に発信するのか？また、アジアの私学高等教育のために働く人たちとどう連帯し、還元できるのか？

ワークショップでは、ニューヨーク州立大学のレヴィ教授が、彼の私学高等教育研究プロジェクト（PROPHE）の成果に基づいて、世界的動向の中で、アジアの私学高等教育の特質について整理した。その中で特に指摘されたのは、量的な存在感の大きさと同時に、アメリカのような威信の高い研究大学はアジアを含め、世界のどこにも存在しない、という論点であった。特に後者については、世界的に見ればそう見えてしまうのかという感想と同時に、アジア人の研究者の間には違和感が残った。次に、東京大学の金子元久教授がオーナーシップという観点から日本の私学高等教育をとらえ直す刺激的な話を展開した。非営利を基本とする私学高等教育という考え方は、日本のみならず、アメリカの影響を受けた多くのアジア諸国に共通するが、同時にそのお膝元を含めて、営利の大学が出現し、淘汰を含めた市場競争的な政策が出されるほど、そのオーナーシップは厳しく問われる。ブリストル大学のモック教授は、日本を東アジアの主要国の政策動向を網羅する形で、この地域を席巻する新自由主義と私事化との関わりを整理した。また、彼の口頭発表では、アジアの高等教育のアイデンティティへの熱い思いが発せられた。このあと、デリー大学のグプタ博士、北京大学の鮑博士からインド、中国の私学高等教育のもつ文脈についての報告があり、つづいて広島大学のマッキニス教授から、オーストラリアの文脈を踏まえたコメントが寄せられた。東アジアの地理的定義は難しく、実際には、南アジア、オセアニアと密接に関わる形で私学高等教育が展開している。その中で、我々の頭の中にはどうしても馬越モデルのような発展段階的ともいえる発想があるわけだが、同時に、もっとフラットな共通枠組みも必要なのだろうと感じられた。

翌日、焦点は、アジアの私学高等教育研究がおかれた文脈に移った。北京大学のヤン教授からは、彼が中国フォード財団の助成を受けて進めている西安での私学高等教育に対するスタッフ・デベロップメントを主体としたアクション・リサーチの紹介があった。また、馬越教授からは、日本と韓国での私学高等教育機関職員を対象としたアドミニストレータ養成の大学院プログラムについての報告がなされた。私学高等教育研究に対して投じられる資金は、世界的にも驚くほど小さい。レヴィ教授の率いる PROPHE は米国フォード財団の資金を得た国際プロジェクトであるが、これを除けば、東欧・南米などで細々とした資金が得られるか得られないか、というのが現状である。その中で、中国、韓国、日本では、私高研自体がよい例であるように、私学高等教育自身から、研究資金が投じられ、私学の高等教育研究をもり立てるべきだという動きがある。では、このような研究者にとってありがたい環境の中で、私学に実務として関わる方々と一緒に、どのように研究をもり立てることができるか、同時に、国際的な学術共同体に対して、どのように学術的貢献ができるか、という２つの異なる目的の間のバランスを考えることが、アジアらしい私学高

等教育研究につながるのではないかと感じた。

続いて、私学高等教育の国際的文脈に話題が移り、ブリュネル大学のキム博士から、韓国の私学高等教育及びその教員がもつ国際的な背景が語られた。レヴィ氏の、アメリカ以外に威信が高い私立の研究大学は存在しない、という話は、韓国の事例を通してもきれいに覆ったわけであるが、植民地や社会主義の経験をもつ多くのアジア諸国にとっての「私学」の持つ意味合いに対して、阿部義也先生の名訳が出版されたルドルフが指摘しているアメリカの私学のアイデンティティ問題と併せ、複雑さと同時に歴史的重みを改めて感じた。また、熊本大学の大森教授からは、この地域に不可欠な国境を越えた高等教育の展開についての発表がなされた。氏の議論は、日本が実践的な部分を含め、国際的政策対話に貢献を果たした大きな成果のひとつである。

この日の午後には、今後の研究の方向性についての自由な議論が行われた。主催者として結論的に感じたのは、地道な研究を通しての交流の重要性である。それぞれの国内オーディエンスと英語を通した国際オーディエンスの両方に対してアンビバレントな立場にあるアジア私学高等教育の比較研究にとっては、まずは、質の高い学術的成果を蓄積し、発信することを通して、関心を持つ者のネットワークを広げていくのがもっとも実際的な戦略ではないか。

Preface

From the perspective of a researcher in Japanese higher education

How should we, as Japanese researchers, proceed with cross-national research on private higher education? For approximately 20 years, two pioneers of higher education research in Japan have been good influential models for younger generation of Japanese researchers. Kazuyuki Kitamura, former Chief Researcher at the Research Institute for Independent Higher Education (RIIHE), had a great influence on Japanese higher education policies and research by introducing American trends which were relevant to the Japanese situation. Ikuo Amano developed his research on private higher education from the beginning of modern government, and gave a certain impact to the international academic community.

The internationalization of higher education research is steadily advancing. The recent, co-edited work of Toru Umakoshi, *Asian Universities* (Altbach. P. G. and Umakoshi, T., Eds. 2004: Johns Hopkins University Press), certainly revealed improvement in Asian higher education research being conducted by Asians. After entering the 21st Century, the number of publications in the English language by Asians as well as Japanese higher education researchers has been rapidly increasing.

At the same time, 'Japan' as a single country 'case' no longer has market value in English publications. Therefore, it is inevitable for Japanese researchers to take, analyze and publish on their own higher education systems as a part of regional group such as 'Asia' , 'Asia-Pacific', or of other group categories such as 'OECD countries'.

On the other hand, the position of comparative researchers in higher education towards their own language communities is also becoming unstable. For example, when a Japanese researcher writes something on higher education on a non-Japanese country in the Japanese language, he or she has to have enough knowledge on the education system and the society of that country so that he or she can explain why a certain policy tool has been selected, and why a certain effect was observed. Moreover, articles of comparative researchers tend to be lengthy in "introduction", while readers wish to go directly to the "implications" for Japanese higher education. Although it is highly time consuming to explain the adequate contexts of foreign countries as a professional comparative researcher, now, it is quite easy for anyone to meet and communicate with researchers of other countries, or to implement 'joint research', even without meeting physically. Some types of research are possible merely through checking websites, without any contacts.

Adding to this, the expansion of higher education research communities in numbers of countries and increasing connections between research and practice lead to the segmentation of higher education research into specific areas such as finance, quality assurance, and etcetera. From this point of view, 'pure' comparative higher education research appears to be a minor exercise in countries with large higher education research communities such as the US and Japan.

Globalization makes comparative research an easy daily exercise and for Japanese comparative researchers, it is becoming unclear who is the targeted audience of their research regardless whether they write in English or Japanese. In the English speaking world, although it is very good that the world is becoming 'flat', it is extraordinarily difficult to be a global leading scholar through networking with researchers of various countries and obtaining research funds which are distributed across the countries.

We, the members of the RIIHE research group on 'privatization of higher education', organized a workshop under the title of 'Frontier of Private Higher Education Research in East Asia' at Tokyo in December, 2006. By utilizing the topic of 'private higher education', which is quite familiar for most East Asian higher education researchers, we aimed to plant a seed for our own international research, create a new research area, and raise the 'voice' of East Asian researchers to the world.

RIIHE uses the term 'independent' higher education to refer to 'private' higher education. If 'private' higher education means 'independent' from government, there is no national border in private higher education. How could we define our higher education world in Asia and in the wider geographical, social and economic space? How could we establish our research framework and how to raise our voice to the world? How could we contribute to and collaborate with people working for private higher education in Asia?

In the workshop, Daniel Levy (SUNY, Albany) presented a clear map of global trends in private higher education and characteristics of private higher education in Asia, based on the research projects by PROPHE (which he directs). Two points were especially impressive: First, private higher education in Asia is quantitatively large; and second, there is no distinguished elite private university outside of the United States. Among Asian researchers from countries such as Korea and Japan, this was a shocking statement because it must be true that outsiders tend to regard Asian top private universities as not distinctive enough.

Motohisa Kaneko (University of Tokyo) then led a stimulating discussion on Japanese private higher education from the viewpoint of 'ownership'. The non-profit status of private higher education has been widely shared among most Asian countries having an

American influence. However, nowadays, the rapid development of for-profit higher education is observed in the United States, Japan and in other newly developed higher education systems in Asian counties. There, the ownership issue is becoming more critical though strengthened policies towards market competition.

Kaho Mok (University of Bristol) cast light on the relationship between neo-liberalism and privatization in East Asia, covering policy trends of major countries in this area. Furthermore, he emphatically articulated the need to establish the identity of Asian higher education in his oral presentation. Subsequent presentations of Indian (Asha Gupta, University of Delhi) and Chinese (Bao Wei, Peking University) contexts of private higher education were given. Craig McInnis (formerly of University of Melbourne, now of Hiroshima University) also offered thoughtful comments based on the Australian context. The definition of private higher education in 'East Asia' as a geographical area is actually difficult. Namely, private universities in this region are developing closely alongside trends in Oceania.

Views of Umakoshi's (2004) developmental stage model are relatively strong among Japanese researchers when we discuss the development of Asian private higher education. In reality, there are many variations among private higher education systems, and a more 'flat' comparative framework may become more relevant.

On the second day of the workshop, the focus of discussion shifted to the contexts in which private higher education research in Asia is implemented. Fenqiao Yan (Peking University) introduced his action research project for private higher education institutions in Xi'an, supported by the Ford Foundation China. Toru Umakoshi made a presentation on graduate school programs for training administrative staff in the private higher education institutions in Japan and Korea.

If we take a global perspective, the capital invested in private higher education research is surprisingly small, except for the example of PROPHE, which is supported by the Ford Foundation. However, in East Asia, associations or groups for private higher education themselves are willing to offer grants and support private higher education research. RIIHE is a good example of this tendency.

By utilizing this research-conducive environment, we should continue to discuss how we might work with practitioners of private higher education through research. At the same time, we also should contribute academically to the international research community. Thinking about the balance between these two different purposes is crucial for the future direction of Asian private higher education research.

The topic then moved to the international context of private higher education. Terri Kim

(Brunel University) gave a discussion on Korean private higher education and the international background of its academic staff. Korean private higher education is a good example whereby some private higher education institutions within an Asian country can enjoy high prestige and be regarded as elite, research-oriented universities. At the same time, Kim's presentation reminded us of the importance of the historical context underlying the public-private distinction, especially in countries which experienced colonization.

Kumamoto University's Fujio Ohmori followed with a presentation on the development of cross-border higher education, which is one of the key features of the Asia-Pacific region. His argument is a product of international policy dialogues among countries on the Pacific-rim and other areas.

In the afternoon on the second day, a free discussion was held on the direction of research. As an organizer, I felt strongly the need for continuous exchange through steady research efforts. Comparative research on Asian private higher education tends to take an ambiguous position to satisfy both domestic and international audiences. We should accumulate and publish high quality research, and we should develop networks with others interested in this area.

I would like to express gratitude to Professor Takizawa and RIIHE for their gracious support in making our project a success. Thanks are also extended to our distinguished international and Japanese guests, including Professor Daniel Levy, Kaho Mok, Asha Gupta, Bao Wei, Craig McInnis, Fenqiao Yan, Terri Kim, and Motohisa Kaneko, and all of the project members including Tomoko Yamazaki. Presentations and discussions were equally enjoyable and productive due to the active participation of all participants. Finally, special thanks are offered to Mr. Makoto Nagasawa, who worked long and hard for PROPHE, and did an excellent job in establishing a bridge between RIIHE and PROPHE, and to Professor Rie Mori, our youngest but most active project member.

Project Leader
Akiyoshi Yonezawa

アジア次元の私学高等教育研究　国際ワークショップを開催して

米澤　彰純

私学高等教育の国際比較研究を、日本人としてどのような形で進めるべきか。20 年近くの歳月がたってしまったが、私学を中心とした高等教育の発展という切り口で日本の高等教育の特質をとらえ世界の高等教育研究に影響を与えた天野郁夫先生たちや、一足先を行くアメリカの高等教育の動向を示し続けることで日本の高等教育に大きな影響を与えた喜多村和之先生などは、筆者の目標となってきた。

高等教育研究の国際化は、着実に進んでいる。アルトバック先生とともに、英語でアジアの高等教育についての著書をまとめた馬越　徹先生の仕事は、アジア人によるアジア高等教育研究の水準が高まっていることを見事に示した。また、21 世紀に入り、日本人の高等教育研究者による英語での発信は、飛躍的に増加している。同時に、現在の英語での出版事情は、既に「日本」という国に市場価値を見出せなくなっており、日本人の研究者は「アジア」「OECD」など、国際的な地域やグループの一部として、自らの高等教育システムをとらえ、分析し、発信しなければならない時代となっているのは皮肉である。

他方で、高等教育研究の中での比較研究の立場は、非常に難しくなってきている。外国の高等教育のあり方を日本語で書くとき、その教育システムや社会全体が持つ文脈を十分に語らなければ、なぜ、ある政策手段が選択され、ある効果が起きるのかは説明できない。そうすると、日本へのインプリケーションをいち早く得たい読者に対して、前提ばかりが妙に長いとの印象を与える。

比較研究は、そこまで大変な仕事なのに、最近は英語が共通語として普及することで、簡単に外国人と出会い、あるいは一度も会ったことのない外国人とインターネットを通じて「共同研究」ができ、誰とも連絡を取らずとも、ウェブサイトを覗くだけである種の論文は書けてしまう。おまけに、各国の高等教育研究のコミュニティが拡大し、実践との結びつきが増す中で分野が細分化し、純粋な「比較高等教育研究」は、米国の高等教育学会などでもマイナーな存在となっている。

グローバル化は、国際比較研究を日常化させ、同時に、その手軽さの中で、日本語でも、英語でも、誰をオーディエンスとし、何を問題として提示するのかが不明確になっている。日本語で、英語以上に早く国際比較の情報を書き続けることは不可能である。英語もまた、世界が「フラット」化して、国籍を問わず誰もが国際比較研究をリードできる時代が訪れたのはよいが、国境を越えて資金を得て、多様な国の人々をネットワークし、その分野において世界で一番働いて、リーダーとなっていくことは並大抵のことではない。

アジアの高等教育研究者が、最も身近に感じる「私学」というフィールドで、自ら国際研究を組織し、新しい研究領域を切り開き、世界に向けて発信することができないかと思い、昨年の 12 月 14 日と 15 日、馬越　徹、田中義郎、大森不二雄、森　利枝の各氏とともに「東アジアにおける私学高等教育研究のフロンティア」と題する英語での国際ワークショップを東京・市ヶ谷のアルカディア市ヶ谷を中心に開かせていいただいた。私学高等教育研究所の英語名が示すとおり、私学が「独立　independent」を意味するのであれば、国境は関係ない。アジア、あるいは、さらに広い地理的、社会・経済的広がりの中で、どう自らの世界を定義し、研究の枠組みを確立し、世界に発信するのか。また、アジアの私学高等教育のために働く人たちとどう連帯し、還元できるのか。

ワークショップでは、ニューヨーク州立大学のレヴィ教授が、氏の私学高等教育研究プロジェクト（PROPHE）の成果に基づいて、世界的動向の中でのアジアの私学高等教育の特質について整理した。その中で特に指摘されたのは、量的な存在感の大きさと同時に、アメリカのような威信の高い研究大学は、アジアを含め、世界のどこにも存在しないという論点であった。特に後者については、世界的に見れば、そう見えてしまうのかという感想と同時に、アジア人の研究者の間には違和感が残った。

次に、東京大学の金子元久教授が、オーナーシップという観点から、日本の私学高等教育をとらえ直す刺激的な話を展開した。非営利を基本とする私学高等教育という考え方は、日本のみならず、アメリカの影響を受けた多くのアジア諸国に共通するが、同時に、そのお膝元を含めて、営利の大学が出現し、淘汰を含めた市場競争的な政策が出されるほど、そのオーナーシップは厳しく問われる。

ブリストル大学のモック教授は、日本を東アジアの主要国の政策動向を網羅する形で、この地域を席巻する新自由主義と私事化との関わりを整理した。また、彼の口頭発表では、アジアの高等教育のアイデンティティへの熱い思いが発せられた。

このあと、デリー大学のグプタ博士、北京大学の鮑博士から、それぞれ、インド、中国の私学高等教育の持つ文脈についての報告があり、続いて、広島大学のマッキニス教授から、オーストラリアの文脈を踏まえたコメントが寄せられた。

東アジアの地理的定義は難しく、実際には、南アジア、オセアニアと密接に関わる形で私学高等教育が展開している。その中で、われわれの頭の中には、どうしても馬越モデルのような発展段階的ともいえる発想があるわけだが、同時に、もっとフラットな共通の枠組みも必要なのだろうと感じられた。

翌日、焦点は、アジアの私学高等教育研究がおかれた文脈に移った。北京大学の閻教授からは、氏が中国フォード財団の助成を受けて進めている、西安での私学高等教育に対するスタッフ・ディベロップメントを主体としたアクション・リサーチの紹介があった。また、桜美林大学の馬越教授からは、日本と韓国での私学高等教育機関職員を対象とした、

アドミニストレータ養成の大学院プログラムについての報告がなされた。

私学高等教育研究に対して投じられる資金は、世界的にも驚くほど小さい。レヴィ教授の率いる PROPHE は、米国フォード財団の資金を得た国際プロジェクトであるが、これを除けば、東欧、南米などで、細々とした資金が得られるか得られないかというのが現状である。その中で、中国、韓国、日本では、私学高等教育研究所自体がよい例であるように、私学高等教育自身から研究資金が投じられ、私学の高等教育研究を盛り立てるべきだという動きがある。

では、このような研究者にとってありがたい環境の中で、私学に実務として関わる方々と一緒に、どのように研究を盛り立てることができるのか。同時に、国際的な学術共同体に対して、どのように学術的貢献ができるのかという、2 つの異なる目的の間のバランスを考えることが、アジアらしい私学高等教育研究につながるのではないかと感じた。

続いて、私学高等教育の国際的文脈に話題が移り、ブリュネル大学のキム博士から、韓国の私学高等教育及びその教員が持つ国際的な背景が語られた。レヴィ氏による、アメリカ以外に威信が高い私立の研究大学は存在しないという話は、韓国の事例を通しても、きれいに覆ったわけであるが、植民地や社会主義の経験を持つ多くのアジア諸国にとっての「私学」の持つ意味合いに対して、阿部義也先生の名訳が出版されたルドルフが指摘している、アメリカの私学のアイデンティティの問題と併せ、複雑さと同時に、歴史的重みをあらためて感じた。また、熊本大学の大森教授からは、この地域に不可欠な、国境を越えた高等教育の展開についての発表がなされた。氏の議論は、日本が実践的な部分を含め、国際的政策対話に貢献を果たした大きな成果のひとつである。

この日の午後には、今後の研究の方向性についての自由な議論が行われた。主催者として結論的に感じたのは、地道な研究を通しての交流の重要性である。それぞれの国内オーディエンスと、英語を通した国際オーディエンスの両方に対して、アンビバレントな立場にあるアジア私学高等教育の比較研究にとっては、まずは質の高い学術的成果を蓄積し、発信することを通して、関心を持つ者のネットワークを広げていくのが最も実際的な戦略ではないか。そのあとのことは、また、そのあとで考えたいと思った。

（教育学術新聞「アルカディア学報 268」平成 19 年 1 月 10 日号より）

東アジアにおける私学高等教育研究 のフロンティア
国際ワークショップ報告 ―1―

森　利枝

〈国際ワークショップの開催〉

今回から３回にわたり、昨年 12 月に行われた国際ワークショップ「東アジアにおける私学高等教育研究のフロンティア」について報告する。このワークショップは私学高等教育研究所とニューヨーク州立大学アルバニー校私学高等教育プログラム（PROPHE）とが共催したもので、同時に私学高等教育研究所のプロジェクト「高等教育における私事化と政策」に参加している研究メンバー（米澤彰純、馬越　徹、田中義郎、大森不二雄、筆者）と、当該プロジェクトの研究業績を核として実現されたものである。

このワークショップの概要に関しては、すでに教育学術新聞 2258 号（2007 年 1 月 10 日）の本欄（268 回）で米澤彰純研究員から開催の意図とそれ以降の研究遂行の戦略を含めて報告されているが、今回、ワークショップの報告書 Frontier of Private Higher Education Research in East Asia が私立高等教育研究叢書として私学高等教育研究所から刊行される運びとなったことにあわせて、おのおののプレゼンテーションの内容にわたって詳細に紹介することとしたい。なお本ワークショップは英語を用いて行われたもので、今回刊行される報告書もほぼ全編が英語で記されている。本欄での３回の連載と併せてご参照いただければ幸いである。

〈リーダーシップへの視点〉

本欄 268 回の米澤研究員の報告においても触れられているが、今回、日本、中国、インド、韓国およびアメリカ、オーストラリアという各国出身の高等教育研究者が一堂に会し、東アジアの高等教育において最も特徴的な問題のひとつである「私学」の問題を扱ったのは、ひとつにはワークショップの開催を通じて東アジアの私学高等教育の現状に関する最新の情報を収集・交換し、東アジアに共有される課題をあぶり出し、かつそれらの課題に対する高等教育研究者の責務に関して討議するという最大の目的があったためである。しかし同時に、国ごとにモードの差こそあれ、私学高等教育が政策上の課題となっている東アジア各国における私学高等教育研究のネットワーク化をはかるにあたって、日本の私学教育研究のひとつの拠点である私学高等教育研究所がいかにすればリーダーシップを果たしうるかという自問に答えるという課題も、今回の試みのうちに内包されていたのである。

〈東アジアの私学高等教育の論点〉

これら２つの問いのうち、後者への答えは連載の後半に譲るとして、ここではワークシ

ョップを企画する際に、主催者側、特にホストとなった私学高等教育研究所の側が東アジアの私学高等教育の現状のうちどのような側面を討議すべき課題としていたかをご紹介しておきたい。まず、課題の設定にあたって注目した、東アジアの私学高等教育の特徴は次のようなものであった。

・発達過程の多様性

東アジアの私学高等教育には、かなりの多様性が看取される。たとえば日本や韓国、フィリピンなどの私学高等教育とマレーシアの私学高等教育とではその歴史の長さに大きな違いがある。私学高等教育が学術の卓越性を形成することにおいて相当の貢献を行っている国もあれば、拡大する高等教育への需要の吸収をもっぱらとすると見られている国もあり、そこには社会的に果たす機能の多様性が指摘される。法的な位置づけも、教育機関として制度化されているものから、営利企業として位置づけられているもの、あるいは「法的な位置づけがない」ものもある。これらの多様性には国単位で観察されるものもあれば一国における機関間で観察されるものもある。

・需要の拡大

東アジアに限らずアジア全体に関していえることは、先にも述べたが高等教育への需要が拡大していることである。この需要に対する供給源には二種類ある。国内の高等教育機関と、外国の高等教育機関である。また一般に、この需要吸収の機能は主に私学高等教育機関が果たしているとされているが、公立の機関であっても同様な機能を果たすことは可能であり、またそのような実態も観察される。拡大する需要にいかに対応するかという問題に関しては、実際には私立―公立という二局面だけで分析することは難しくなっているのかも知れない。むしろ、伝統的―非伝統的という分析の軸のほうに意味が出てきているとも考えられる。

・非伝統的高等教育

しかし、現状を見る限り非伝統的高等教育の主たる担い手が私立機関であることは否めない。高等教育の供給の「調節弁」としての私立機関の役割が注目されるところである。ここに指摘される「新規性」とは、たとえばｅ―ラーニングなどの新たな授業配信方法であり、あるいはまた、職業訓練、外国大学とのフランチャイズ展開、学位を与えない課程の提供、国によっては授業料の徴収、営利大学の設置などに見られる新たな価値観である。

すなわち、私学高等教育に関する議論とは、「高等教育」の名の下に行われる多な新しい試みの正統性に関する議論であるとも整理できる。

以上のような現状認識に基づいて、私学高等教育研究所では PROPHE との討議を重ねながら今回のワークショップのアジェンダを以下のように設定し、各国からの参加者にプレゼンテーションを依頼した。

・各国における私学高等教育の起源

・各国における私学高等教育機関の法的位置づけ

・私学高等教育が果たしている、あるいはそれに期待されている社会的、経済的機能
・私学高等教育あるいは高等教育全体の将来の見通し

なかでも最後の点に関して、東アジアあるいはアジアの高等教育の将来像に関する見通しの欠如があらかじめ指摘された。また、今回のワークショップに限らず、今後東アジア全体にわたって高等教育の現状を切り取る切り口としては、次のような視点からの考察が求められることが呈示された。すなわち、国境を越えた学生の移動、国境を越えた教員の移動、国境を越えた教育サービスの移動、これら国境を越えた高等教育の流動化（学生及び学位や単位の互換）を支える各国の政策に関する現状と、求められる改革についてである。

〈ネットワーク化の試み〉

このような問題意識のもとにワークショップが行われた２日間は、東アジアにおける高等教育の将来を見通すという命題を中心に、高等教育研究と高等教育研究者にはどのような役割を果たすことが期待されているか、東アジア域内でどのように共同することができるか、そしてそのネットワーク構築のために誰がどのようにリーダーシップをとるべきかということ（そしてその点において私学高等教育研究所がいかなる役割を果たしうるかということ）について何らかの絵を描くことを問う２日間でもあった。おのおののプレゼンテーションと議論の詳細は連載の次回以降に譲るが、この、私学高等教育研究所が 2006 年に行ったワークショップが、東アジアの高等教育研究者のネットワークを議論する場であると同時に、そのネットワークを構築することをめざしていたことは先にも述べたとおりであり、また研究所としてはそのための一歩を踏み出すことができたと信じている。ワークショップの開催から約一年を経て現在問われているのは、このネットワークのサスティナビリティをいかに保証するべきかということでもある。（つづく）

（教育学術新聞「アルカディア学報 304」平成 19 年 11 月 14 日号より）

東アジアにおける私学高等教育研究のフロンティア
国際ワークショップ報告 ―2―

米澤　彰純

今回は、昨年 12 月に行われたワークショップ「東アジアにおける私学高等教育研究のフロンティア」の報告の第2回目として、世界的動向を扱った、ダニエル・レヴィ氏（米国ニューヨーク州立大学オルバニー校、PROPHE ディレクター)、東アジアの動向を自身の枠組みから議論したカホー・モック氏(英国ブリストル大学東アジア研究センター教授)、さらに、日本の高等教育を比較の枠組みから整理した金子元久氏（東京大学教育学研究科長）の３氏の議論の概要を紹介する。

《ダニエル・レヴィ氏「私学高等教育の世界的動向：東アジアへの展望」》

〈私学高等教育の規模〉

私学高等教育の規模は、世界全体では 30%程度と考えられているが、それでもこれは十分大きな数字となる。これは、国や地域で多様であり、例えば米国は約 20%、西ヨーロッパは最も私学高等教育が少ない地域であるが、それでも、ポルトガル、ドイツなどで私学高等教育の発展が最近拡大している。他方、東ヨーロッパは、社会主義圏の崩壊にともない、特に経済拡大が著しい地域で急速に私学が発達し、中東および北アフリカでもある程度同様の傾向が認められる。サブサハラアフリカも近年私学高等教育の発達が著しい。また、中南米もすでに 1980 年代から約 40%に達している。

このなかで、東アジアは私学高等教育の学生数が最も多い地域であり、中国では私学高等教育のシェアが低いが成長は確認できる。これは、研究者や世界銀行などの注目してきたところであるが、おそらく、東アジアモデルの健全性は、高等教育急拡大以前に広く教育を受けた市民層が発達していたことによるものだと言えるだろう。

〈成長パターン〉

私学高等教育の成長パターンとしては､宗教や少数民族などを背景とするものがあるが、東アジアで特に注目したいのは、エリート私学高等教育である。しかし、上海交通大学の最近の世界大学ランキングでは、世界で米国以外の私学は六大学しか含まれておらず、米国以外ではエリート大学の存立がまれであることが明らかになった。また、国公立不合格者の受け皿として私学が機能する傾向があることから､「セミ・エリート」というカテゴリーを用いたいと考えている。他方、需要吸収型の高等教育は、移行経済や新興のパターンとしてみられるが、多くみられるパターンとして、無政府的に突然広がり、そのあとで規制が後追いするというパターンで、これは中国、インド、タイなどが典型例である。また、

公と私が連携するパターンとして、ガーナなど、私学が公立大学と連携しなければ存在を認められないなどの例を見ることができる。また、日本は典型だが、女子高等教育において私学が大きな役割を果たすパターンもある。

〈私学高等教育の発達への障害〉

私学高等教育の発達を妨げる要因としては、まず、理念として公立の高等教育が先に存在する場合、私学が知られないか、あるいは教育と「私」との関係が理解されないという場合である。次に考えられるのが、政治経済的な要因であり、例えば学費への規制やアクレディテーション、さらに、公立機関の私事化もまた、大きな障害となりうる。また、日本の場合、少子化が大きな障害となるが、私学が市場から退出することは、一概に悪いこととは言えない。

最後に、営利の大学であるが、これは基本的には私学のパターンを踏襲しつつ、よりダイナミックで、過激であるものととらえている。

《カホー・モック氏「国内的な力学がグローバルなトレンドに出会うとき：東アジアの高等教育の自由主義化」》

アジアにおける高等教育の「私事性」の拡大を説明する社会・経済・政治的要因を検討したい。ここでは、グローバルな力学と、国内的な力学が相互作用を経ながらこのような方向へ変化していくと考える。

〈グローバルな力学〉

グローバルな競争力を向上させるため、世界各国・地域では、高等教育システムの再構築が進んでいる。中国や台湾などの東アジアの開発国家の間では、「市場促進国家 market acceleration state」（強力な国家と自由な市場）が形成されている。日本もまた、新自由主義や経営主義などと無縁ではなく、国立大学の法人化などのガバナンス改革が進んでいる。また、法人化は、シンガポールやマレーシアなど、東南アジアでも盛んである。

他方、アジアでは高等教育の「私事性」が拡大しており、高等教育を市場における商品ととらえる考え方が浸透してきている。これは、高等教育がＧＡＴＳでサービス商品として取り上げられ、各国に外国大学のブランチキャンパスが設立され、留学生市場の一層の拡大が見込まれていることなどからみてとれる。香港、シンガポール、日本などの先進国・地域では国境を越える高等教育を収入源ととらえる傾向があるのに対し、マレーシア、中国などは高等教育への需要圧力に対しての機会拡大としてとらえる傾向がある。

〈国内の力学〉

アジア諸国には、これに加えて教育政策を方向付ける国内的な要因がいくつか存在する。まず、アジア諸国の多くは日本・英国などの植民地であったことと米国の影響力を強く受けている。また、儒教的価値観の影響が、教育の消費や私的な教育の発展を促しているという指摘が繰り返しなされている。さらに、これらに加え、高等教育の大衆化への対処と

しても高等教育の私事性が拡大する傾向がある。また、アジア諸国には、キャッチング・アップをし終えてさらに先を目指している国々と、キャッチング・アップの途上にある国々があるが、前者は産学連携、後者は家計からの学費支出などにより、私的な資金をその発展の源泉に活用する傾向がある。

以上のように、アジア諸国の高等教育へのグローバル化の影響力については、国家がグローバルな力学を変化の加速に活用しており、また、文化・伝統・歴史などの要素も重要な役割を果たしていることを認識する必要がある。

《金子元久氏「転換期にある日本の私立大学」》

現在の日本の私立大学を巡る諸問題について適切な理解をするためには、日本の高等教育システムや、各高等教育機関の起源などの歴史的背景の検討が不可欠である。特に、1960年以降は、①市場圧力下の急拡大（70 年代半ばまで）、②規制された市場（90 年まで）、③構造変動（現在まで）の３段階を経ている。また、創立の分類としては、①自発的協会、②社会団体の支援、③企業的があり、これは米国と大きく異なる。また、高等教育機関は、創立の後、組織を拡大し、教育と研究での高い水準へ到達するという発展段階を取る傾向がある。また、制度的な背景、ガバナンス、財務構造などにも、固有の特徴がある。

世紀の転換点をむかえ、日本の私立大学は、18 歳人口の減少により、財務構造が緊縛度を増すなかで、小泉政権下で規制緩和の中におかれることになった。このような縮小市場の中で、現在までのところ閉校に追い込まれた事例は少ないが、今後は予断を許さない。これに対して政府は、質の管理、財務破綻の場合の消費者（学生）保護、ガバナンスや財務の透明度の強化などの政策で対処しようとしている。また、大学では財務やガバナンスの変質、具体的には任期制教員の増加などによる支出カットや意志決定の集権化などが進んでいる。

将来への方向性としては、より公的な領域へと進もうとするグループと、私的なオーナーシップを守り、防衛を図るグループと二極化する傾向が見られるが、後者は皮肉にも、新たに出現した営利大学による挑戦を受ける格好となっている。（つづく）

（教育学術新聞「アルカディア学報 305」平成 19 年 11 月 21 日号より）

東アジアにおける私学高等教育研究のフロンティア
国際ワークショップ報告 ―3―

米澤　彰純

今回は、昨年 12 月におこなわれたワークショップ「東アジアにおける私学高等教育研究のフロンティア」の報告の最終回として、中国・インドの私学高等教育とその発展を扱った鮑威氏（中国北京大学教育学院研究員）とアーシャ・グプタ氏（インドデリー大学附属カレッジ元校長)、そして、韓国を中心に東アジアの私学高等教育におけるアカデミック・プロフェッションについて取り上げたテリー・キム氏（英国ブリューネル大学比較高等教育学講師）の３氏の議論の概要を紹介する。

《鮑威氏「中国における民営高等教育の発展：変化と対応」》

中国の民営高等教育の復活と発展は、高等教育の大衆化と密接に関連している。歴史的にみると、中国の高等教育の拡大は、４つの時期に区分される。第一は、萌芽期（1977―78）である。文化大革命後、都市にもどってきた若者に対する補修教育や職業教育のニーズが発生し、これに対応した小規模の「教室」が、中国の民営高等教育の原型となった。

第二は、成長期（1979―85）である。この時期には、経済成長と第二次ベビーブーマーの進学により急拡大した高等教育ニーズを既存の高等教育システムが満たすことが出来なかった。放送大学が設立されたほか、政府文書により民営高等教育の存在が容認されるようになった。現在ある多くの有名民営高等教育機関がこの時期に設立されている。

第三は、安定成長期（1986―98）である。この時期、大学の管理・運営権などの規制緩和が行われ、民営高等教育機関の乱造や不正行為などが発生した。政府は、規制措置での対応に加え、学位授与権の拡大を制限し、また、学位授与権を持たない高等教育機関の卒業生を対象とした学位認定試験という２つの手段により、質のコントロールを行った。

第四は、再構築期（1999―2005）である。1999 年以降、中国の高等教育は、公的雇用の縮小や第三次ベビーブーマーの進学などにより未曾有の大拡張期に入り、高等教育は公共・民営の両セクターとも大きく拡大した。この中で、政府は、民営高等教育の高等職業教育としての機能を強化すると共に、2002 年の『民営教育促進法』により民営高等教育機関の営利性を実質的に承認し、賛否両論を引き起こした。同時に、政府は、国立大学附属でありながら学費によってまかなわれる独立学院を正当な存在として認めた。独立学院は、公共セクターの私事化を意味し、また、学士の学位を授与でき、急速な広がりを見せた。同時に、既存の民営高等教育機関の発展は止まり、学位認定試験が必要な民営高等教育機関については、役割を終えたものとして廃止されるなど、民営高等教育システムの再構築

が進んだ。

民営高等教育の需給の対応構造については、独立学院が、基本的に公共セクターに入学できなかった層の代替としての機能を果たしているのに対し、職業教育を志向した民営高等教育機関は、独自の機能・市場を開拓したと指摘できる。

しかし、民営高等教育機関の歴史が浅く、資金や資源も不十分であるなど、今後の発展に向けての課題は多い。

《アーシャ・グプタ氏「インドの私学高等教育の新たな動向」》

インドの私学高等教育の歴史は、紀元前618世紀にさかのぼることが出来るが、これは、学費徴収ではなく、喜捨に基づくものであった。現在でも、営利の私学高等教育は理念的にはタブーであるが、実際には、新しい私学の多くは莫大な利益をあげている。植民地時代に建てられたキリスト教系のものも含め、1974 年のインド独立時点で、20 のユニバーシティと、496 のカレッジが存在していた。そして、私学高等教育は、1990 年代には高等教育セクターの 75%を占めるなど、大きな役割を果たしている。なお、私立大学は協会や法人立となるが、現在でも、学位授与権がある私学のユニバーシティは350校にとどまり、残りは、ユニバーシティに附属する形で教育を行うインド型のカレッジとして活動している。

インドは、多民族・文化により構成される連邦国家であり、連邦と州それぞれが教育に対しての行政権を持ち、その間に矛盾がある場合には連邦の判断が優先される。

また、「私」は、キリスト教などの宗教系や、英語による教育などとしての意味合いで使われることが多く、財政的には州の財政に依存しているものが大部分である。なお、以前は入学時に高額の手数料を徴収する習慣があったが、1992 年の最高裁判所の判決によりこれが禁止され、同時に上限を定めた授業料を徴収することが可能となり、独立採算への道が開かれた。

インドでは、連邦、州いずれのユニバーシティ及びカレッジも独立採算で専門職教育プログラムを運営することが許されている。また、インド工科大学など、特定の産業やビジネスのニーズに合わせて高額の特別プログラムを提供している例もある。さらに、ユニバーシティは、私学のカレッジや外国の大学のフランチャイズに参加することができる。また、少数民族に対しての教育機会を提供する私学も存在する。

高等教育機関の多くは財政を州政府および家計に頼っているため、連邦レベルの大学基金委員会（UGC）などによる規制は、公・私双方の高等教育機関から激しい挑戦を受けることになる。さらに、インドにおいて国家レベルでのビジョンや方向性、規制などが欠落しているため、私学高等教育の問題は、頻繁に司法による介入を受ける。また、インドは、被差別カーストの教育問題も抱えている。

《テリー・キム氏「東アジアの私学高等教育におけるアカデミック・プロフェッション」》

東アジアにおいて、私学高等教育は強力な伝統を持つと同時に、その在り方は量的にも質的にも多様である。そのため、そこでの私学高等教育におけるアカデミック・プロフェッションについても、このような国ごとの文脈や多様性のなかで理解されなければならない。

東アジアにおける私学高等教育の発展は、西洋のキリスト教の宣教団の活動と、国の近代化への挑戦と密接に関わっている。

東アジアでは19世紀後半から20世紀前半にかけてキリスト教の宣教団による高等教育機関の設立が盛んであり、これらの高等教育機関は、第二次世界大戦終結までに生じた列強支配の弱まりとアジア諸国の独立の中で、大学へと昇格を果たしていった。中国の場合も例外ではないが、内戦を経て 1949 年の人民共和国成立により、全ての私立大学は公共セクターに組み入れられ、80年代からの民営高等教育機関とは継続性を有しない。

日本は、中国や韓国と異なり、多くの高等教育機関は、主に西洋の高等教育を経験した国のリーダーたちにより、設立された。また、西洋のキリスト教宣教団による大学も数多く設立され、女子高等教育などに大きな役割を果たした。

日本統治下におかれた戦前の朝鮮半島では、この私学の伝統が生き残り、これが独立後研究機能を備えた韓国の私立大学群へと発展した。このため、韓国の私学高等教育は、低い私学助成（３％)、大衆高等教育の受け皿という性格をもちながら、高い地位を有し、研究資金でもトップランクに入るものがある。さらに、ソウル大学の設立にこれら私学出身者が採用されているほか、非常に高い割合で米国などの博士号取得教員を有している。現在、韓国は高等教育の国際化を推進しており、留学生の積極的獲得や、外国人教員のシェアの拡大などが進められている。（おわり）

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Contents

Chapter1

Seeking Frontier of Private Higher Education Research in East Asia: Aims of Tokyo RIIHE International Workshop

Rie Mori

Background

This prefatory chapter introduces the entire report, *Frontiers of Private Higher Education Research and East Asia*, which is an outcome of a two-day international workshop of the same name held in Tokyo, Japan on 14 and 15 December, 2006. This inaugural workshop was sponsored by the Tokyo-based Research Institute for Independent Higher Education (RIIHE, hereafter), in collaboration with the Program for Private Higher Education (PROPHE, hereafter), operated at the State University of New York, Albany. The workshop was planned to serve two primary purposes. One was to explore possible frameworks for research in private higher education (PHE, hereafter) in East Asia. The other was to establish networks among researchers interested in PHE trends particular to the region.

PHE, which is sometimes referred to as independent higher education or non-public higher education, has been one of the main focal issues in global higher education research for years. It is also true, however, that the importance, status or market share of PHE varies from country to country. East Asia is one of the regions in which this kind of variation among countries in region appears excessive. It is also a region where some national systems of higher education are shifting from public-monopoly to public and private co-existence.

The aim of this chapter is to clarify the fundamental issues considered at the Tokyo gathering, as well as to outline the general and common purpose of the following chapters.

Central issues

The circumstances leading to the establishment of RIIHE are worth reviewing prior to entering into a detailed discussion of the underlying purpose of the *Frontiers* workshop.

RIIHE was established in 2000 under the umbrella of the Association of Private Universities of Japan (APUJ), an organization representing some 370 private colleges and universities in Japan. RIIHE was established to promote research in higher education, especially among institutions belonging to the private domain. However, RIIHE focuses not only on domestic private higher education but also on public or international higher education. A limited number of people are employed by the organization on a full time basis, with many activities being carried out by research associates from other institutions. Mr. Hiromitsu Takizawa, successor to RIIHE's founding director, Dr. Kazuyuki Kitamura, oversees several research projects by supporting studies carried out by associates.

Associates at RIIHE have clearly identified the issue of privatization as a key current issue in Japanese and global higher education. The expansion of higher education itself virtually ensures a simultaneous expansion of PHE. This trend has already become evident in countries where PHE institutions had been very limited or non existent until only recent times. The expansion of PHE is stretching the boundaries of the larger enterprise known as *higher education*. Such expansion is partly the result of a growth in non-traditional higher learning opportunities provided by vocational, e-learning, non-degree-granting, tuition-fee-taking, foreign-franchised or for-profit institutions.

Another issue which has come to the fore is the lack of attention being devoted to PHE in policy-making processes. Many discussions concerned with higher education policy focus mainly on public institutions. To be more precise, in East Asia these discussions are highly public-oriented in terms of both topics and the academic backgrounds of participants. In Japan, for example, the private sector of higher education is dominant to the extent that some seventy percent of

students belong to PHE institutions[1].

Focusing on these and other PHE issues, in 2005 RIIHE and interested associates launched a new project, called "Privatization and Policy in Higher Education". The expectations of this project were two-fold: First, to more closely examine the mechanisms of privatization of higher education and second, to foresee what is going to happen in the future and to consider relevant preparatory measures. As a case study in the privatization of higher education and policies governing the trend (i.e., those which foster or hinder privatization), East Asia is one of the most interesting regions to consider. Indeed, the selection of the word "frontier" in the workshop title seems well suited to the reality at hand in East Asia.

RIIHE staff had started to prepare for the 2006 Tokyo workshop several months in advance, while involved in a separate, yet not unrelated project, Privatization and Policy in Higher Education, which is mentioned above. Fortunately, RIIHE was able to receive contributions by HE researchers as presenters from various countries such as Japan, China, India, Australia, the United States and the United Kingdom. Two leading researchers, Dr Daniel Levy from PROPHE and Dr. Motohisa Kaneko from the University of Tokyo offered keynote presentations. The general administration of the entire workshop, including the articulation of particular aims and objectives, was collaboratively shared by RIIHE and PROPHE; Dr. Levy, the director of the latter organization, was particularly involved in meeting preparations and implementation.

East Asia is a region with growing PHE in terms of the importance and size (or market share). This expansion involves various sub-effectives, such as:

- The high diversification of PHE in terms of history (some institutions are old, some are new and others are very new; backgrounds of the establishment of PHE vary according to place), function (some are spearheading the academic excellence of the nation, while others are sheltering younger members of the population which would otherwise be unemployed), legal status (some are described in statues as educational institutes, others are treated as

commercial enterprises and still others are in the status of legal *laissez-faire*), and etcetera. This diversity is found both at the system (or national) level and at the institutional level;

- A large pool of students to be absorbed both by local and foreign higher education institutions (this point is addressed later in this chapter); and
- Students' ethnic distribution is not necessarily consistent with national demographics. Compared to institutions in Europe, North America or Oceanian countries, there are limited numbers of non-Asian international students in any given institution in East Asia; there is, however considerable intra-Asia student enrolment. For many institutions in Europe, North America or Oceanian countries, East Asia is a reliable source of mobile students. Without students from East Asia, many of these countries' institutions could not maintain their status in terms of tuition revenue, assisting work in teaching and research or academic vividness in classrooms.

As seen in these sub-effectives, PHE in East Asia exhibits both many commonalities as well as variety in circumstances.

Returning to the aforementioned issue of absorbing students, the public sector is able, and indeed has already started to serve this function in the face of the quickly growing demands of higher education. Hence one cannot view the expansion of higher education solely in the context of a private-public dichotomy. There must be an axis of analysis, with traditional and non-traditional ideas of higher education taken into consideration. However, it is again true that the transformation of higher education has being brought about mainly by the private sector. In other words, PHE has a stronger tendency to accord with non-traditional curricula and methods of instructions. In this sense, the private sector is perceived to serve as a kind of "control valve", to adjust to fluctuations in the demand for higher education - on the condition that demand continues to grow. The private sector meets the demand raised by student applicant populations (many such applicants represent the first generation in their respective family histories to enter higher education) by implementing innovative instructional methods and novel ideas of value, including vocational

training, e-learning, non-degree conferrals, tuition-fee-taking, foreign-franchising or for-profit endeavors, as previously mentioned. Consequently, PHE invited debate as to the legitimacy of new initiatives taken in the name of "higher education".

Approaches to private higher education issues in East Asia

Studies on PHE in East Asia must begin by considering the very nature of private and public higher education systems. With this in mind, RIIHE and PROPHE collaboratively set out to examine the contexts that shape PHE in East Asian nations and surrounding regions, including following:

- The origin of PHE in each country;
- The legal status of PHE in each country;
- The social and economic function expected of and played by PHE; and
- The future outlook of PHE and higher education as a whole

Another issue that should be taken into consideration is the lack of regional communities for research in East Asian PHE. The actual situation which surrounds PHE, not only in terms of research but also of social status in East Asia can be summarized as follows:

- Policy makers are, by and large, unconcerned with PHE;
- Despite large numbers of people being involved in the management and operation of PHE institutions on day to day basis, there is very little international discourse among those people;
- PHE research communities are a new phenomenon and are distinguishable especially in East Asia. It is true that the Asia Pacific Quality Network (APQN) is playing a decidedly significant role; this organization, however, tends to focus mainly on quality assurance. Though quality assurance is pertinent to the theme of the 2006 Tokyo workshop, the establishment of research frameworks was the larger, overarching focus.
- There is a lack of regional consensus on the future vision for Asian or East Asian higher education. We are in a time of great transformation not only for East Asian PHE but also that of every region in the world; in that this is so,

it is difficult enough to specify who we are and where we are from - let alone where we are headed.

Despite an apparently chaotic situation, researchers are given the responsibility to react in order to establish frameworks, to analyse current realities and introduce measures to effectively prepare for future challenges. Communities where people exchange ideas about PHE will likely be exclusively comprised of researchers.

Here, ultimate questions are:

- What can be done by researchers?, and
- How will research prove sufficient?

To summarize those activities in which PHE researchers ought to be engaged, it is helpful to focus on the "frontiers" aspect of the 2006 workshop theme. In the process of preparing for the workshop, it came to be believed that researchers are responsible to the following:

- Policy study: both in terms of theories and practices in higher education;
- Forming associations or groups of PHE institutions: RIIHE is a local effort in this sense and is currently involved in a project on privatization, among other projects focussing mainly on practices in higher education. Admittedly, the scope of the project pales in comparison to the significance of the issue; however, an unusual fact about RIIHE is that it was formed by the strong initiatives of managers. As mentioned above, the mother institution of RIIHE is the Association of Private Universities of Japan, which is comprised largely of private institutions as high level management. These private entities were aware enough of the importance of research to help in establishing and financing RIIHE;
- Institutional research, which is recently increasing in East Asia, and
- Faculty and staff development, again new in the East Asian region.

Related to the "research in East Asia" aspect of the workshop theme, the

question *What is needed for international comparative research?* arises.

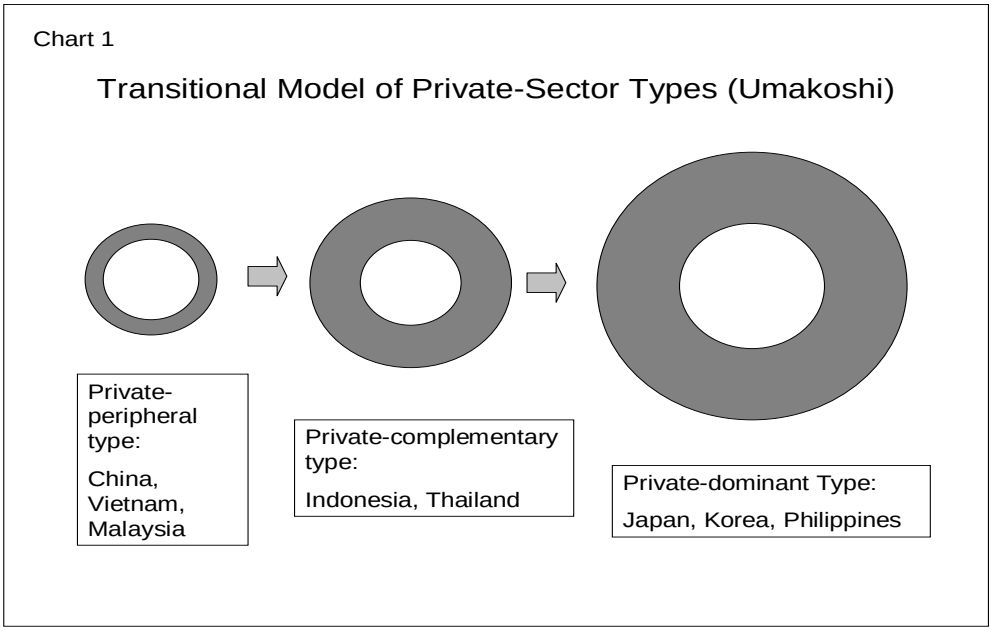
Participants of the workshop sought direction in terms of achieving regional frameworks for comparative research in the international context. To this end, it is useful to divide the above question into two phases of *comparative studies* and *international context*.

In comparative studies, requirements may include:

- To examine the global trends of privatization, marketization, and so on;
- To assemble analyses of national cases, especially of PHE but also of entire systems of higher education; and
- To seek a regional theory in East Asia *sui generis*.

So far, influential research studies with comparative perspective in this regional framework are few in number. One is by Dr. Toru Umakoshi of Obirin University[2]. Chart 1 shows the transitional model of private sector types of higher education in Asian nations which Dr. Umakoshi proposed after amending a previous model conceived by Dr. Roger Geiger in 1987.

Chart 1



Source: Umakoshi, 2004.

The shaded areas of the circles represent the private sector while the core

white circles stand for the public sector. Indicated are the private-peripheral and public-dominant type (China, Vietnam or Malaysia), the private-complementary type (Indonesia, Thailand) and the private-dominant type (Japan, South Korea or Philippines). This model is one of a few influential ideas about recent higher education in Asia, which can be cited. Other models to analyze higher education in East Asia or ones that compliment this model are expected to emerge from the workshop and subsequent studies by its participants.

An alternative approach to the question of comparative research is to examine the international context of problems we share. Each of the following can be a focus of international research:

- Students cross borders, thanks to growing marketing efforts for prospective international students (countries and higher education institutions export and import students; many East Asian nations are sought as exporters);
- Academics cross borders, thanks to the common language of English and scientific discourse;
- Educational services cross borders, thanks to information technology, alliances between nations and other developed means of delivery; and
- Changes in policies and systems which support cross-border exchange include those related to credit (or student) transferability or the quality assurance of higher learning.

Summary

This introductory chapter is devoted to questions which were raised during and subsequent to the 2006 Tokyo workshop, *Frontiers of Private Higher Education Research and East Asia*. There are two additional questions for future consideration. First, *What material and human resources do we have at our disposal?* Maintaining international networks is costly even in this time of information communication technology. Recruiting qualified people who can contribute their efforts remains a difficult task, and one which approaches

overwhelming when the issue of remuneration and other financial requirements is drawn into the picture. Second, *Who will take initiative, and how?* Once again, this question brings us back to cold, hard, budgetary realities.

At this point of time, these questions – and all others that were raised in this chapter – are open questions. The 2006 workshop was a pilot experiment in networking for researchers to carry out comparative studies in East Asian higher education. As will become apparent in each of the following chapters, it is anticipated that the initial networks will continue to grow in fostering further studies in the international context.

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[1] According to the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology of Japan (MEXT), out of 2.86 million students who attended higher education institutions which confer baccalaureate and higher degrees, 2.12 million (73.5%) belonged to private institutions in the 2006 academic year.

[2] Umakoshi, T., Private Higher Education in Asia: Transitions and Development", Altbach, P. G. & Umakoshi, T. eds, *Asian Universities*, 2004, pp. 33-49, Johns Hopkins University Press.

Chapter 2

Global trends in private higher education research and East Asia

Daniel Levy

My effort here today would be to provide a broad overview of private higher education with a global thrust though with some extra attention to the East Asian position. I hope I don't say too many things that are already very obvious to an expert audience like this. I will try to concentrate on recent developments, but to do so in the context of prior developments. I'm firmly convinced from years of study on private higher education that we do see patterns--not the same private higher education in all countries, but significant patterns internationally, whereas very often people in one given country tend to think of their country as separate and even unique.

My talk is not about the other kind of privatization, meaning privatization of public higher education. As Rie Mori outlined already in Chapter 1, our concentration is on private institutions of higher education. So as an outline of the talk I would address first the size of private higher education; second, the patterns of what I call classic growth and the different types of private higher education, then turning to matters of new growth and types. After that I would like to address the matter of opposition and threats to private higher education since continued growth is not inevitable. Then if time allows I would talk some about private-public sector blurring, but will see where we are in terms of time. And then finally, I would like to introduce the matter of for-profit higher education which of course has taken on some particular significance recently in Japan itself. And I will consider for-profit private higher education as kind of an epitomy of the privateness of private higher education.

So if we can turn to size, in global aggregate, I would very roughly estimate that private higher education has about 30% of the higher education enrollments worldwide. I have seen estimates as high as 40% and I am convinced that nobody really knows.

But at least two things are remarkable right at the beginning. One is that even 30% would be so vastly larger than the private higher education share just a couple of decades ago, and the other is that 30% impresses as it is a higher share than the percentage private in the United States; that come as a surprise to many people, but the United States is not on the high end. The 30% figure is pushed down globally by most of the developed countries, and also pushed down by China in spite rapid private growth, but the figure is pushed up most obviously here by Japan and other East Asian countries and there are other countries and other regions as well that have a majority of their higher education enrollments in private institutions.

The US however is just about 21% private though the percentage goes higher if we focus on four year institutions graduation rates and graduate education. In United States as you all know the private higher education importance goes far beyond numbers and percentages. In contrast, Western Europe is the region in the world with the least presence of private higher education. Western Europe has had the very strong heritage of what scholars sometimes call a continental model, the thrust of which is that the state is at the core. With state standardization and state finance, there is not much of a private higher education tradition. Yet even in Western Europe, we do see some breaks. There are MBA programs. Portugal is a country that has a significant size private sector and Germany as well has begun to break through the monopoly; just about a month ago we saw in the news that a billionaire philanthropist decided to give a half billion dollars to a private university in Germany and with the express purpose of trying to encourage giving to private as well as public higher education, which simply hasn't been common outside the United States.

Now Eastern Europe is different, in the post-communist period; in fact immediately in 1989 and 1990 private sector surged, it emerged and surged in most countries. The maximum share that the private sector has is 30% in Poland and one or two other countries, but it is also significant that the private sector does not continue to grow in its proportional terms. This was really a revolutionary emergence and growth in about a five-year period; in the last ten years the private sector has held its own, but has not continued to gain. As spectacular as that East European surge, other very recently emerging private sectors are found in the Middle East and North Africa. Now of course, the overall higher education enrollment is still low, but it can rapidly expand especially where there is considerable economic development and

marketization of the economic growth model and I list a few examples. However, the Middle East and North Africa, to some degree, share a pattern which we can associate with East Asia, which is that the private growth has somewhat more often been either at the initiative or with the promotion of government. In a lot of the rest of the world private higher educations have sprung up much to the surprise of the government.

In Sub-Saharan Africa growth has also been spectacular. It's basically a phenomenon of the 1990s and into our present decade. Although it's not clear there is a country that has more than 10% of its enrollments in private higher education, large countries like Kenya and Nigeria lead the way. Latin America is the region that I most studied from early on and I would still gauge that the private share is about 40%, this is compared to maybe about 3% in 1950. And one of the things that Latin America highlights for us because I already estimated 40% by 1980, now we are a quarter century later, and I think it's still about 40%. And so my point here is that even when private sectors appear stagnant in terms of their *share* of total enrollments, we must not let that disguise great change; in fact the private sector has continued to grow in absolute terms, but the public sector has also grown. And also the contours, the patterns within the private sector have changed a great deal, and this is one of Rie Mori's points about Japan: already that a significant change continues even though it's not like the percentage private has gone from 70% to 98%. In Latin America, we see private majority enrollments in Brazil, Chile, Colombia, and other places and all countries have a private higher education sector, except for Cuba and I think you can all figure out why Cuba is the exception.

Then coming to East Asia, which is the largest region for enrollments in private sector cases and I just listed four countries where the private share is at least 70%. After those countries there appears to be a cluster of countries with a more moderate, but significant private higher education share and we'll hear more about India from Professor Gupta, and then a cluster of countries that might be 10% to 14% private, but with very fast growing private higher education. China, Thailand, Vietnam are examples. One overview point that I would give about East Asia in comparison to Latin America and some other places is that East Asia by and large had an educational expansion or development pattern that was different in the sense that government greatly prioritized primary rural education before financing great growth in higher education. This has been a matter much discussed by scholars, the World

Bank and so forth and perhaps the healthiness of an East Asian model lies in developing a widespread educated citizenry before there is a great expansion of higher education. And then when the higher education level does greatly expand, it's often largely with the private sector expansion.

Let me then move from size to some of the other established growth patterns and types. Very quickly, we often see precursors to modern private higher education, I won't go into it, but often they are religious or missionary precursors, so that there are early roots of some kind of private higher education, but for the most part what we recognize today in private higher education generally or often so it's first form as religious. And this is a common phenomenon for non-profit sectors; the religious element often has the initiative to start it. This is very clear in Latin America after secular trends sort of pushed religion out of the mainstream public universities. Similarly, alongside the religious, we can see, in many countries, examples of private institutions especially for ethnic minorities like the Russian population in Ukraine.

In East Asia, there are a number of religious private institutions, though I am inclined to think that the proportion is somewhat less than in some other regions, and with less of the private, ethnic identity institutions though some. A further type of private higher education attracts great attention, I call it elite private higher education, and absolutely the key for our understanding is that it's extraordinarily rare outside the United States. This is one of those many examples I am convinced, one of those many examples in which people, including policymakers and sometimes scholars, know their own country and they know the United States, and they assume that private higher education is often academically prominent and formidable outside their country, and that's simply not the truth.

For all its weaknesses, the recent Shanghai rating of universities worldwide shows only six private universities outside the United States. And the truth is the six are really more public than private and in places like Western Europe. So, elite private higher education is almost nonexistent outside the significant US case. This doesn't mean that there aren't private institutions that have missions of moving into elite status; in fact, I think we see that in many countries right now. It's especially difficult for private institutions to achieve elite status unless the public university diminishes in quality and status. That is classically what we saw in Latin America, but it

certainly not the East Asian pattern. More often we see a kind of elite presence in socioeconomic terms and maybe in undergraduate education without that sort of presence in research in graduate education, and I am inclined to use a term like semi-elite to categorize the academically leading private institutions outside the United States. They're not really elite, but neither are they low status institutions. And I think this is common in East Asia where the best students graduating from secondary schools have the lead public universities as their first choice, but if they don't get in, then their second choice will come from some other good public universities or the leading private universities.

In a transition to an examination of fresh growth patterns, I would talk about what I call the demand absorbing private institutions. This type has been around for quite a while but on the other hand private sectors are new in many countries and they are generally demand-absorbing. This is the largest growth type by far in the world and that matter has already been addressed this morning. These are essentially institutions that thrive because the demand for higher education is very large and exceeds the supply of public higher education. The demand-absorbing institutions importantly include what's often deprecated as garage institutions maybe for profit, moneymaking, non-interested in academia, fraudulent on the one extreme; but also demand-absorbing institutions that are deprecated often by critics for low quality, but it's not a characterization I would use on many of these private institutions that are in fact serious, managed institutions with a direct orientation to the job market.

What was seen in many countries, but as I indicate more in most regions than in East Asia or the Middle East, is what I'd like to call delayed regulation. In other words, private institutions spring up by surprise and grow rapidly, and only after that government and others say, "Wait a minute, what's going on here?, It's a kind of anarchy." And then often regulations are introduced. Finally, the demand exceeding supply of public spaces, of course, has a lot to do with the fact that there is a global trend for the state to try to diminish or hold the line on its expenditures, and so we do see prominent examples of that in countries like India,China, Thailand.

Another kind of private growth, which requires much more attention as long as we are already addressing the matter of research agenda, is private-public partnership, by which I mean something more than public universities partnering with private

businesses. I am using the term more restrictively as private higher education institutions partnering with public higher education institutions. Usually, it's about private colleges with public universities. The private colleges get legitimacy, resources, some form of quality assurance, and maybe access for their student graduates into the university. What does the public university get? Well, first and foremost, it gets income; it often charges the private colleges pretty hefty fees, and gives the public universities a chance to help out with access while not having to take the students directly into their own institutional mainstream. I know of one case, Ghana, where private higher education is not allowed except in partnership with public. We see a number of partnerships that have an international scope to them, and the partnership idea is certainly expanding greatly but as often happens the real world expansion is faster than scholarly expansion, and we struggle to catch up.

Next I would like to mention what I here call culturally pluralizing private institutions. Years back, private higher education mostly meant Catholic higher education in countries with significant Catholic populations, but today religious can mean Catholic, it can mean Protestant, Evangelical, and it also can mean Islamic institutions. Unlike most of the catholic institutions, these private religious institutions tend to be very involved in the economic marketplace and tend to be politically to the conservative side. These have not been much studied, but in a country like Kenya you see quite a mix..

A last point, kind of cheating a bit because it's not really culturally pluralizing per se, but it's worth mentioning that private higher education has often played a special role for women, a kind of social, cultural role. The idea in Japan of preparation to be good wives, also the fields of study that tend to coalesce in private higher education are by and large also fields of study that are most pursued by women, and in many places the safe atmosphere of private institutions as compared to the more bustling and conflictual climate in public institutions is additionally a reason that parents may want to send their female children more than their male children to private higher education in many countries.

Thus the talk so far has clearly focused on matters of private higher education growth and presence, what's made private higher education expand and what are the principal patterns or types - what it has expanded into. So up until now we have been

talking about dynamic, vibrant, increasingly important private higher education, but I think it's already good for us to look towards factors that may indeed inhibit private higher education growth.

And I organize these into a cluster of factors starting with the idea that there is, as we all know, often some significant opposition to private higher education. In many countries, the idea of private with education is strange and seems illegitimate. That has certainly been the case in the growth in Eastern Europe. There was growth for a number of reasons, but for much of the population it's just odd, peculiar and even wrong that there be private – private profile to higher education.

In general, in the great majority of countries, it is the public sector of higher education that emerges first and occupies the mainstream, and – so private is largely unknown. United States again is an exception. It's quite common and this is also something that Professor Gupta has addressed in the Indian case. It's quite common, prominent that private higher education is automatically seen by many as in the marketplace and for-profit as well as low quality. The concept of non-profit private, which is so well understood in the United States, is more sporadic elsewhere. And then realistically, opposition comes from the fact that public institutions may be fearful of the challenge; it's obviously easier to have a monopoly.

A second cluster of factors that may threaten private growth is what can be called political economic. Clearly, in times of economic crisis, many students can't pay the tuition that's involved in private higher education. We've seen this in the fairly recent Asian Economic Crisis, which came after the Latin American economic crisis. I would also point to populist politics, which are very prominent in a good deal of the world including the developing world as an opposition to neoliberal, dominant current and which often makes private sectors scapegoats for problems. With that populist politics often come an increase in government regulations over private institutions. Professor Yan and I at conferences in the last couple of days were discussing this in the Chinese case and hearing from private institutional heads about the dire consequences for them when the government sets tuition ceilings.

Tuition ceilings may be popular with the students, but may not allow the private institutions to operate successfully on the business front. And there may be

regulations about program and curriculum, particularly with the rise of accreditation systems nationally. This can be a great challenge where the accreditation systems mostly reflect traditional public university notions and they may be very dangerous for private institutions. And with the popular politics often we can associate a priority on equity, and the private higher education is often seen or stereotyped as being inherently inequitable because the fees are significantly higher than in the public institutions. I think that there is in fact a formidable counterargument to that around the reality that most of the private institutions are access institutions, but the equation of private higher education with elitism is a threat to the private sector.

A next cluster of threats would be the privatization of public institutions, which I said I wouldn't talk much about, but it obviously fits here where as in East Asia some public institutions have to make themselves more corporate and show more attention to the marketplace, most dramatically in some countries public institutions remain very public in their preexisting scope, but they add a wing of operation, which is essentially private. Here again Kenya is a good example. If you are really good student you get into the main stream of the public university, which continues to be free; and if you are not, then your second choice may be a lesser public institution or it may be a pretty good private institution, or it may be the private part of the public lead universities. But in those cases, you are paying tuitions comparable to what students are paying at the private institution, and generally the way things are run resembles the private institutions more than it resembles other parts of the same public institution. And there is fierce competition between these private units within public universities and the private institutions themselves. There is competition for money, and there is competition for students, and there is definitely competition for the best faculty. So, this is something that merits keen attention.

Probably, most of you in Japan have already thought about another set of factors that can provoke private decline. This is demographic, and this is basically a challenge for private higher education in the developed world. The US is a bit exceptional in this respect because of its growth of minority populations and of the immigrant populations. The main examples are Japan and Europe. Yet, we also see and I have been surprised by some manifestation of this sort of population stagnation already undermining private higher education in places like Brazil, and I just recently learned about in some of the parts of China. Now, you could take different perspectives on

this. As a scholar of private higher education and one who finds it making some sorts of significant contributions, I still do not regard private decline as necessarily a bad thing; the idea that once an institution is created, it should live forever is essentially to me more a public institution idea. Within private sectors, it seems to me natural that competition will produce the elimination of the losers.

In other cases as is happening vigorously in China now, there may be pressure for small private institutions to merge. If private sectors are operating with great help, you generally see different sorts of patterns emerging to innovation and initiative, but sometimes these innovations simply fail and private institutions that do not innovate may fail. So to me this is just the same as with private primary and secondary schools in the United States--, people often look at these private institutions that are dying and are surprised or even horrified. And yet after that you look at the data on US schools and you see that the private sector holds just as large a share as , but while some institutions are dying, others are being created, the evangelical phenomenon in United States and elsewhere is a good example. We have to remember that while we've been living in the last few decades and still today in an era of enormous private surge, our predecessors lived in realities of public higher education with very little private, and there is no good reason to expect, in my judgment, that private surge will become the permanent shape of things in higher education.

Now, as I anticipated, I think that I should for the sake of time basically skip section six on private-public blurring. This fits into the privatization of some of the public universities and the blurring is very much associated with time, as the longer private sectors have been around, the more we tend to see private-public blurring instead of greater private-public distinctiveness, but that really is too fast a summary. I wanted to leave time for last major topic, which is for-profit higher education, and of course here there is experimentation with that right now in Japan.

To me, for-profit higher education epitomizes private higher education patterns. It's like they are similar, but they're more intense; they are more extreme. So, if we look at what goes on in for-profit higher education, we get a start dramatic picture of what much of private higher education, even if it's legally non-profit, has been. First and maybe the clearest example, the for-profits almost always operate without public funds. A big exception is the United States through student loans, but again it's a huge

exception. In general, we can associate for-profit with private money and overwhelmingly with tuition. Students and their families buy what they want and what they can in this marketplace. The for-profits are very oriented toward the job market. They are sometimes even disdainful or at least don't claim for themselves, the public university tradition of pure knowledge and most advanced thinking. That's not what they do. The for-profits are in virtually all cases secular, not religious. In an increasing number of cases, there is an international presence, and by far the major example is Laureate Education, which used to be called Sylvan Education. The for-profits also epitomize the privateness of the private sector in the sense that they tend to be freer from public regulations than the rest of the private higher education sector.

As far as the for-profits are concerned, there really is less need for formal accreditation. They are very skeptical about the criteria in formal accreditation, since their claim is that they are legitimized by the marketplace. Since they charge, people aren't going there unless they perceive some success of this for-profit institution. And the for-profit institutions in their governance are dramatically characterized by hierarchy. The for-profit institutions even more than the other private institutions are generally very centralized internally. University of Phoenix, in fact, is a system of colleges and all run from a central point on a central pattern. The principles of hiring faculty, of student admissions, of curriculum, they're all pretty much determined at the pinnacle of the University of Phoenix. And so as you can conclude from that, faculty has extremely little power in the for-profit institutions. Again, I think that epitomizes what we usually find in private higher education, and to some extent the student is king, the student has the consumer choice, though no voice within the institution once the student is accepted.

And the another element that characterizes for-profit and reflects private overall is dramatic growth. Where does this dramatic growth take place? Well, it really depends on definition. We're always confronting definitional problems in higher education, more so in private higher education, and even more so in for-profit. The one overwhelming reality is that functional for-profit or for-profit in reality is very much larger than what's for-profit legally. In fact, we have a considerable amount de facto for-profit higher education in countries that by law do not allow for-profit higher education. The US is seeing a sudden expansion of for-profit, even though we've had

for-profit for a long time, about 5% of total higher education enrollments are in for-profit institutions. That may not sound like much but it was 2% several years back, and 5% of the total enrollment represents one-fourth of the private higher education enrollment.

A few Latin American countries led by Brazil have now legalized for-profit higher education. What they said was, "Look, we've got all these non-profits by declaration and they're not really non-profits, they're behaving just like for-profit institutions in almost all respects, but since they're listed as non-profit, we can't fully tax them. So, we'll let them be designated as for-profit and then we tax them the same way we tax any business." My judgment is that we're going to see more and more of this. In a few countries like South Africa, the for-profit is actually and legally the bulk of the private sector.

Now, there is tremendous variety among the for-profits. I mentioned the University of Phoenix, this is the largest private higher education institution in the world, with about 300,000 students, but most for-profit institutions are quite small. They may be family institutions, they may be essentially vocational institutions. In some cases, corporations run their own colleges.

Thus, this look at the for-profit sub-sector is already a kind of summary of my remarks about the private higher education globally: huge expanding importance, threats to public higher education, new types of privateness, most often very private in their finance, governance, and missions. So that would be my summary of the global trends as I see them, and of course I will be very attentive in the rest of the conference to learn more about how particular countries represented here fit these patterns and deviate from it.

Chapter 3

When Domestic Forces meet the Global Trends:
The Liberalization of the Privateness in East Asian Higher Education

Ka Ho Mok

Introduction

In the recent decades, higher education sectors in Asia have been going through a few major changes. On the provision front, the state or public higher education has been reducing in their importance, while the private sector and the market have become increasingly prominent particularly when many Asian governments have relied more upon the market and the private initiatives to expand higher education (Mok, 2005, 2006). Along side with the growing prominence of the private sector in education provision, it has been a noticeable trend that state funding to higher education has reduced but the non-state financial sources have steadily increased in higher education financing. On the management / governance front, higher education in Asia has experienced significant restructuring exercises, especially when many traditionally state-dominated and centralized- governed public university systems have gone through the processes of "corporatization" and "incorporation" (Oba, 2006; Mok, 2006a; Tien, 2006). The major objectives of this paper are to examine the major socio-economic and socio-political factors accounting for the growing "privateness" in higher education in Asia.[1] A close scrutiny of variables shaping changes and transformations taking place in Asian higher education systems has discovered that both the global and domestic forces have interacted and led

[1] In this study, when talking about the growing prominence of the "privateness" in higher education, we refer to the three aspects of governance activities in education, namely, provision, financing and governance / management.

to such changes. Let us now turn to the global forces driving Asian higher education to become more "private" in nature.

Global Forces

Questing for Global Competitiveness and New Higher Education Governance

In order to enhance their global competitiveness, governments in different parts of the world have started to conduct comprehensive reviews of and implement plans to restructure their higher education systems (Mok and Welch, 2003). In response to the growing pressures generated by the globalization forces, modern states have attempted to reinvent themselves by moving beyond the welfare state to become the competition state (Gill, 1995; Moran, 2002; Jordana and Levi-Faur, 2005). Governments across different parts of the globe, facing similar competitive pressures, have undertaken regulatory reforms such as privatization or corporatization of state-owned industries or publicly owned organizations like post office and university, opening up new markets to multiple providers and the introduction of new regulatory regimes under the control of independent regulators (Drahos and Jospeh, 1995; Levi-Faur, 1998; Scott, 2004). To enhance the efficiency of the public policy / public management, modern states may deregulate some areas while enforcing competition in others, hence becoming a facilitator or even a generator of markets. Thus, it is common to witness the extent and the role of reregulation or recentralization in the processes of market restructuring is accompanied by the emergence of strong regulatory states and by the entrepreneurial role states play (Chan and Tan, 2006; Ng and Chan, 2006). Unlike Cerny's (1997) characterization of the competition state as a basically liberal state, Levi-Faur argues the state (particularly in the intensified global competitive environment, *my emphasis*) faces a paradox: "*the greater the commitment of the competition state to the promotion of competition, the deeper its regulation will be*" (Levi-Faur, 1998: 676). More importantly, the actions and mission of the competition state do not necessarily result in the retreat of the state from the market but rather a reassertion of the role of the state under changing social and economic

circumstances (Levi-Faur, 1998: 676).

In order to promote basic national interests through the creation and enforcement of competition, the developmental states in Asia have taken the opportunity offered by the fundamental economic restructuring processes to transform them into "market accelerationist state" by proactively shaping the market institutions for the benefits of market creation (Mok, 2006b; Lee, 2004). Unlike the regulatory state in America which evolved against a liberal market economy context, the regulatory state in Asia has emerged from a context of a combined strong state and a free market economy, by which the state ideologically commits to an "authoritarian mode of liberalism". As Jayasuriya has rightly pointed out, "this authoritarian liberalism presupposes the existence of a strong (or better described as politically illiberal) state with a capacity to regulate the economy" (2000: 329). In order to promote competition in the markets against the context of the authoritarian liberalism, a ***market accelerationist state*** is forming (Mok, 2006b). The market accelerationist state has the features of a "dualistic state" as what Fraenkel (1941) described: a strong state combined with a liberal market economy. With this kind of state architecture in place, the success of the markets rests heavily upon the presence of strong regulatory institutions. It is against such a wider socio-political context that far more pro-competition policy instruments are adopted by modern states to transform the way public sector is governed. Hence, the higher education sector, like other public policy domains, has gone "private"; while ideas and strategies along the lines of neo-liberalism and economic rationalism are increasingly influencing the way public policy is managed (Deem and Brehony, 2005; Neubauer, 2006). The growing privateness in Asian higher education has evolved from the wider socio-political policy context just outlined above.

Being unsatisfied with the conventional model along the lines of "state-oriented" and "highly centralized" approaches in higher education, Asian governments have recently tried to "incorporate" or introduced "corporatization" and "privatisation" measures to run their state / national universities, believing that the transformations of which could make national universities more flexible

and responsive to rapid socio-economic changes (Mok, 2006a; Oba, 2006). Instead of being closely directed by the Ministry of Education or equivalent government administrative bodies, state universities in Asia are now required to become more proactive and dynamic in looking for their own financial resources. Similar to their Australian and British counterparts, universities in Asia are now under constant pressures to become more "entrepreneurial" to look for alternative funding sources from the market, strengthening their partnerships with the industry and the business (Olsen and Gornitzka, 2006; Marginson and Considine, 2000).

Adhering more towards the market and corporate principles and practices, universities in Hong Kong are now run on a market-oriented and business corporation model. Universities of the city-state have experienced corporatization and privatisation processes, whereby higher education institutions in Hong Kong have proactively engaged in fostering entrepreneurship to search for additional revenue sources from the market (Mok, 2005a; Lee and Gopinathan, 2005). In order to enhance efficiency of university governance, the University Grant Committee (UGC), the organization which shapes the directions of higher education development in Hong Kong, has recently subscribed to the notion of "deep collaboration" among universities, believing that synergy could be pulled together if universities in the city-state could better integrate. The UGC even supports university merging or other forms of restructuring to further establish Hong Kong as a regional centre for excellence in research and scholarship (Lee, 2005; Chan, 2007).

Similarly, the Ministry of Education in Taiwan has decided to change the statutory position of state universities into independent judicial entity by adopting principles and practices of corporatization. In order to reduce the state burden in higher education financing, all state universities in Taiwan have to generate additional funds from non-state sectors such as the market and enterprises. In order to generate sufficient funds to finance their institutions, various kinds of market driven strategies have been adopted. More recently, the Taiwan Government has attempted to restructure its state universities by passing a new *University Bill* to make state universities independent legal entities. Influenced by

the Japan model, state universities in Taiwan have to establish new governance structures; while they are under immense pressures for searching additional financial support from the non-state channels especially when the Taiwan government has reduced significantly its funding to them (Lo and Weng, 2005; Tien, 2006).

In facing a new market economy context, the Chinese government has only found the old way of "centralized governance" in education inappropriate (Yang, 2002). Acknowledging that over-centralization and stringent rules would kill the initiatives and enthusiasm of local educational institutions, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) called for resolute steps to streamline administration, devolve powers to units at lower levels so as to allow them more flexibility to run education. In the last decade of so, higher education in the post-Mao era has experienced structural reforms ranging from curriculum design, financing, promotion of the private / *minban* sectors in higher education provision, to adopting strategies to develop "world-class universities". In order to promote the competitiveness of its higher education in the global marketplace, the Chinese government has introduced various kinds of restructuring exercises to merge universities or to streamline the stubbornly sustained bureaucratic university systems. With strong intention to identify and develop a few Chinese universities into "world class universities", the government has implemented various reform measures such "211 project" and "985 project" to concentrate state resources on a few selected top-tier national universities for boosting them to become leading universities in the world (Min, 2004; Mok 2005b; Lo and Chan 2006; Chou, 2006).

Like societies in greater China, Japan is not immune from the impact of neo-liberalism, managerialism and economic rationalism, three major ideologies underlying the tidal wave of public sector reforms and reinventing government projects across the world. With the intentions to make its state university system more responsive and flexible in coping with intensified pressures generated from the growing impacts of globalization, the Japanese government has incorporated

all state universities since 2004. Central to the transformation of the existing national universities into "National University Corporations" are three major reform aspects: increased competitiveness in research and education; enhanced accountability together with introduction of competition; and strategic and functional management of national universities (Oba, 2006).

Higher education restructuring is popular not only among East Asian states but also among Southeast Asian societies. Having reflected upon the changing university governance models and evaluated the recent experiences of SMU, the Ministry of Education in Singapore has decided to change the governance models of the existing state universities, namely, National University of Singapore and Nanyang Technological University by making them independent legal entity through the process of "corporatization" (Mok, 2005, 2006a). By incorporatizing these state universities, the Singapore government hopes that universities on the island state could become more entrepreneurial. Similarly, public universities in Malaysia have started a similar project of "incorporation" and "corporatization" of national universities since 1998. In the last few years, the private universities have grown in number, while the public universities are run like as corporations in Malaysia. According to Lee (2004), "the structural changes in the corporatized universities show that collegial forms of governance has been sidelined, entrepreneurial activities have increased, and corporate managerial practices have been institutionalised" (Lee, 2004: 15). Putting the above governance / management reforms taking place in the Asian higher education systems into perspective, it is clear that the recent higher education transformations and restructuring are part of the wider reinventing state project or the reengineering of the public sector exercise launched in Asia.

Commodification of Higher Education and Questing for the Education Market

In addition to the global trend of reinventing state movement discussed earlier, the growing "privateness" in higher education in Asia could be understood as the responses of the Asian governments to the emerging higher

education market. In 1995 higher education was regarded as a service to be liberalized and regulated by trade rules under the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). Since then, transnational higher education has increased in number particularly when some developing economies have attempted to expand higher education enrolments but they simply have not sufficient capacity to meet such pressing demands. Hence, many of these countries allow overseas academic institutions to set up the branch campuses or offer academic programmes on their lands. Using projections based upon 25 selected countries, IDP Education Australia estimates that the number of international students looking for learning opportunities either in or from a foreign country will reach 1.4 million in 2010 and rise to 3.1 million in 2050 (Blight, 1995). Similarly, recent demographic growth estimations suggest there will be a population of 7 billion to 8 billion people by 2025, thus anticipating there would be some 125 million students by 2020. Such changing global demographic trends clearly suggest a growing demand for higher education despite continual cuts in state budgets for higher education (Knight, 2006). To capture the rise of the higher education markets, a wide range of companies from bricks and motor institutions, e-learning, IT Training, publishers, and soft ware to consultancy firms have engaged in offering different kinds of transnational education. Since the last decade, the greatest numbers of receiving countries are located in Asia Pacific since the pressing demands for higher education and professional training cannot be satisfied by domestic capacity (Knight, 2006a).

In view of the growing higher education market in the region, the Hong Kong government has recently planned to establish the city-state as a regional hub of higher education. Adopting a liberal approach in transnational education, the Hong Kong government has allowed overseas higher education institutions to provide academic programmes in forms of joint programmes, distance-learning as well as twinning programmes. Regarding the sources countries of course providers, most institutions are from developed English speaking countries. The UK, Australia and the US are the most popular exporters of

education to Hong Kong (Yang, 2005; Mok, 2006b). Unlike Hong Kong, the Singapore government has been playing a more directive role in orchestrating the higher education market in the city-state. Setting out far more strategic directions, the Singapore government has tried to develop higher education as an industry since the late 1990s and thereafter tactically invited "world-class" and "reputable" universities from abroad to set up their Asian campuses in the city-state, hoping to develop the island-state as a regional centre for higher education with significant research output, high-level analysis and high-calibre graduates (Mok 2006b, 2006c; Shanmugarantnam, 2005). In Japan, international joint agree arrangement has been developed since the late 1980s. Overseas campuses and various forms of collaborative programmes are available in the country. E-learning therefore becomes a new front of cross-border supply of education. Given that there is very limited unmet demand for higher education, e-learning is mainly adopted in professional postgraduate education in order to diversify and complement traditional education (Tsuruta, 2006).

Similar developments can be found in Malaysia when the government is actively developing the country as a regional hub of higher education (Morshida, 2006). Currently, there are several institutions working together to promote Malaysia as a major regional hub of higher education, including the Department of Private Education under the MOE, National Association of Private Higher Education Institutions, the Malaysian Association of Private Universities and Colleges, and the Malaysian Education Promotion Council. In addition, educational promotion offices have been established in China, Indonesia, Vietnam and the United Arab Emirates (OBHE, 2006). It is the Malaysian government's policy objectives to expand the higher education market by encouraging every university to ensure that total student enrolment is made up of at least 10-15% of foreign students. As at the end of 2005, five foreign universities have established their branches in Malaysia offering foreign qualifications. 25 non-university status private colleges conduct 3+0 foreign degree programmes in collaboration with overseas institutions. In addition, some private universities, which primarily offer home-grown degree

programmes, have also been providing programmes that lead to overseas qualifications (Malaysian Education Promotion Council, 2006).

After China joined the WTO, the Chinese government began revising legislation to allow overseas institutions to offer programmes in the mainland in line with WTO regulations. In September 2003, the State Council started implementing the "Regulations of the People's Republic of China on Chinese-Foreign Cooperation in Running Schools". This newly enacted legal document provides further details for the nature, policy and principle, concrete request and procedure of applying, leadership and organization, teaching process, financial management, supervised mechanism and legal liability, etc. More specifically, the 2003 legal document promotes transnational higher education, particularly encouraging local universities to cooperate with renowned overseas higher education institutions in launching new academic programmes designed to improve the quality of teaching and learning and to introduce excellent overseas educational resources to local institutions (State Council 2003, Chapter 1, Article 3). By June 2004, the number of joint programmes provided in Chinese institutions in collaboration with overseas partners had increased to 745, while joint programmes which are qualified to award overseas or Hong Kong degrees increased to 164 (MOE 2006). Most of these programs originate in the countries and regions with developed economies and advanced technology. As might be expected from countries with the biggest shares of educational service export in the world, almost half of the cooperative universities are from the USA and Australia, with a small, but still significant, number of universities from European countries have been approved by the Academic Degrees Committee of the State Council (ADCSC) to grant their degrees to Chinese-Foreign Cooperation in Running Schools (CFCRS) students (Huang, 2006; Mok and Xu, 2006).

Our above discussions regarding the rise of transnational higher education in Asia has clearly that for those relative developed economies such as Japan, Hong Kong and Singapore, they are very keen to develop transnational higher

education as trade since they believe the development of which could generate another steady income stream for national revenue. While for those less economically developed economies such as China and Malaysia, they have made use of the emergence of the transnational higher education market to create more opportunities for meeting the pressing demands for higher learning. It seems that the Asian states' venture into the higher education market are driven by the global forces, a close scrutiny has clearly found that even though there are similar strategies in response to the global pressures, there are also diverse domestic political or reform agendas which account for such changes.

Domestic Forces

Local History and Basic Orientation

In addition to the global forces, a number of key domestic factors have shaped the basic orientation of education policy in Asia. Among the selected Asian countries under review, many of them were colonies of either Japan or Britain. In addition, the strong presence of the USA in the region should have shaped Asia's developments from various fronts (Sutter, 2005; Moore, 2005). With such socio-political and socio-historical backgrounds, obviously the higher education systems of these Asian countries initially were affected by their colonial history. Even when these Asian states are no longer colonies, we can easily find that many of their ideas and practices in education have still deeply rooted in their colonial legacy (Morris and Sweeting, 1995). No matter how hard they have tried to move beyond the colonial influence, we can still witness many of these Asian governments continue to identify and follow the ways that their former colonial states manage education (Mok and Lee, 2000; Mok, 2007). Hence, when examining educational developments of Asia, we cannot entirely discard the colonial legacy. After gaining independence from colonial rule (or changing from a colonial state to a Special Administrative Region of China for the case of Hong Kong), these Asian governments gave education a very important role in social and economic development (Tilak, 2000; Bray, 1997). Despite the fact that

most of the Asian societies under review are primarily anti-welfarist in public discourse and public policy, they all conceive education as an exception (Asher and Newman, 2001). Instead of being treated simply as a necessary public expenditure item, these Asian governments have put emphasis on developing education as an investment for providing their economies with a high quality labour. It is particularly true when these Asian governments have now confronted the intensified pressures generated from the rise of the knowledge-based economy. Without abundant natural resources but being small-scale economies when comparing to other giant developed economies such as the European Union or the United States of America, these Asian states realize the significance to improve the global competence of their citizens in order to strengthen their national competitiveness. Hence, higher education expansion has become a common trend among these Asian countries in recent years.[2]

Another factor shaping educational developments in these societies is social-psychological, focusing more on the values and attitudes perceived to be prerequisites for development. Central to the legacy of Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism is an emphasis on education and cultural enhancement (Rozman, 1992; So and Chiu, 1995; Morris and Sweeting, 1995). Recent studies regarding consumption and private tutoring in Asia have repeatedly confirmed how important Asian parents have attached to education. It has been reported consistently that Asian parents are willing and also committed to pay for their children's education. Hence, private tutoring in Asia has become a growing trend and private school and higher education have therefore become increasingly popular in Asia (Bray and Bunly, 2005; Bray and Thomas, 1998). More importantly, education has long been adopted as an instrument, direct and indirect, of nation building in these Asian societies. Education has helped to create a sense of belonging and nationhood and so has been important in political legitimation in these Asian states. It has also contributed to that

[2] See the discussion regarding 'massification of higher education' below.

legitimation through the economic opportunities it has offered and the contribution it has made to economic growth (Bray and Lee, 2001; Gopinathan, 2001). In addition to these general social, political and cultural variables, the rise of the privateness in Asian higher education is to do with the massification of higher education either to reposition the nation states better in the global market place or to catch up with the late development.

After Catching Up and Moving Ahead

In those more developed Asian countries, like Japan and the Asian four tigers, some world-class universities exist or a number of universities are approaching toward the status of world-class research universities (Deem, Lucas and Mok, 2006). In order to rank higher in the world university league table, some Asian states have attempted to make use of the private sector or the market to reinvent their higher education systems (see Table 1). For instance, the Japanese government issued a series of policies in the 1980s and 1990s to strengthen the university-industry linkage in response to the burst of "bubble economy" and to rebuild Japanese confidence in the global economy's competition (Kaneko, 2004, pp. 136-137). To provide incentives for the industry-university collaboration, the Japanese government funded the joint research project between universities and industries, and established "university-industry cooperation centres" at selected national universities. Faculty members are even allowed to involve part-time positions in the private enterprises. Meanwhile, the privatization of national universities, which in a form of reorganization of national university governance bodies, has been implemented after a long progress of discussion in order to allow the national universities becoming more aggressive in acquiring their standing in the market (Kaneko, 2004, pp. 141).

Table 1: Universities in East Asia ranked among the world's top 100 universities

	2006 rank	2005 rank	Name	Country
1.	14	15	Beijing University	China
2.	19=	22	National University of Singapore	Singapore
3.	19=	16	Tokyo University	Japan
4.	28	62	Tsing Hua University	China
5.	29=	31	Kyoto University	Japan
6.	33=	41	University of Hong Kong	Hong Kong
7.	50=	51	Chinese University of Hong Kong	Hong Kong
8.	58=	43	Hong Kong University Science & Technology	Hong Kong
9.	61=	48	Nanyang Technological University	Singapore
10	63	93	Seoul National University	South Korea
11	70=	105	Osaka University	Japan

Source: Times Higher Education Supplement

Similarly, in Hong Kong, university-industry cooperation has also been encouraged through the commercialization of research results. For example, a number of universities in Hong Kong have set up their technology transfer centres affiliated enterprises for bridging and coordinating industrial contacts and collaborations and for commercializing and marketing their research results (Mok, 2005a, pp. 554-546). In Taiwan, the government encouraged the participation of the industry in curricula as a form of cooperation between academic and industry. The Taiwan government therefore has launched a programme called "Last Mile Plan" to encourage the universities to establish connections with the industrial sector. By the scheme, the industry has the opportunities to engage in the design of curricula, thereby assuring the students' abilities meeting the needs of employers (Lo and Weng, 2005, pp. 145-146). Similar developments could be found in Singapore. In recent years, the

Singapore government has proactively engaged in pushing the public universities to become more active in reaching out to the business and industrial sectors. The call for "Enterprise University" and the quest for "entrepreneurship" are becoming the catchwords in higher education reform in Singapore. Our above discussions have also highlighted how the Singapore has tactically selected key partners and top-tier universities from abroad to establish their branch campuses in the city-state in order to develop Singapore into a regional hub of higher education (Mok, 2006b). When putting the growing privateness of higher education into perspective, it is clear that some of the Asian states have attempted to make use of the "private" sector to boost the higher education development with the intention to reposition them better in the global university league table. After the developmental phase of "catching up for late development", these relatively developed economies in Asia have made use of the market and the private forces to make the mission of "moving ahead" possible.

Catching Up for Late Development

However, the situations in those less developed countries are far more complex. On the one hand, they face the same global challenges that the more developed countries face. Higher education is inevitably given a mission of nurturing sufficient quality manpower for economic development of the countries. On the other hand, these countries are still facing a huge demand for higher education since they have not had sufficient capacity to satisfy such pressing educational needs. Therefore, the growing prominence of the privateness in higher education can be interpreted as strategies adopted by some Asian economies to catch up with other countries by expanding higher education since they are late-comers in terms of higher education developments. Realizing that depending upon the state provision and financing alone would never satisfy the pressing needs for higher education, these countries have therefore allowed other non-state actors, including the market, to engage in

providing and financing higher education. These situations can be summarized as missions of "catching up" and then "moving ahead". Regarding the mission of "catching up", higher education has been moving towards mass education in many less developed countries. Table 2 shows the considerably great range of enrollment ratio in East Asia.

Table 2: A Comparative Perspective of Tertiary Education in East Asia (2004)

	Gross enrolment ratio (%)	Public expenditures per student (% of GDP per capita)	Private enrolment share (%)
East Asia & Pacific[1]	19.4	N/A	N/A
China[2]	19.1	N/A	0.6
Hong Kong	32.1	67.9	3.0
Japan	54.0	17.1	77.0
Korea	88.5	5.0	81.0
Malaysia	32.4	102.4	31.0
Singapore[3]	38.0	41.1	N/A
Taiwan	78.6	N/A	71.9

Note:

1. East Asia & Pacific includes: American Samoa, Cambodia, China, Fiji, Indonesia, Kiribati, Korea, Dem. Rep., Lao PDR, Malaysia, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Fed. Sts., Mongolia, Myanmar, N. Mariana Islands, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Thailand, Timor-Leste, Tonga, Vanuatu, Vietnam.
2. The figure of private enrolment share is that of in 1999.
3. The figure of gross enrolment ratio is that of in 1999.

Source:
World Bank (2006); World Resources Institute (2006); MOE, China (2000); MOE, Taiwan (2006)

For example, *minban* education has emerged in China since the early 1990s (see Table 3). To date, private / *minban* sector has occupied a significant proportion in higher education sector, although there is not a clear distinction between public and private but a hybrid of publicness and privateness of education in China (Shi, et al., 2005; Lin, 2006). With the unleashed market

forces in higher education, China now has the largest number of post-graduate students in the world (Yang 2002; Ngok and Kwong 2003; Mok, 2000). Similarly, the rapid higher education in Malaysia is to do with the liberalization of the private sector in higher education provision in the last decade. With the amendments of private education law in 1996, we have witnessed a steady growth of university students graduating not only from the public but also the private universities or higher education institutions in Malaysia. Coupled with the strategies by inviting a few major overseas partners to develop academic programmes with local institutions, the Malaysia government has successfully expanded its higher education and created a conducive policy environment for turning the country into one of the regional hubs of higher education in Asia (Lee 2006; Mok 2006a; Morshidi, 2006a).

Table 3: The rise of *minban* education in China

No. of:	1999	2000	2001	2002	2004
Minban Primary Schools	3264	4341	4846	5122	6047
Minban Secondary Schools	2593	3316	4571	5362	4219
Minban vocational College	950	999	1040	1085	1633
No. of *Minban* Higher Education Institutions (Non-qualification issuing institutions)	37 (around 1000)	43 (1282)	89 (1202)	133 (1202)	228 (1187)

Source: MOE, China (2000)

Not surprisingly, similar developments could be found in South Korea, Taiwan, Japan and Hong Kong, the rapid expansion of higher education enrolments in these countries in the last two decades have resulted from the revitalization of the private sector or the liberalization of the market in higher education. When comparing and contrasting the higher education developments in South Korea, Japan and Taiwan with those of Hong Kong and Singapore, it is clear that the higher education systems in the former are private dominance while the latter is more state dominance (Mok 2003). In order to increase the higher education enrolment rate, we have also witnessed the growing

prominence of the privateness in the higher education of Singapore and Hong Kong since these Asian states have attempted to make use of the market to fulfill the policy goals of massification of higher education. Therefore, private higher education sector has paid for much of the higher education sector expansion, leading to revolutionary changes and imparting a growing "privateness" to Asian higher education systems as what Altbach and Lewis (2005) have argued.

Conclusion

This paper has briefly outlined both the global and domestic factors influencing the rise of the privateness in higher education in Asia. Our above comparative study has clearly indicated the growing prominence of the privateness in higher education in Asia has been driven by both the global and local forces. Some of these Asian societies have allowed the private sector to perform increasingly important role for "compensating for their deficiency" and therefore they make use of the private sources as instruments for "catching up" or "moving ahead" purposes. In contrast, for those relatively less economically developed countries, they have used the market as an instrument to fulfill their policy goals of higher education expansion. Most important of all, our above comparative study has clearly indicated that even though there are similar trends of higher education developments in Asia, there are equally diverse domestic / local political and reform agendas (Mok, 2003a). Therefore, we should not overstate the impact of globalization since the Asian states have also tactically made use of the global forces to accelerate changes in order to fulfill their locally driven political / reform agendas (Mok, 2006b). More importantly, when examining the social context for the rise of private higher education in Asia, we should not discard the importance of local cultural, traditional and historical variables which have significantly shaped educational developments of these Asian economies.

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Chapter 4

Japanese Private Universities in Transition

– Characteristics, Crisis and Future Directions—

Motohisa Kaneko

1. The Japanese Model of Private Universities

The present issue about private higher education in Japan can not be properly understood without reflecting on the historical backgrounds of the Japanese higher education system, and the birth and evolution of individual institutions in it.

Historical Background

Private institutions of higher education in Japan can be traced back to the birth of modern higher education some 130 years ago, when such predecessors as Keio and Waseda started their activities. In the subsequent years, the national institutions became more powerful as the government concentrated their investment on them (Kaneko 2004). The private sector nevertheless started expanding by absorbing the excess demands. The institutional framework underwent significant changes, but the trend of expansion continued. More specifically, there were three stages from the 1960s to the present.

Rapid Expansion under Market Pressure (1960 – mid 1970s). The demand for higher education expanded rapidly as a consequence of steady economic growth starting in the 1960s. This was an era when the market dictated higher education. On the other hand, the government control on private institutions was relatively lax. The private sector responded to the growing demands through two paths – expansion of the existing institutions and establishment of new institutions. .

Regulated Market (Mid 1970s – 1990). The enrollment stopped growing as the government started strong regulation to control on expansion. The control was accompanied with the governmental subsidy to private institutions. Many private institutions sought to consolidate their finances and market position by controlling

enrollment while raising tuition. At the same time, many new institutions were given birth reflecting the excess-demand.

Structural Shift (1990 – present). The government started deregulating control on education. The size of 18-year old population started declining to shrink margin of demand over supply. The excess demand that has been the basis of the private sector is about to disappear. These factors appear are changing the structural characteristics.

Typology by Birth

Through the processes stated above, more than five-hundred private four-year institutions of higher education were given birth. There are three major types of private institutions with respect to the process of institutional birth and growth.

1) Voluntary Association. A group of intellectuals, either in teaching position in national universities or engaged in social activities, often lead by a charismatic leader, organized an institution of higher education. They were motivated by idealism for modernization of the country. Not infrequently, they had different political views from that of the Meiji Government. Keio, Waseda and some other major universities established in the Meiji period fall in this category. In most cases, those individuals who initiated the institution actually taught in or engaged in the management of the institution.

2) Sponsored. Some institutions were established by social organizations with sufficient resources to establish and support an educational institution. Most of them were established and supported by religious bodies including foreign Missionaries and Buddhist sects. Some institutions were established and supported by business corporations.

3) Entrepreneurial. Typically, a local leader in education built a school, mainly middle schools and, as it becomes established, built a junior college, and then full four—year institution. The original leader, and frequently his/her family members, tends to keep a strong reign on the management. At the point of retirement, he/she appoints the successor, often from family members.

These types show that the origins of higher education institutions are very different from those in the U.S. Naturally, the historical origin reflected on the form of

governance as discussed later. .

Stages of Institutional Evolution

It is also important to note that each institution went through stages of evolution, which can be summarized into the following three.

Stage 1: In the first stage, an institution is established. The context in which it is established can be classified in the three types indicated above. In the postwar expansion, the Entrepreneurial type was the predominant one. They were induced on one hand by the growing demand in higher education and, on the other, by the internal needs within a group of schools under the same management.

Stage 2: In the second stage, the institution tries to expand its operation. In order to be recognized by the prospective students, an institution has to have a presence in the market by being large. Also from the standpoint of financial efficiency, the size of enrollment has to surpass a certain level. A rule of some is said to be three thousand students.

Stage 3: The ultimate goal of an institution should be to achieve high levels in education and research. Being placed in a high place in the hierarchy among the institutions implies that there are always a large number of excess demands. That allows the institution to be selective in admission. Also, it implies that the financial basis is secured in the long run.

In the postwar period, many institutions of the Voluntary Association or the Sponsored type operating from the prewar period started at Stage 2, and then reached Stage 3 by the 1960's and 1970's. Some of the Sponsored-type institutions did not proceed to expand, and sought to enter stage 3 by finding a niche in the market. Many of the entrepreneurial type, however, had to start anew from Stage 1. A number of institutions had not gone through Stage 2 when they found themselves stuck in the shrinking market since the late 1990s.

2 Institutional Framework

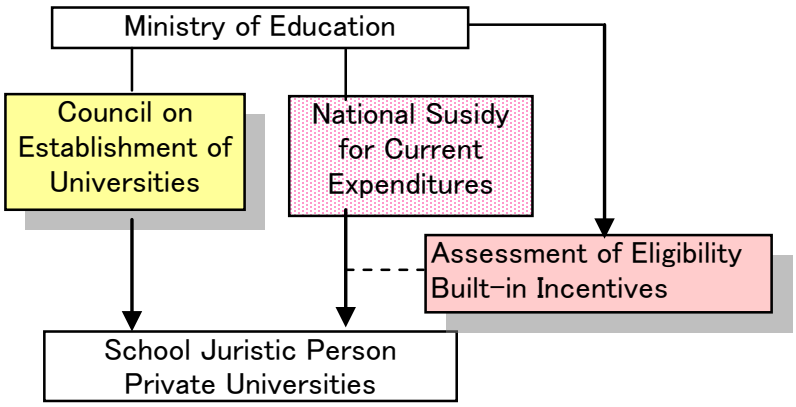
The present institutional framework of private universities through the process stated above can be summarized with respect to the relation between the government and institutions, the structure of governance, and the finances.

Government and Private Universities

The School Education Law, established in the period of post-war educational reform, stipulated that private institutions of education constitutes a part of the national education system. The legal authority given to the government, as stipulated by the Private Education Law, did not provide for any effective means in regulating private institutions. Moreover, the Japan University Accreditation Association (JUAA), designated to be the organ to sustain quality of higher education institution, failed to achieve the expected function. Subsequently, the government managed to acquire two significant instruments to control the quality of private (Figure 1).

Permission of establishment of new institution and new faculty. As the initial accreditation system turned out to be ineffective, the government succeeded to introduce a system of assessment on the plan to establish a new institution. A set of requirements s was stipulated, first after those set by JUAA, but increasingly elaborate in the following years, and the institutions trying to enter the market were expected to satisfy them. The same procedure was required in the cases where existing institution tried to add new faculties. Even though this procedure was directed to establishment of new institution or faculty, it also functioned as a tool of controlling the quality of existing institutions. (Osaki 1983)

Figure 1. Major Devices for Governmental Control on Private Institutions



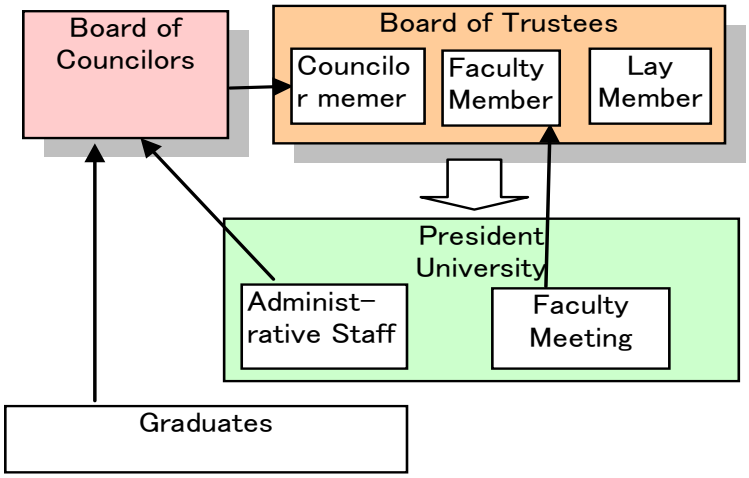
Current Cost Subsidy to Private Institutions. After the financial crisis of many private institutions and rampant campus strife in the late 1970's, the Parliament introduced in 1975 the Law of National Subsidy to Current Costs in Private Schools. In the subsequent years, the national subsidy became to account for about one—third of the revenue of private institutions, but later the percentage declined with the development of financial stringency of the national budget. The subsidy was also used as an instrument for control of quality. In order to be eligible for the subsidy, the institutions have to satisfy a set of certain criteria, including the limit of the size of enrollment in excess of the designated level at the time of establishment. Also the amount of the subsidy was determined by a formula comprising some indicators of the condition of education of institution. The degree to which the formula differentiates the amount grew steadily in the subsequent years.

Governance

The governance of private institutions in Japan is characterized by its legal framework, definition of governing bodies, and a few aspects of practices in decision making.

School Juristic Person. In the postwar reform, all the private institutions of higher education were incorporated as incorporated as "School Juristic Person" (SJP hereafter) by stipulation of School Education Law. Legally, each SJP establishes a university or any other types of private schools, but the SJP and the schools are separate entity. In this sense, it resembles the holding company in the business world. Through this legal device, one SJP is able to establish not only one, but any number of educational institutions. This arrangement turned out to be a vital device to expand the private sector. There were numbers of new institutions entering the market, most of them being the Entrepreneurial type. In a typical case, a SJP that had previously owned a secondary school or Junior College, and had accumulated basic funds from those schools, established a four—year institution of higher education. There were a few cases where the existing SJP with a university established yet other university. Each of these SJP's had a few institutions of higher education, and a number of high schools as "feeder" institutions. In this sense, they became a large conglomerate in the world of education. The governance of the SJP can be summarized by three major Characteristics (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Governance of Private Insitutions



Dual Governing Body. By stipulation of the Law of Private Schools, SJP should be governed in principle by the Board of Trustees. The Law allowed a substantial degree of discretion by individual institution as to how they define the power of decision making. Specifically, it allowed the Board of Councilors, comprising alumni, academic and administrative members, may be given substantive power in the process of decision making (Figure 2). The rational of this arrangement lies in the control by the "member" of the institutions at large. The same rational can be found in the concept of Court in the British universities. There is also similarity to the Overseers at Harvard University until the 19th century. This option has been adopted in the Association Type of institutions, which tend to have a long history and many alumni.

Participatory Management. In many private institutions academic and administrative staff members have strong presence in the Board of Trustees and in the Board of Councilors if it exists. In most cases, the faculty deans, who were elected by the faculty meeting, become ex officio Trustees. Faculty and administrative members may be given a seat in the Board of Councilor, and then appointed as Trustees. In some large and old universities, the President elected through popular election, becomes the Chairperson of the Board of Trustees.

Board of Trustees as the Executing Body. The role and power given to the Board

of Trustees is ultimately that of decision making. But in many cases, it also acts as the executing body of the institution. It is common that some of the Trustees are designated to be the Executive Trustees, who are paid employed of the SJP. Also it is common that the president acts as the chairperson of the Board. Through these arrangements, the lay members from the outside of the university may in fact constitute the minority in the Board.

Finance

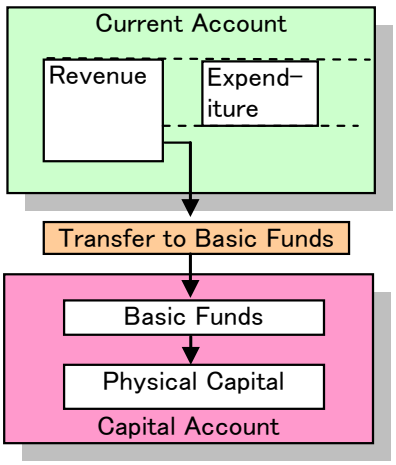
The financial characteristics of Japanese higher education can be summarized in its dependence on tuition revenue and subsidy from the government, and the accounting scheme to allow for the government subsidy.

Dependence on Tuition Revenue and Internal Accumulation. As discussed above, most of the private institutions in Japan were mainly dependent on tuition revenues. The revenues had to provide not only for the current expenditures for the wage of academic and administrative members and other costs for education and research, but also for building new facilities to accommodate the students. In the epoch of rapid expansion, many institutions borrowed funds from financial institutions, but as the rapid expansion started to halt, they had to face serious burdens of debt.

Current Cost Subsidy and Accounting Standard. It was discussed above the Current Cost Subsidy was introduced in the mid 1970s as a means to enhance the financial status of private institutions. The scheme, however, involved a critical question. In so far as the private institutions were subsidized by the government, those institutions should not be allowed to post surplus. On the other hand, it was vital for the private institutions to accumulate resources towards future to build new facilities for education and research. The government sought to bypass this dilemma by devising a new Private Schools Accounting Standard that introduced a peculiar concept (Figure 3).

According to this Standard, the current account and capital account of private institution are clearly separated. In the current account, a certain amount can be reserved, for future investment, before obtaining the Expendable Revenue. The reserved amount is called the Transfer to the Basic Funds in the capital account side. The Basic Funds accounts for existing facilities and the cash to be used construct new facilities in the future.

Figure 3. Financial Flow in Private Universities



During the epoch of chronicle excess demands and rising tuition levels in the 1980's, this scheme proved to be effective in stabilizing the financial health in the long run. In fact, the Transfer to the Basic Funds grew over time in the 1980's to the level of more than ten percent of the total revenue.

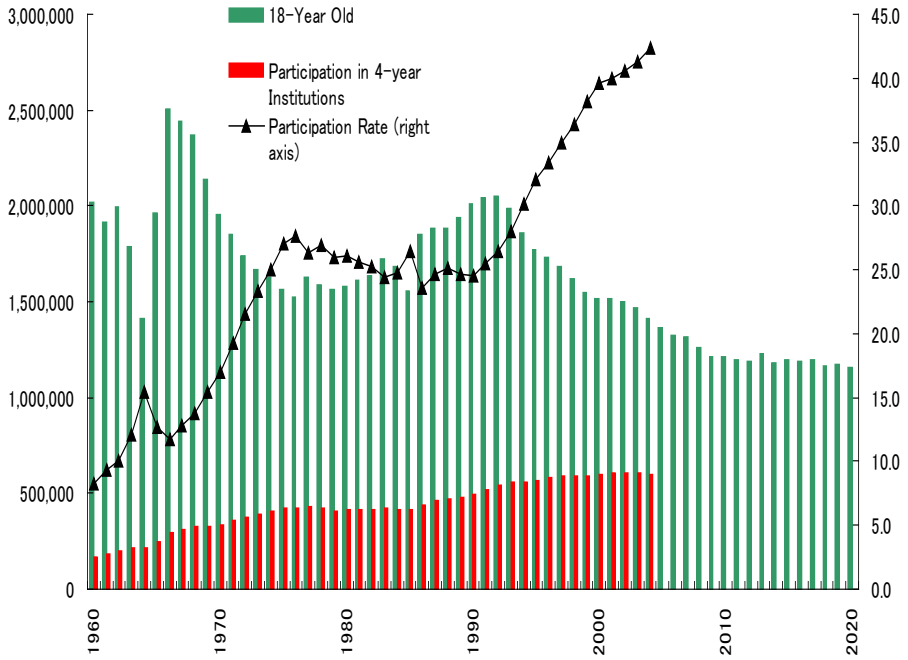
3. Crisis, Policy Shifts and Institutional Responses

Around the turn of the century, the demographic and socio—economic environment around private institutions started shifting dramatically.

Changing Environment

Demographic. The most decisive factor has been the decrease in the size of 18 year—olds who constitute most of the demands for undergraduate education (Figure 4). As the second baby—boom generation, who numbered almost two million, left the market, the number has dropped down to 1.5 million by 2005, and will reach down to 1.2 million by 2010. On the other hand, the participation rate in four—year college education has been steadily increasing, to reach the 40 percent level by early 2000's, resulting in a small net increase. The participation rate, however, appears to have ceased increasing, and the size of the demand has started shrinking.

Figure 4. Changes in 18-year olds, Entrants and Participation Rate at Four-Year Institutions (1960-2020)



Fiscal. Since the 1990's, the financial stringency of the government bore strong pressures towards reduction in government spending in any area but such mandatory areas as the national health insurance and pension plans. The national subsidy to private institutions has been stagnating, and will see a net decrease in FY 2007.

Political. Together with the climate of fiscal stringency, the shift of political climate towards de—regulation has gained momentum under the Koizumi administration. That prompted further de—regulation in the field of higher education, especially in the procedure of Permission of Establishment. The Koizumi administration also emphasized marketization in any field including higher education. For—profit universities were allowed to operate in an experimental basis, and waiting for normalization.

Viability of Private Institutions

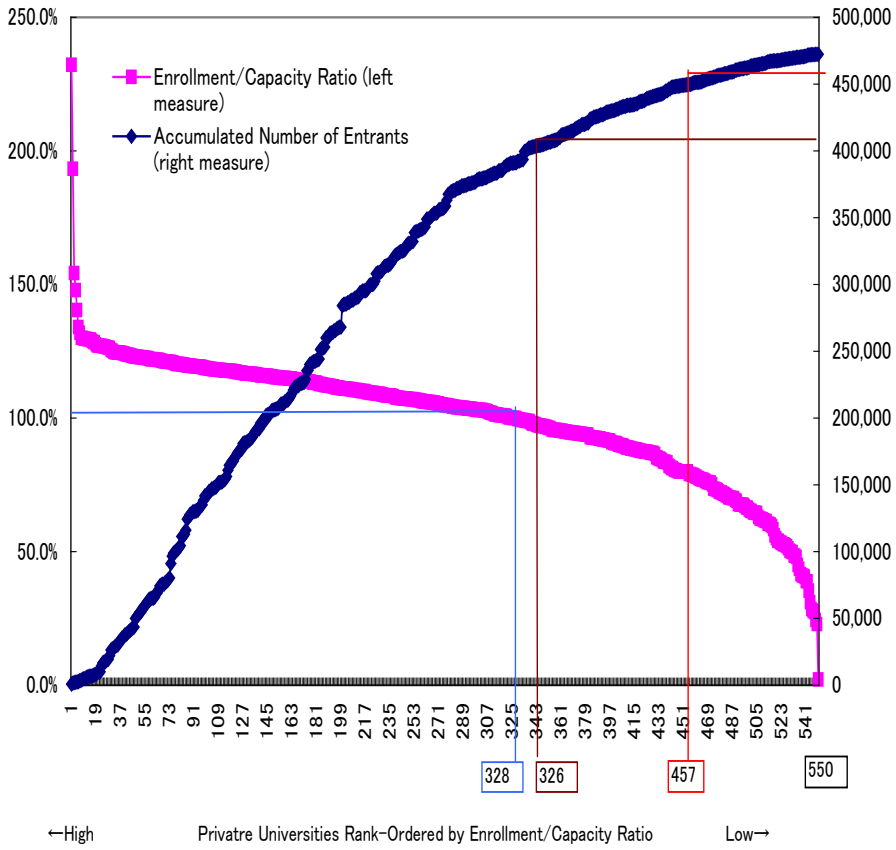
The direct consequence of the shrinking market will be the prospect of institutional

closure. Some institutions are already facing the decline of applicants, and in a number of cases the freshman class failed to fill the legal sitting capacity. The situation will be further aggravated towards the 2010's. It should be noted that the effect of the demographic shift is not the same across the institutions. In general, those institutions at the higher tiers in the institutional hierarchy are least affected by this change. On the other hand, those at the bottom are hit most hardly. Most of these institutions are new and small – the new comers among the Entrepreneurial Type. Because the average size of enrollment is small, the number of institutions affected will be large for a given size of total reduction in demands.

The reduction in the size of enrollment will inevitably affect the financial health of the affected institutions, in some cases leading to closure of the institution. Along the horizontal axis of Figure 5, five-hundred and fifty (550) private institutions in Japan are rank-ordered by the ratio of actual enrollment by capacity from the left to the right. The enrollment/capacity ratio of each institution is shown by the curve going down from left to right and measured by the left axis. The curve rising towards right shows the accumulated enrollment. From this figure, it is shown that, out of 550 institutions, only 328 institution have succeeded to fill the capacity at present. It is also shown that if the total enrollment declines by 10 percent, from 500 thousand to 450 thousand, then only four-hundred and fifty-seven (457) institutions will be enough to accommodate the students. If the number of demands fell to 400 thousand, then one-third of the present institutions will become unnecessary.

So far, however, there has been very few case of closure as a consequence of genuinely fiscal reasons. Many institutions appear to have sizable margins in their current revenue over the cost. Some of them have succeeded to slash cost by either decreasing the number of employees or slash down the wage levels. Nonetheless, the prospect of closure, however, is definitely looming. How many, and when, institutions will have to close depends on many factors and remains uncertain at this point.

Figure 5. Enrollment/Capacity Ratio and Accumulated Number of Students in Private Universities, 2004



What will happen if an institution is faced with financial difficulty? There are few scenarios. In the most peaceful case, the SJP may seek for financial help from an individual or an organization. Or, another SJP may approach to acquire the university in difficulty to take them under its arm. If the prospect for such solution turned out to be small, then it can declare bankruptcy: the students will be transferred to neighboring institutions. In the worst case, the SJP may stop operation and, even after liquidation, leaves significant debt and unpaid salary for the employees. Not only the employees and creditors may not be able to recover their loss, but also the student may have to move to other institution and pay for tuition again. (MEXT 2005).

The social attitudes towards the prospect of closure remain ambiguous. The media has been reporting the likelihood of closure with the tone the incidence is inevitable. Some social critique are arguing that the natural selection is healthy and useful for improving the efficiency of higher education. Nonetheless, in the event of massive closure takes place, the public attitude may change quickly.

Shift in the Government Policies

Provided with the changing environment, the government started a few initiatives to reformulate the institutional framework of private education.

Quality Control. It was stated above that one of the instruments of government control on quality of education had been the Permission of Establishment. With the dramatic shift in the market from excess demand to excess supply, this instrument should lose its effectiveness. At the same time, the Current Cost Subsidy has been decreasing its effectiveness as its size relative to the institutional income kept declining. Also, the direct control by the government in general became politically disfavored. As the conventional means became obsolete, the government had to seek other means of quality control. The government reintroduced a new regime of accreditation in 2003.

Consumer Protection in the Case of Financial Failure. With the amendment of Private School Law in 2003, the government established the legal ground for its authority to demand closing of private institutions in the case it is unable to achieve its educational function. In a way, this was what the Ministry of Education had wished for the whole postwar period. It was made possible because the need of such an action has become likely. The government action beyond that, however, remains tentative. One possibility for the government will be to establish an early warning system, which may issue a "Yellow Card" or a "Red Card" to the institutions with failing financial health. Such an action, however, may generate hurtful reputation about the institution, which in turn may prompt the closing of the institution. That constitutes infringement on the principle of independence of private institutions.

Legal Framework of Governance. The increasingly severe environment would necessarily require the private institutions to be decisive in their management. Moreover, the possibility of financial failure makes it necessary for the institutions to define clearly the extent and nature of power and responsibility attributed to the governing bodies as a group and their members as an individual. The government

amended the Law of Private Schools in 2003 to provide clearer requirements on governing bodies. It was made clear that the Board of Trustees should be the principal body for decision making, and only the chairperson of the Board has the legal power to represent the institution to sign contracts.

Requirements of Financial Transparency. The amended Law also required that the financial statements of the institution to the stake-holders. Nonetheless, the "stake-holder" clause sill leaves some room of interpretation. Some institutions interpreted it as implying the students and their parents together with the employees, but not the general public.

Responses of Private Institutions

Under these changes, private institutions of higher education are trying to seek for the ways to remain active and competitive.

Finance. Obviously, the most acute issue for many private universities is that of finance. Many institutions are trying to cut the expenses. One of the common strategies is to employ faculty members with fixed term of employment, which has been rare in Japan.

It should be noted that even the institutions with relatively strong latent demand, with small problem in attracting students, may face serious financial problem. It is because that many of the institutions did not raise wage levels of the employees during the 1980s and 1990s, but also promised handsome pension plans. Once the revenue of these institutions stops increasing, it is likely that the obligation of payment may cause serious problems.

One latent issue is the unnatural scheme defined in Private Schools Accounting Standard that sets the "expendable revenue" by subtracting the amount of future investment from the total revenue. Although it was designed to justify internal accumulation, it has been criticized on the ground that it makes financial statement unnecessarily confounded. In recent years, some large universities tend to post temporary "surplus" rather than transferring it to the Basic Funds. The Accounting Standard may have to be reconsidered in the coming years.

Governance. In many institutions, the styles of governance and management appear to have been changing. Increasingly, the power given to the Board of Councilor has been lessened in many institutions. Also, there is a sign that the power given to the faculty meeting may be declining to an extent. In the universities of Entrepreneurial Type the influences of those bodies, which had been

small before, are becoming even weaker. These signs appear to indicate a stronger power given to the administrators, which appears to strengthen the ability of the institutions to be better positioned to survive. There are, however, two problems in this change.

In many of the institutions the academic control and participatory decision-making remain to be strong. Especially in large institutions, the Faculty Meeting is still holds decisive power especially at the Faculty level. In some institutions, the participation of administrators in the governing bodies is even growing. Academic control may be healthy with respect to academic decisions. Also, one may argue that the participatory management induces a strong sense of belonging to the institution and sound moral among administrators. On the other hand, it would make it difficult for the management to take actions that may hurt the interests of the employees themselves. This may turn out to be critical in the age of consolidation.

In the Entrepreneurial type institutions, the power of decision making tends to be concentrated on the Chairperson or a few Executive Trustees. This may make it possible to make decisive actions when it is necessary. On the other hand, those institutions do not have strong power that oversees those decisions from the societal standpoint or from perspective of stability in the long-run. There are considerable risks in that sense.

4. Directions Toward Future

As a consequence of these changes, private institutions appear to be increasingly polarized in their interests. Accordingly, they will seek very different direction toward future.

Progress to the Public Domain

On one hand, there are a number of institutions that are positioned at the higher echelon in the market and therefore faced with less acute risk in the market. These institutions tend to be of large or medium in size, and belong to either Voluntary or Sponsored Type. Their strategic goal is to enhance their market-position, and to increase competitiveness not only against their peers but also against the national institutions.

If these institutions wish to obtain those goals, they have to achieve certain

conditions. They tend to be less attached to the Current Cost Subsidy. They are also less persistent on the financial scheme of the Accounting Standards. They are already receiving competitive subsidies to primary institutions. They may welcome the shift from institutional subsidy to individual subsidy through either a direct grant to students or some form of voucher.

A more significant issue will be the how the donation to the private institution is treated in the tax system. Under the current system, the donation to private institutions can be deducted from the taxable income to an extent (Income Deduction), but not from the amount of tax itself (Tax Amount Deduction). The institutions will have to seek the tax-deduction status in order to become competitive against public institutions. This change, however, should require corresponding changes in the governance. Being given Tax Amount Deduction implies that the organization is permitted to accumulate the public funds as their asset. The asset should be owned by a group of responsible persons who can not get any benefit from the operation of the university. The decision-making by membership group, or the practice of participatory management, may have to be seriously questioned.

Entrenchment

On the other hand, there are a number of institutions that are faced with the pressures of reduction in demand. Many of these institutions are striving to strengthen their competitiveness in their segment of market, and eventually survive the struggle. Nonetheless, they wish to secure the ground for survival. From this standpoint, the provision of Current Cost Subsidy is indispensable not only for their value as a source of stable income, but also a sign of recognition by the national government for their function as an educational institution. They would also oppose to the further disclosure of the finances, on the ground that the disclosure may generate misinformation. Particularly in the institutions of Entrepreneurial Type, it is unlikely to change their governance and management. In that sense, they would not expel the element of private ownership. In these senses, they may take the direction of entrenchment in so far it is possible.

Private Ownership

Ironically, the entrenchment strategy may be challenged by an unexpected competitor – for-profit institutions allowed currently on an trial basis. The proponents of the for-profits argue that the present private institutions established under School Juristic Person are in fact generating interests to the people engaged in

management. At the same time, it is likely that some of the bankrupt universities may be purchased by the enterprises who wish to build for-profit institutions. In these senses, some part of the private sector is moving towards the private domain.

The discussion above indicates that the private sector of higher education in Japan has been changing, and it will keep changing towards the future. There have been a wide variation among private institutions, and there will be a wide variation, albeit of different nature, in the future. Such variation and changes are created by the dynamism of the markets forces in higher education together with the shifts in demographic, social and political factors.

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Chapter 5

The Development of Private Higher Education in China: Change and Response

Bao Wei

Introduction

Private higher education is one of the most dynamic and fast-growing segments of the postsecondary education worldwide at the turn of the 21st century. In recent china, with the expansion and differentiation of higher education, private (min-ban) higher education has become a main force of enhancing the supply of higher education with the public higher education. Since 1999, higher educations in China have undergone a dramatic shift from the elite education towards mass education. Meanwhile, as a new private sector, Independent College emerged and developed during the last seven years. Independent College has its roots in the "second class" colleges which were created in the public universities to enroll the un-qualified students who would like to pay the extra tuition fees for admission.

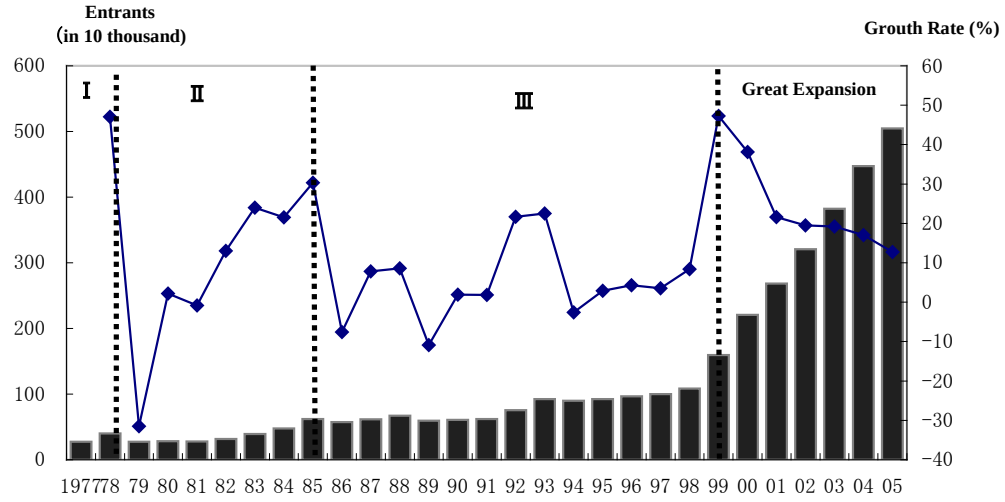
What happens to the private sector of higher education, with the rapid expansion of the public sector? What change does Independent College bring to current private higher education institutions? This paper will address the issue in functional and systemic way of private higher education in China.

In the following discussions, firstly, I will describe the key characteristics of

development of the private higher education in China in different phases（section 1）. Secondly, I will discuss the corresponding relationship between the demand side (students and employers) and the supply side (institutions) existing in enrollment market and labor market (section 2). Finally, characteristics of structure of the private higher education system in China will be analyzed to show the new orientation in this field (section 3).

1. The Growth of Private Higher Education and the Massification of Chinese Higher Education

The reemergence and development of private higher education is closely related to the massification of higher education in China. Before analysis, a brief review of the development of private education from the view of historical development (by chronological order) is stated. Figure 1 shows Chinese higher education institutions(HEIs)' entrants scale and its annual growth rate from 1977 to 2005, from which it can be seen that during that period of time, Chinese higher education had undergone three(1978, 1985 and 1999) different scale of the expansion in enrollment. In the following part, those three years (1978, 1985, and 1999) will be treated as distinction points and the process of higher education expansion will be divided into four stages to inspect the key features of private higher education in different phases.



［Source]:Eduational Satistics Yearbook,Various Years.

Figure 1. The Expansion of Chinese Higher Education（ 1978 to 2005）

- **the first stage of expansion (1977-78) : the germination phase**

After Chinese Cultural Revolution, to promote the country's modernization was an important and urgent mission facing the government. Meanwhile, the flood of the youth going back to the cities from rural areas caused serious imbalance of the labor market's supply and demand. To meet the country's development demand and ease the employment pressure, the government made the decision to expand higher education enrollment scale. With the reconstruction and restoration of education system, the demand of the mass, which was once deprived, increased dramatically. Against such circumstance, in order to meet the needs of the society, some small-scale training and remedial classes emerged in some metropolises, which was founded and funded by some retired teachers. The target students of classes were mainly the youth going back

to the cities from rural areas. Those small classes provided them with vocational training or remediation on the level of secondary education. The classes gave birth to private universities thus became the prototype of Chinese private institutions of higher education.

- **the second stage of expansion (1979-85) : the shaping phase**

The expansion of higher education during this period of time was closely related to the re-acceleration of economic development and the problem that the cohort of people born during the period of the second baby boom (1962-71) had reached their age of receiving higher education. However, the existing higher education system could no longer meet the increasing demand for higher education in the society. To improve that situation, while establishing Radio and TV University (1977) and other such nontraditional higher education institutions as well as setting examination system of self-learning higher education (1980), the government had also clearly indicated its supportive and positive attitude towards running school by social forces in the *Constitution* and *Decision on Education System Reformation* in 1985. The political support of the government promoted the development of private education. During that period, private HEIs began to get rid of their old pattern of "training and remedial classes" and turned into higher education institutions gradually. Now, some famous private colleges and universities such as Huanghe Science and Technology College in Henan province and Zhejiang Shuren University, were all founded during that period. By 1985, the number of private HEIs had amounted to over 170, with more than 1,000,000 enrolled students. With the expansion of the number and scale of private

HEIs, there were many institution founders who were retired teachers in public universities, administrators of public universities and people of Democratic Party. Besides, their regional distribution was no longer restricted within metropolises such as Beijing and Shanghai, but had expanded to some regions where the public sector's provision still lacked.

- **The third stage of expansion (1986-98) : the steady development phase**

After the year 1992, economic development speed continued to accelerate. In educational field, the government issued the "*Outline on Reform and Development of Education in China*", making the HEIs to obtain a greater freedom and autonomy on governance and enrollment. These all contributed to the main factors of promoting the third stage of expansion of higher education. However, during that time, some private

Table 1. Size of Enrollment and Number of Institutions in Private sector (1996 to 2005)

	Size of Enrollment (ten thousand)									
	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Degree-granting HEIs	1.2	1.6	2.2	4.0	6.8	14.0	31.9	81.0	139.8*	105.2
Non-degree-granting HEIs	108.4	119.0	—	118.4	98.2	103.0	84.2	100.4	105.33	109.2

	Number of Institutions									
	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Degree-granting HEIs	(21)	(20)	(25)	(37)	(37)	(89)	(133)	(173)	(228)	(252)
Non-degree-granting HEIs	(1109)	(1095)	(1200)	(1240)	(1282)	(1202)	(1022)	(1044)	(1187)	(1077)

[sources] Green Paper on Non-Governmental Education in China, Statistical Announcement on Chinese Education

* including the number of students in independent colleges

HEIs founders took advantages of the blankness of the government's relevant administrative system to obtain economic benefit, so there were serious problems about the school's management and operation, such as issuing unqualified students graduate certificate and dramatic decline of education quality. This led to the distortion of its original purpose and the ruin of private HEIs' reputation. In order to solve those problems, on the one hand, the relevant departments of the government issued a series of regulations in succession to standardize the administration of private higher education. On the other hand, by adopting two institutional instruments, the government enhanced its supervision on private higher education quality, namely, degree-awarding power and system of diploma examination. Besides, another crucial trend of that time was that the government made private higher education transmitted into vocational higher education gradually, by launching laws such as "*Law on Vocational Education'*(1996), "*Regulations on The Running of Educational Institutions by Social Strength"* (1997)and "*Views on The Actualizing of Trying Out Higher Vocational Education According to New Management Pattern and Operation Mechanism*".

The enhancing of the government's controlling strength did not impair the developing trend of private higher education. By 1998, number of private HEIs had increased from 370 in 1986 to 1225. During that time, many national enterprises and public institutions joined the team of private HEIs founders. And the regional distribution of private HEIs began to spread to various regions in the country.

- **Great expansion(1999-2005): the restructure phase**

Since 1999, Chinese higher education had been in a new cycle of tremendous expansion. The scale of the expansion was larger than those in the past. The expansion was closely related to the government's released political aim of entering the age of higher education popularization in the early of the 21st century. But, it is undeniable that the problems such as the increase of the laid-off workers in state-owned enterprises in recent years and the employment pressure caused by the fact that people born during the third baby boom(1986-88) would enter the labor market soon were the main reasons made this policy come into being. Since the scale of public institutions was undergoing great expansion, the scale of private higher education also expanded dramatically. During 1999 and 2005, the total enrollment number of private HEIs having authorities to award degrees increased from 40,000 to 1,052,000 and the number of institutions also increased from 37 to 252.

During that period, measures taken by the government can be mainly concluded into the following four aspects:

First, it further strengthened the transformation of private higher education to higher vocational education. In 2000, with the issuing of *Higher Vocational Education Establishment Standard*(attempted version)(*The Standard* for short) by the government, the previous *Higher Education Temporary Establishment Regulation* was cancelled, then *The Standard* became the official requirement for the establishment of private HEIs. This political tendency indicates two-fold meaning, the first one is that the possibilities for the private sector to be upgraded to the four-year program

universities is reduced, the second one is that as shouldering the important function of

Table 2. Type of Institutions in Private Sector(1996-2005)

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Four-year Universities	1	1	1	2	2	2	4	9	9	27
Junior Colleges	14	15	16	31	26	17	15	9	8	6
Colleges of Technology	—	—	—	—	15	66	112	155	197	217
Total	15	16	17	33	43	85	131	173	214	250

[sources] *Green Paper on Non-Governmental Education in China,Eduational Satistics Yearbook ,* Ministry of Education HP

increasing the total amount of higher education opportunities, private HEIs also shoulder the important responsibility of cultivation higher vocational and skillful talents. Table 2 shows the tendency of the type change of private HEIs. It can be seen clearly from the table that the characteristic of private higher education has changed fundamentally, as in 2005, the private vocational education institutions took up 86.8% of the total private HEIs, becoming the core component of private higher education.

Second, to strengthen the inspiring mechanism of running school by social forces, the profitable feature of private HEIs is admitted. In December 2002, the government launched "*Promotion Law on Private Education*", whose significant feature is that it allows the investor of private schools to get a reasonable profit within the surplus of school running, meaning acknowledging the profitable feature of private colleges and universities to a certain extent. The coming of this policy embodied the political attempt of the government's willing to strengthen the inspiring mechanism of running institutions by social strength. Unlike the status of the previous private institution founders, private enterprises managers began to join the team of founders as new

blood constantly during that time; multi financing mechanism has become a new eye-catching phenomenon of the development of private higher education.

However, it is a pity that this measure was questioned by many people. From the interviews of the government's relevant department and private institution founders, it can be found that the main reasons are: firstly, since the emergence of private HEIs in the early 1970s, it has existed for only a short period of more than twenty years, for those many private universities still in the early stage, the possibility of gaining benefit at this stage is little; Secondly, people from all sectors of society generally held a critical view towards profit-making dealing of colleges and universities, since no mature social general atmosphere of accepting profit-making colleges and universities was formed.

Besides, by issuing a series of regulations, the government admitted the legitimacy of independent colleges. In 1999, independent colleges(the original second-class colleges), as a new type of private HEIs in China, began to appear in Jiangshu and Zhejiang regions and then spread to all over China and got popularized soon. As a consequence of the public sector's privatization, independent colleges, which affiliated to public universities and were established with private finance. They were allowed to grant baccalaureate degrees without ordinary accreditation procedure. By 2005, the number of institutions of independent colleges reached 295, with an enrollment number of 1,070,000, contending with ordinary private colleges and universities generally. The emergence and quick growth of independent colleges posed enormous treat to the existing private colleges and universities in terms of source of students.

The last point to be implemented is that the government cancelled experimental institutions requiring diploma examinations (specialized colleges). Examination for diploma of higher education is a transitional type from self-learning examination to normal higher education, an accredited exanimation organized by the government on the students who were studying in private colleges which hadn't been authorized to grant degrees. Such specialized colleges also have a full-time higher education system featured by the combination of running schools by private forces and examined by the

Table 3. Phase Features of Private Higher Education

Phases of Development	*Administration*	*Founder*	*Type of Institutions*	*Content of Education*	*Regional Distribution*
the Germination Phase	political blankness	retired teachers and men of insight	small-scale classes	vocational skills training/remediation on the level of secondary education	concentrated in metropolitans
the Shaping Phase	supportive and positive attitude	retired people in public universities and people of Democratic Party	the emergence of the embryo of private HEIs	postsecondary education and self-learning examination education	expanding to certain regions
the Steady Development Phase	strengthening and standardizing the control/delivering the approval authority to the local government	participation of national enterprises	emergence of experimental institution requiring diploma examinations	postsecondary education, examination-oriented education for self-learning examination and diploma examination	expanding to the whole country
the Restructure Phase	promulgation of Promotion Law/ acknowledgement of independent colleges/ cancellation of experimental institutions needing diploma examinations	participation of self-owned enterprises runners	the emergence and development of vocational colleges and independent colleges	give priority to vocational higher education	expanding to the whole country

government. During the time when lacking public higher education resources and private education was greatly needed to be supported, specialized colleges played an

enormous role. Since these colleges had some autonomy on the examination for diploma, it attracted many students. However, with the enrollment enlargement of the public sector, more and well-developed private HEIs obtained authorities to award degrees; the examination for diploma for higher education has successfully finished its task. The policy could be interpreted as the restructure of the private higher education system by the government. For those private HEIs with a certain scale on various aspects, the government will confer them the authority of degree-awarding, thus, they can be included into the formal HEIs. But for those private HEIs with little-scale and failed to reach the standard of higher education on various aspects, they will either close down or become non-diploma education institutions focusing on providing special vocational trainings in the marketing competition.

The paragraphs above are a brief retrospect of the development of private higher education within the twenty years. Table 3 is an overview of the features in different phases. From which we may see that though suffered from various kinds of frustrations, private higher education has formed a certain scale and become one of the key forces to realize the massification of China's higher education. But, after the great expansion in1999, the change of the government's various policies leading trend has posed serious pressure on sustainable development of private higher education. Confronted with these challenges and changes, what is the response of private colleges and universities? We will discuss this question in the following part.

2. Emergence of the New Market and Development of Private Higher Education

How do the private HEIs exploit new domain in the traditional market? And how do they promote for sustainable development by responding the new society's needs in the enrollment market and the labor market? I will examine these questions basing on data collected from a questionnaire survey entitled" The Survey of Graduates in the Postsecondary Education". The questionnaire was conducted in June 2003, with the sampling size of 1,624 students of coastal areas in China (Zhejiang, Fujian and Shanghai).

2.1 The corresponding relationship between the supply side and the demand side in enrollment market

In the enrollment market, what social status obtained educational opportunities from the private HEIs? In this section, the unique social characteristics of students in private HEIs will be considered by the comparison between students in the public sector and the private sector in terms of academic achievement, birth places and family backgrounds.

- *high schools Students graduated (academic achievement)*

In the upper secondary education, whether a student enters a senior high school or a vocational school, or enters an elite senior high school or a non-elite senior high school, or in other words, the segregation of students, is basically decided by their entrance examination achievements. Therefore, on this aspect, the different types of high schools can be applied as a substitutive indicator to judge their academic achievement.

Table 4. Comparison of Academic Achievement (Graduated Schools) Between Students in Public and Private Sectors

Unit: % (actual number)

		Public	Private	Total
	（N）	（644）	(979)	(1623)
junior high school		—	0. 6	0. 4
secondary vocational education school		0. 2	22. 3	13. 5
senior high school	non-elite	21. 3	47. 2	36. 9
	elite	78. 6	29. 8	49. 2
HEIs		—	0. 1	0. 1
Total		100. 0	100. 0	100. 0

It is clearly indicated in Table 4 that students in the public sector are mainly from senior high schools, among which 78.6% are from elite senior high schools. Comparatively, senior high school students take up only 76.9% in the private sector, and only 29.8% are from elite senior high schools. It is worth noticing that students from secondary vocational schools take up 22.3% in the private sector. According to the results of the investigation, due to the emergence of private HEIs, the students who cannot go to university because of their weaker academic achievement obtain the substituted opportunities to take higher education, too. At the same time, students from secondary vocational schools who cannot take higher education because of the limitation of the curriculum and their qualifications now can obtain educational opportunities.

- *Students' birth places*

Household registration system has long been a systematic hindrance of the circulation between urban areas and rural areas in China. As a result, an inflexible binary logistic social structure of "urban-rural" is formed and maintained, leading to the critical issues of inequality between urban areas and rural areas in terms of opportunities such as education, employment and health service. Do the emergence and expansion of private HEIs narrow the gap between urban areas and rural areas of receiving higher education opportunities? In the following part, the birth places of students are divided into four administrative regions: (1) metropolises (2) medium and small cities (3) towns (4) the rural area, to compare and analysis the difference between the public sector and the private sector.

Table 5. Comparison of Birth Places Between Students in Public and Private Sectors

Unit: % (actual number)

(N)	**Public** (636)	**Private** (975)	**Total** (1611)
metropolises	25.6	18.8	21.5
medium and small cities	31.0	22.8	26.0
towns	15.4	27.9	23.0
the rural area	28.0	30.6	29.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

As it is indicated in Table 5, students from urban areas in private sector take up an obvious lower percentage than those from public sector (public: 56.6%; private: 41.6%). A sharp contrast is that students from non-urban areas take up a greater percentage in the private sector than in the public sector (public43.4%; private58.5%). Especially

as for the number of students from the zones between urban areas and rural areas, in private HEIs is nearly two times as that of public universities.

In contradistinction to the public sector, private HEIs change their focus from urban areas to non-urban areas gradually in terms of regional distribution of higher education opportunities. Though the percentage of students from rural areas does not has an obvious increase, on the aspect of popularizing the education opportunities in zones between rural areas and urban areas, private HEIs have played an important role.

- *Student's family backgrounds*

The previous research demonstrated that students whose parents were well-educated and engaged in administrative or professional occupation took up a great part in the traditional public sector. Table 6 shows the comparative results of family backgrounds of students from the public and private sectors, according to their fathers' education levels and occupations.

Table 6. Comparison of Family Backgrounds Between Students in Public and Private Sectors

Unit:% (actual number)

		Public	Private
fateher's education levels	(N)	（627)	(964)
	primary uncompleted	16.5	23.6
	Junior high school	29.3	35.1
	senior high school completed（including secondary vocational education school）	31.1	25.1
	university and above	23.1	16.2
	subtotal	100.0	100.0
fateher's occupations	(N)	(602)	(936)
	farmer	18.9	11.6
	forefront worker	14.1	16.0
	routine staff	8.3	11.8
	administrator(including civil servant)	23.4	14.6
	technician	4.0	4.1
	professional	10.8	5.9
	self-employed individuals or private enterprises runner	18.2	34.2
	jobless	2.2	1.9
	subtotal	100.0	100.0

From the table it can be discovered that in public HEIs, students whose father have taken senior high school education or above take up 54.2%, while private HEIs only 41.3%. According to their fathers' occupational status, among the public sector students' fathers, traditional elites (administrators, professionals) occupy up to 34.2%, while the private sector only 20.5%. However, it should be noticed that children of self-employed individuals or private enterprises proprietors in private HEIs accounts for up to 34.2%. It should be further complemented that those self-employed workers or private enterprises runners have the regional features of scattering in jointed areas and they are all on comparatively less low education level.

As a summary of the above results, students in private HEIs possess the following three social features:

Firstly, from the point of education opportunities distribution, it is obvious that at present, private HEIs accept mainly two kinds of students. The first type of students is those who failed to be accepted by public universities due to their weak academic achievement. The second type of students is those who graduated from secondary vocational schools.

Secondly, from the point of regional supply of educational opportunities, unlike the public sector mainly aiming at providing education opportunities to students in the cities, the private sector mainly aims at provide educational opportunities to students in jointed areas. That shows that though the emergence of the private sector does not change the traditional binary structure of "urban-rural" fundamentally in terms of educational opportunities distribution, it is undeniable that it played an important role in narrowing the gap between the two areas.

Thirdly, from the point of the sector's social supportive groups, in private HEIs, until now, it is hard to find "cadres and intellectuals" who have been an existing central social supportive strength in public universities and who are well-educated and with higher social status. Instead, only "self-employed individuals or private enterprises proprietors", as the main profit winners after the economic reform in the 1980s, can be found. Those people are mainly in medium small cities or towns, as a new middle class. Though they have richer economic resources than the other classes, their educational backgrounds, social status, and reputations do not match their economic status.

Therefore, it is the enormous driving force derived from the desire of changing such situation that make parents willing to pay high tuition fees for their children for further education.

2.2 Analysis on influential mechanism of students' choices of schools

On the basis of above analysis, we will deepen our analysis on influential mechanism of students' choices of the private sector.

- ***Why choosing the private sector?***

First of all, the reason why people choose the private sector will be discussed in the following section.

Table 7. the Results of Binary Logistic Regression Analysis on the Choice of the Private Sector (dependent variable:whether choosing private sector:yes=1;no=0)

independent variable		B	Exp(B)
	constant	.336	1.440
students' social features	gender: male dummy variable	−.579 ****	.561
	birth places：city dummy variable	.106	1.112
	senior high school ranking：secondary vocational school=1, non-elite senior high school =2, elite senior high school=3	-1.848 ****	.158
	the highest year school completed(father)	−.103 ****	.902
	the highest year school completed(mother)	.035	1.035
	LN(income of their parents)	.739 ****	2.095
students'motivation of entering university	circumstance relevance orientation	.052	1.053
	skills and quelification orientation	.245 ****	1.277
	future career orientation	1.015 ****	2.760
	-2Log likelihood	1370.071	
	chi-square	652.744****	
	df	9	

*10%、**5%、***1%、****0.1%

Table 7 shows the results of binary logistic regression analysis on the choice of the

private sector. In the analytical model, dependent variable serves as the dummy variable of whether to choose the private sector, and 1 stands for"yes"(choosing the private sector) while 0 stands for "no"(choosing the public sector). Independent variables include students' social features (to be specific, it includes respondents' gender、region, senior high school ranking ,the highest year school completed and income of their parents) and students' motivation of entering universities (to be specific, the result of factor analysis on motivation of entering university, namely, the factor score of "circumstance relevance orientation", "skills and qualification orientation" and "future career orientation").

Firstly, from the point of the students' social features, "gender", "graduated senior high school ranking" ,"the highest school year completed by their fathers" have a significant negative effect. This analytical result shows that compared with the group featuring by "male, good academic achievement and father receiving comparatively more years of education", the group featuring by "female, not so good academic records and father receiving comparatively less years of education" has a higher probability to choose the private sector. Besides, family income has a positive influence, meaning that students with better family economic conditions tend to choose the private sector.

Moreover, from the result of the analysis, on the basis of making the influential factors of "gender of students, academic achievement and family background" stable, students' motivation of entering universities can be found. The skills and qualifications orientation and future career orientation have a significant and positive effect on their choices of the private sector. The result also indicates that students with more desire to

acquire vocational knowledge or with a clear future career orientation are more probably to choose the private sector.

- ***Why choosing the following institutions: private vocational colleges, experimental schools needing diploma exanimations and assistant schools for self-learning examination?***

From the analysis of the students' social features and motivation of entering universities, we have found that students from private HEIs differs greatly from each other among different types of institutions. To be specific, students group from independent colleges and private four-year universities show similar features as those in public universities. Comparatively, students group from private vocational colleges, experimental schools needing diploma exanimations and experimental schools for self-learning examination are losing the traditional features of universities students gradually. They show the tendency of being pluralistic on aspects of their academic achievement, age levels, birth places and family backgrounds and their motivation of entering universities. What lead to this corresponding structure of the demand and the supply? In other words, what are the main influential factors of choosing these private HEIs?

Table 8 shows results of binary logistic regression analysis on the choices of private vocational colleges, experimental schools needing diploma exanimations and assistant schools for self-learning examination. The specific dependent variable serves as the virtual variable of whether to choose private vocational colleges, experimental schools needing diploma exanimations and assistant schools for self-learning examination (1

stands for “yes”, while 0 stands for “no” (choosing independent colleges and private four-year universities). The same as the above, independent variables include students’ social features and their motivation of entering universities. In this analysis, the objects being analyzed are only constrained to the students in private HEIs being investigated in the sample.

Table 8. the Results of Binary Logistic Regression Analysis on the Choice of Private Vocational colleges,Institutions Needing diploma examinations and Assistant schools for self-learning

dependent variable:whether choosing Private Vocational Colleges, Institutions Needing Diploma Examinations and Assistant Schools for self-learning: yes =1, no =0

independent variable		B	Exp(B)
	constant	4.856 ****	128.470
students’ social features	gender: male dummy variable	−.469 **	.625
	birth places：city dummy variable	−.341	.711
	senior high school ranking：secondary vocational school=1, non-elite senior high school =2, elite senior high school=3	−1.802 ****	.165
	the highest year school completed(father)	−.056	.945
	the highest year school completed(mother)	.016	1.016
	LN(income of their parents)	.118	1.125
students’motivation of entering university	circumstance relevance orientation	−.301 ***	.740
	skills and quelification orientation	.478 ****	1.613
	future career orientation	.695 ****	2.003
	-2Log likelihood	760.462	
	chi-square	312.101****	
	df	9	

*10%、**5%、***1%、****0.1%

Firstly, from the point of the students’ features, it can be found that among the series of used variables, “gender” and “graduated senior high school ranking” have the most remarkable negative effect. It indicates that female or people with comparatively lower academic records have a greater tendency to choose institutions like vocational colleges. But, the students’ family backgrounds do not have an obvious effect on their choices of

institutions.

Secondly, from the point of the students' motivation of entering universities, "skills and qualifications orientation" and "future career orientation" have an obvious positive effect. While "circumstance relevance orientation" though does has obvious effect, it is negative, meaning an obvious negativity on motivation of entering universities. It is mainly because of the change of labor market and the market of entering universities or the moratorium adolescent psychology of prolonging career choosing. The group with a strong tendency of that is less likely to choose institutions such as vocational colleges. A contrast to this is that the group showing positive tendency on aspects of skills and qualifications orientation or future career orientation in terms of motivation of entering universities is more likely to choose that.

2.3 Corresponding structure of the demand and the supply in labor market

The corresponding structure of the different suppliers (provider of higher education) and the demanders (students) in the enrollment market has already been inspected in the above section. Here, our analytical focus will be changed to the labor market of the graduated students to analyze the corresponding structure between different suppliers (provider of higher education) and the demanders (the employers) in the labor market. Through the contrast with the students' employment tendency in the public sector, the features of students' employment tendency in private HEIs will be discussed.

- *Where does the new labor market emerge?*

In the late 1990s, the labor market for graduated students in China came to the period of glacier. On the one hand, the employment ability of the state-owned enterprises, which were the core employment units of graduated students for a long time, is shrinking dramatically. On the other hand, the enrollment expansion since 1999 led to the quick increasing of undergraduate students' scale. These two changing tendency coming from the supply and the demand resulted in the serious decrease of the graduated students' employment rate. Under such exterior environment shock, do graduating students, especially students in private HEIs with an obvious weaker position in the competition, begin to adapt to the change of the labor market by adopting new ways to choose jobs? Meantime, would such notion change make the graduates develop employment channels positively and form a new labor market?

Through the analysis of investigation, there are obvious differences between the public and the private sectors' graduates in terms of their types of employment unit, industries, their working regions and their sorts of employment contracts. In the recent years, non state-owned units such as private enterprises, self-employed individuals and foreign enterprises play an eye-catching role in the labor market. According to the investigation, up to 39% graduates from private HEIs work in private enterprises or township and village enterprises. Comparatively, most graduates from the public sector work mainly at government, foreign-funded enterprises and state-owned enterprises, while only 20% students work at private enterprises and township and village enterprises; from the point of working industries, over half the students （55%）from private HEIs work in the service industry, and student from the

public sector only 20%; from the point of working regions, nearly 43% students from the private sector leave cities and work in towns or even non-urban areas. Graduates from the public sector are entirely different, since 90% of them work in urban areas; from the point of the sorts of employment contracts, up to 41% students from the private sector sign non- institutional contract with the employers, while students from the public sector only 14%.

The results of the above analysis indicate that on the aspects of "working regions" and "sorts of contracts", students from the private sector differ dramatically from those from the public sector. Some of the graduates from the private sector have already gone to their position in the jointed areas, even in rural areas, by the form of signing contracts directly with the employers. According to the results of this investigation, graduates' choices of jobs can be divided into the following three categories:

（1）"**Urban and institutional contracts**" refer to the Employment Contract signed by three parties, the university, the employer and the student himself according to the government's regulations in urban areas, thus establishing employment relations between employers and students by means of institutional contracts. According to the investigation, such contract category mainly includes traditional units such as government administrative organs, banks, research and education institutions and state-owned enterprises;

（2）"**Urban and free contracts**" refer to employment fields whose contracts are signed directly with the employer in urban areas. This category mainly concentrates enterprises such as civilian enterprises and foreign enterprises. Students who can not obtain "（1）urban and systematic contracts" because of various reasons usually view this category as their second choices;

（3）"**Non-urban"** includes two kinds of graduating students. The first group is those who are squeezed out of the above two categories. The second group is those who intend to avoid the direct competition with graduates form the public sector.

They are groups who focus on the new demand of the market and adjust their own position and direction in the labor market actively.

Table 9. The Distributive Situation in the Labor Market of Graduates in Private and Public Sectors

Unit: % (actual number)

	Public	Private
(1)urban and institutionsl contracts	80.6	46.0
(2)urban and free contracts	13.0	27.8
(3)non-urban	6.5	26.2
(N)	(247)	(485)
Total	100.0	100.0

According to the three categories defined in the analytical frame, Table 9 shows the different features of employment distribution between students from the private and public sectors. From the table, it can be discovered that over 80% graduates from the public sector still focus on the traditional "(1) urban and institutional contracts" field. A sharp comparison is that only 46% students from the private sector enter that field. On the other hand, the percentages of students who enter the field of "(2) urban and free contracts" and "(3) non-urban" have reached respectively 28% and 26%. The result of the analysis shows that under the background that graduating students are more and more difficult to find job, students from private HEIs begin to avoid the traditional labor market by means of free contracts and new choices of working regions. With new ways of obtaining jobs, they exploit new market on the boarders of traditional labor market.

- **Features of employment field among different types of private HEIs**

However, the distributive features of employment field of graduates from the private sector shown above do not equal to the common features of all private HEIs. Through Table 10, it can be seen that on the aspect of employment field of graduates, there are obvious differences between different types of institutions. Different features of different private HEIs on employment fields

Table 10. The Distributive Situation in the Labor Market of Graduates in Various Types of Private HELs

Unit: % (actual number)

	independent college	private four-year university	private vocational college	school needing diploma examination	assistant school for self-learning examination
(1)urban and institutionsl contracts	81.6	38.5	38.2	33.3	34.1
(2)urban and free contracts	13.6	46.2	27.4	26.4	15.9
(3)non-urban	4.9	15.4	34.4	40.2	50.0
(N)	(103)	(39)	(157)	(87)	(44)
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

are listed blow:

Firstly, among the graduates from independent colleges, nearly 82% students enter the employment field of "(1) urban and institutional contracts"; while students enter the employment field of "(2) urban and free contracts" or leave urban areas and enter"(3) non-urban" only take up 14% and 5% respectively. It is obvious that the features of employment field of students from these institutions do not share the same feature with the private sector mentioned above. On the contrary, it shows the remarkable features of the public sector, pacing in the traditional employment field.

Secondly, among the graduates from private four-year universities, only 39% students enter the traditional employment field of "(1) urban and institutional contracts". And

the most obvious feature of such institutions is that more than 46% graduates enter the employment field of "(2) urban and free contracts", much higher than any other types of private HEIs.

Furthermore, as same as the above one, among the graduates from private vocational colleges, experimental schools needing diploma exanimations and assistant schools for self-learning examination, only less than 40% students enter the traditional employment field of "(1) urban and institutional contracts". But the most obvious feature of such private institutions featuring by their education on special field is that a certain amount of students have threw away the traditional sense of obtaining jobs in urban areas and turn to find their own positions on the employment field of "(3)non-urban". The rate of students have that choice from experiential schools needing diploma exanimations and assistant schools for self-learning examination reached 40% and 50% respectively.

3. Conclusion

In the above paragraphs, according to the investigated results of the questionnaire done among the students in universities of Chinese coastal areas, the relevant structure of the demander of private higher education (students and the employer) and the supplier (private HEIs) in the labor market and the enrollment market is analyzed and discussed. As a conclusion of the above analysis, the emergence of private HEIs has two impacts. The first one is that it brings the overall differentiation of Chinese higher education system. And at the same time, with the worsen development

atmosphere for private HEIs in the recent years and the enhancing seriousness of the competition, some private HEIs are no longer restricted to the margin position of higher education system, instead, they exploit their unique niche market by responding the society's needs, which lead to the interior functional differentiation of private higher education system. Figure 2 summarized the research results.

Firstly, in the enrollment market, though the students in independent colleges and

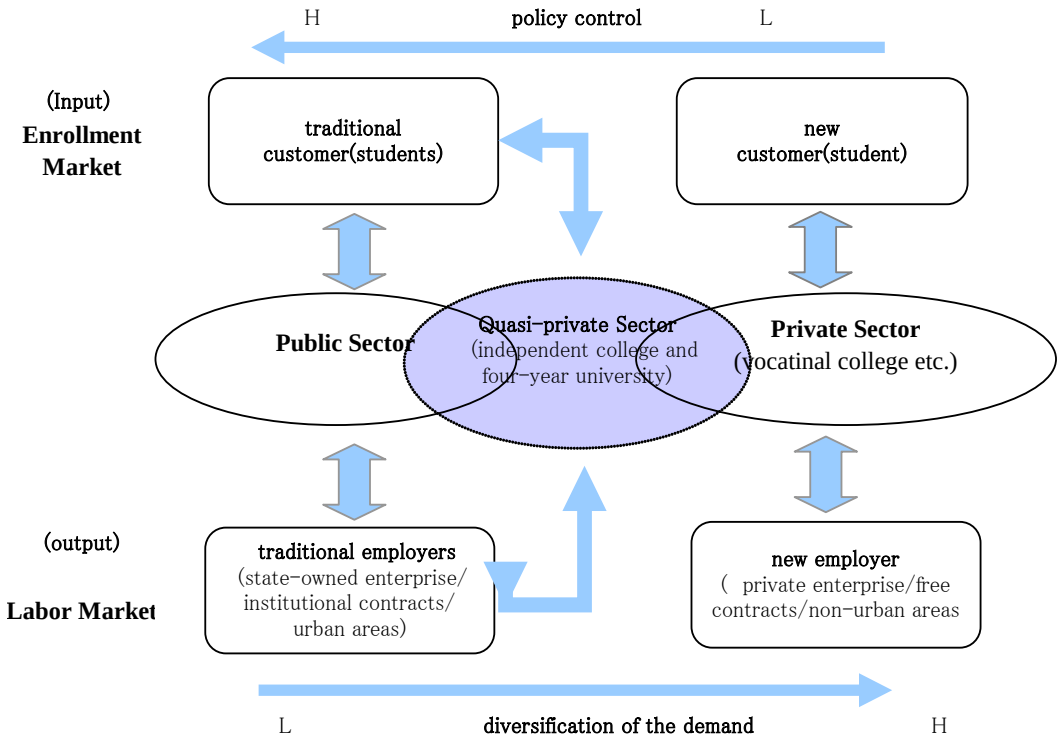


Figure 2. Corresponding Structure of the Demand and the Supply in Enrollment Market and Labor Market

private four-year universities are in the shade compared with students in the public sector in terms of academic achievement, they display obviously the same feature with

those in the public sector in terms of other social features and motivation of entering universities. It means that these types of private HEIs provide educational opportunities to students who can not enter public ones, so their function is just substitution.

However, a sharp contrast to that is, students entering private HEIs such as vocational colleges, specialty colleges and specialty schools display new features in terms of social features and motivation of entering universities. In the process of higher education expansion, these types of private HEIs began to search for their own customers among students graduated from different kinds of institutions of high school in different regions and among different social groups. A great number of those students though perform weaker in their academic achievement, have strong needs to learn applicable knowledge and skills and with clear career aims. Different from institutions such as independent colleges, which play the role of substitution and supplement of the public sector, these types of private HEIs have get rid of the subordinate position and formed a unique surviving space in the higher education system gradually by their own unique education features, which can be reflected by their students' features mentioned above.

Secondly, in the labor market, from the above real case study, it can be found that with the ever expansion of higher education scale, ever increasing speed of the non-public economics and the process of modernization, and the changing opinions and deeds of graduates when obtaining employment, the connotation of graduating students' employment market enlarged. Private HEIs, especially institutions such as private

vocational colleges play an important role in the forming of the two new markets.

From the point of the demand of labor market, the form of new markets is closely related to: firstly, in the non-urban areas along the coastal economic developing areas, private enterprises, township or village enterprises and such non-public units can accept more and more students; secondly, these enterprises' employment mechanism break through the traditional restriction of household registration system and adopt flexible employment mechanism. Besides, at present, most of the private enterprises are still of medium and small scale in the stage of pioneering, so no mature mechanism of on the job training is formed by the enterprise and it is unable to provide the employees with condensed vocational skills training. Therefore, these enterprises tend to choose the talent with relevant experience of the same position or with practical knowledge and skills. Such enterprises need talents from private HEIs, especially those from private vocational colleges or some non-diploma educational institutions emphasizing on practical knowledge and skills. So, those enterprises provide good opportunities to graduates from such institutions.

From the point of the labor supplier, through analysis, it can be found that the form of the new labor market mainly because of two strengths. On the one hand, it is the selective feature of institutions. In other words, with the employment competition of graduates becoming more and more serious, some students from vocational colleges or even institutions without the authority of issuing diploma are squeezed out of the traditional employment field of graduates, thus the labor market for graduates is extended and expanded. On the other hand, the ability trend of graduates, that is

grasping comparatively more practical knowledge and skills and updating the opinion and deeds of obtaining jobs also help them establish relevant relations with the demand of non-public units.

Then, what lead to the functional diversifications of private higher education system? Its driving force comes from two different directions. The first one is the policy trend and institutional pressure given by the government. The second one is the surviving stratagem of private HEIs. In recent years, the government strengthened its control on private higher education by means of diploma issuing authority and examination system; it applied the system of independent colleges and also made clear its political tendency that private higher education should focus on vocational education. It doubtlessly put heavy pressure on the development and upgrading of private HEIs, which have less political impact and are still in the early stage of development. To realize the sustainable development of the institutions, some private HEIs in lower positions break the original restriction of closed higher education system. Those institutions make full use of their different features to adapt to the change of market demand actively and establish multi-development structure. They not only avoid the risk of competing with public universities in the traditional market and it is also easier for them to form teaching features gradually to realize the sustainable development of the institution.

However, it is necessary to point out that most of the private HEIs as vocational colleges were established in the recent years, and they are all confronted with problems such as lacking capital, imperfection of teaching and researching facilities

and teachers' relying on the public sector. How to ensure the existence and development of the private HEIs, and how to provide them with political and financial support, is an urgent question posed to the government in the near future.

Chapter 6

Emerging Trends in Private Higher Education in India

Dr Asha Gupta

The legacy

India has a long tradition of private higher education dating back to the *Gurukul* system 700 to 500 years before Christ. Under this system, the select few, mostly from the *Brahmin* (the learned) and *the Kshatriya* (the warrior), attained all-round knowledge by staying with the *guru* at his private dwelling or a monastery over a long period of time. At the *gurukuls*, the teachers imparted knowledge of religion, scriptures, philosophy, metaphysics, ethics, logic, history, economics, politics, law, literature, grammar, medicine, astronomy, astrology, statecraft and warfare, etc. The idea was to promote all round and holistic development of an individual – physical, mental and spiritual. The learners didn't have to pay any fee but after the completion of their education-cum-training, the guru could ask for his/her *dakshina*, a return that could be anything, materialistic or non-materialistic, depending upon the capacity of the learners. Imparting education was seen as a noble deed and the community took care of the basic needs of both the gurus and the disciples.

Those days education was seen as charity and in a highly religious and hierarchical society, it was usually believed that *Lakshmi* (the Goddess of Wealth) and *Saraswati* (the Goddess of Learning) could not co-exist. Therefore, those engaged in the quest for knowledge ought not aspire for worldly goods and comforts. Learning had no bearing on earnings. The *Brahmins* (the learned class) enjoyed higher social status than the *Kshatriyas* (the Warrior) and the *Vaishyas* (the Commercial). The *Shudras* (the manual workers) were seen at the lowest rung. Even after thousands of years and political liberation, this division of society still prevails in public psyche and education still continues being perceived as charity by the elite and masses alike. Although, theoretically for-profit private is still a taboo, in practice, most of the

new privates are making huge profits through underhand dealings and other dubious means. Only the National Institute of
Information Technology (NIIT) and APTECH, registered with the Ministry of Trade, are recognized as for-profit private.

India has the reputation of having 'medieval cosmopolitan universities', especially at Taxila and Nalanda two thousand years ago and at Vikramshila during the 4th and 5th centuries (Joshi, 1998), catching the attention of all those who had keen interest in diverse cultures and 'knowledge for the sake of knowledge'. During colonial rule, it imbibed the British system of higher education and values. The first three universities, modeled on the University of London, were set up in 1857 at Mumbai, Chennai and Kolkata. The British Parliament was persuaded to authorize an expenditure of £10,000 annually to promote English literature, knowledge and science among the inhabitants of the British territories in India as early as 1813 (Mukherjee, 1971: 376). Some of the institutions were also set up by foreign missionaries, such as, the St. Stephens College in Delhi, Presidency College in Kolkata, St. Joseph's College in Trichi, St. Xavier's College in Chennai, etc.

In Vellor, the Christian Medical College was established by a Cornell University trained American woman physician to train women nurses and doctors in India. Similarly, Isabella Thoburn College was founded by an American social worker to provide educational facilities to young women at Lucknow in Uttar Pradesh (Arnold, 2001: 7). A women's university, first of its kind, was started at Poona in 1916 by D. K. Karve, known as S. N. D. T. University today. He got the idea from Mr. Naruse who started the Japanese Women's University to serve the specific needs of the Japanese women through their mother tongue. He was against blind imposition of western education and culture on the Japanese youth (Basu, 2001: 177).

The main motive of such missionaries was to promote Christianity and western culture on the one hand and prepare Indian nationals for government employment, on the other. It did not inculcate nationalist feelings or pride in one's own culture and civilization. To overcome this deficiency many freedom fighters and social reformers came out with the idea of Indian alternatives. To promote Indian culture, religions, languages, spirituality, human dignity and integrity, many colleges were set up in different parts of India, such as, the New English school opened by Vishnu

Krishna Chiplumkar in Poona in 1880 and Ferguson College set up by the Deccan Education Society in 1885. A number of nationalist institutions were started in Bengal during 1905-1912 as part of *Swadeshi* (Home Rule) Movement. The Muslims too started Dar-al-ulum at Deoband in 1887 (Rudolph and Rudolph, 1972: 19). The prime objective behind such private initiatives was social transformation and not economic gains.

For instance, a National College was set up at Kolkata under the leadership of Sri Aurobindo in 1906 and an institution of world repute, Viswa Bharati was set up by Rabindra Nath Tagore, the Nobel laureate, at Shantiniketan in West Bengal in 1921. Many nationalist universities came up after Mahatma Gandhi took leadership of the freedom movement in 1921, such as Kashi Vidyapeeth, Bihar Vidyapeeth, Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, etc. M K Gandhi insisted on vernacular as the medium of instruction. Gradually, the Arya Samaj, a Hindu Reform Movement became a pioneer in strengthening Hinduism against its Muslim and Christian competitors by starting new schools and colleges. The first Dayanand Anglo Vedic College was set up in Lahore in 1886.These were funded by social trusts and philanthropists. Jameshed Tata was the first Indian to start the Tata Institute of Science and Technology at Banglore in 1911 on the model of John Hopkins University. He was a great industrialist and philanthropist (Kim, 1985).

At the time of independence in 1947, India inherited 20 universities and 496 colleges with 237,546 students (Basu, 2001: 171) and the private sector and the households played a substantial role in supporting higher education. The private sector comprised 57% of the total higher education system by the 1980s and up to 75% by 1990s (Patrinos, 2002). A private university could be established through a central or a state act by a sponsoring body, such as, a society registered under the Societies Registration Act of 1860, or a public trust or a company under section 25 of the Company's Act of 1956. Though there were many private colleges prior to independence, there was not a single private university *per se*. Even today only 350 universities have the power to accord degrees and the rest are affiliated to them (Agarwal, 2006a: 4645).

The constitutional provisions

After independence India adopted parliamentary democracy and federal system of governance after great deliberations. It was not easy to arrive at a consensus in a caste-divided, hierarchical, multi-lingual, multi-religious, multi-ethnic and pluralistic society. It took almost three years to prepare a constitution for India that came into force on January 26, 1950. Since the country had to undergo great turmoil due to partition and shifting population during 1947-50, education was left under the jurisdiction of various states (constituted on the basis of language under State Reorganization Act of 1956).

After the 42nd amendment in 1976, it came under the Concurrent List, implying that both central and state governments can pass legislations about education. In the case of a conflict, the central law prevails. Though India runs the 3rd largest system of higher education in terms of number of institutions and has the credit of largest number of higher education institutions, central government constitutes barely 23% of the total expenditure on higher education. The rest of the funding comes from the state governments, private trusts and household. For instance, the private investment amounted to 15.1% as against 6.8% of public investment during 1995-2000 (*The Times News Network*, April 17, 2003).

In the XI Five year plan (2007-12), the government is planning to raise the share of higher education from 0.43% of the GDP to 1.5%, which is too low in terms of likely escalation in students enrolment from 11% to 20% in next 5 years. It is 2.7% in the US, 2.7% in South Korea and 2.5% in Canada. Japan spends 1.1% of its GDP on higher education but we should also give credit to the fact that 70% of the students in Japan study at private institutions. Private sector constitutes 0.6% of the GDP in Japan and 1.8% in the US (Lindqvist, 2006). Though private expenditure on higher education has risen manifold, the contribution of private philanthropy has dropped from 11.62% in 1951 to bare 2.74% by the end of 2004 (Kapur and Mehta, 2004).

However, in 2006, Anil Agarwal, who heads the London based Vedanta Resources Corporation proposed US $1 billion as endowment to wards the setting of Vedanta University on Stanford and Harvard model at Orissa to support 100,000 students in 95 disciplines at the graduate, postgraduate and research level (Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vedanta_University). Mukesh Ambani of Reliance Industries has also come out with a proposal to set up a mega university in

Gujarat to produce 10,000 graduates in different disciplines every year. For Mukesh Ambani, it is a charity to the state. The Gujarat government will evolve an educational policy and have tie-ups with at least two reputed foreign universities. Ambani's already have two premier institutions (1) The Mudra Institute of Communication at Ahmedabad and Dhirubhai Ambani Institute of Information and Technology at Gandhinagar. It seems incredible but irresistible at the same time (Mehta, 2006).

In fact, in India, a lot of ambivalence prevails over the very term "private". Most of the private colleges in the southern and western parts of India that had the advantage of English as the medium of instruction at the school level and substantial percentage of Christian population had private higher education institutions, private in name only as most of them were dependent on state funding (Tilak, 2002). Some of them charged huge capitation fees (huge amounts raised as lump sum at the time of admission, often beyond the reach of average middle class families in India) through underhand dealings. Only in 1992, the Supreme Court of India put a ban on banned capitation fee in the *Mohini Jain vs. State of Karnataka* case. Instead it put a sealing on the fee to be charged in private colleges and paved the way for self-financing colleges.

There are four models of self-financing colleges in India – (1) the Manipal model, (2) the marketing model, (3) the sponsoring model and (4) the franchising model. The Manipal model is based on the philosophy that those students who are willing to pay should be provided the facilities to pursue courses of their choice. Most private colleges cater to the needs and demands of those students who have either merit or affordability. Those who are highly meritorious or needy are absorbed by the public system of higher education. Surprisingly, public higher education institutions are still preferred to private professional schools despite the fact that government or government-aided schools are not preferred. Even parents from lower socio-economic strata prefer to send their wards to English medium private schools at exorbitant costs.

Under marketing model, both the central and state universities and colleges are allowed to run professional courses on self-financing basis such as computer application, bookkeeping, tourism, hotel management, etc. The sponsoring model is

more popular with the corporate world. The existing professional colleges like the IITS and IIMS can run special programmes to meet the specific needs of particular industries and business houses at higher costs. Some universities can enter into franchise arrangements with private colleges or foreign providers. For instance, U21 Global, a Singapore-based online graduate school of management has been granted associate membership of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) recently (*Education in India*. http://prayatna.typepad.com/education/higher_education/index.html).

Deemed to be universities: a novel concept

In order to meet the surge in the demand for higher education and meet the needs of the market and society in the knowledge-based and technology-driven economy, the UGC has come out with a novel concept of 'deemed to be universities' for quick action and avoidance of legal hurdles in the establishment of new privates and foreign branches in India. The 'deemed to be universities' status (popularly known as deemed universities) can be accorded to those post-secondary institutions, which meet national goals and aspirations, on the one hand, and fulfil the requisite academic criteria and infrastructure needs, on the other.

According to Section 3 of the UGC Act of 2000, this status can be conferred on institutions, which are either:

> (i) Engaged in teaching programme and research in chosen fields of specialization, which are innovative, and of very high academic standards at the Master's (or equivalent) and/or research levels. It should have a greater interface with society through extra mural, extension and field action related programmes.
>
> (ii) Making in its area of specialization, distinct contribution to the objectives of the university education system through innovative programmes and on being recognized as a university capable of further enriching the university system as well as strengthening teaching and research in the institutions and particularly in its area of specialization.

(iii) Competent to undertake application-oriented programmes in emerging areas, which are relevant and useful to various development sectors and society in general.

(iv) Institution should have the necessary viability and a management capable of contributing to the university ideas and traditions.

There are many provisions under the Constitution of India that allow the social trusts and minorities to establish higher education institutions of their choice under Articles 29(1) and 30(1). Besides providing the Right to Equality under Articles 14-16 and the Right to Freedom under Articles 19-21, the constitution makes special provisions for the cultural and educational rights to the minorities under Article 30. The idea of giving special right to minorities was not to give them a privileged position but to provide them a sense of security in a country having a billion plus population having 6 main religions of the world, 18 major languages, 52 tribes, 6000 castes and 1600 minor languages and dialectics (Raju, 2003).

Many states, specially in the southern and western parts of India, started private colleges in the name of minority institution in early 1970s just to accommodate those students who could financially afford engineering, medical or other professional education and training but could not be absorbed by the public higher education institutions on the basis of merit or open competition. All private colleges sought affiliation with public universities or open learning centers. They had no power to grant degrees of their own. They had to fulfil the minimum criteria laid down by the University Grants Commission, All India Council for Technical Education, Bar Council of India, Distant Education Council, Medical Council of India, Dental Council of India, Indian Nursing Council or National Council for Teacher Education in terms of admission procedures, programmes, faculty, infrastructure, financial viability, etc.

Even the course of studies or curriculum had to be approved by their respective governing bodies and the admission procedures or fixation of fees had to be in accordance with the norms or guidelines prescribed by the concerned statutory or regulatory bodies. Such strict adherence to rules and regulations often led to center-state divide, on the one hand, and frequent judicial interventions, on the other.

Since the major funding for higher education institutions (public as well as private) comes from the state governments and the household, the dominance by central bodies, such as, the UGC and AICTE is vigorously contested both by the public and private higher education institutions.

Whereas the UGC and AICTE have been asserting their regulatory roles, the private and foreign stakeholders have taken the stand that these bodies are only advisory and cannot de-recognize any university or college duly established under law under the UGC Act of 1956. Since the national legislation on Establishment and Maintenance of Private Universities introduced for the first time in Rajya Sabha in August 1995 could not be passed till to date, many state governments passed Private University Acts during 2002-2006. The State of Chattisgarh was the first one to pass such an Act in October 2002. Within 2 years of the passing of this Act, 117 private universities sprang up in Chattisgarh all of a sudden without proper infrastructure, faculty or legal base. The UGC de-notified 39 of them in 2003 and the Supreme Court of India declared the very Act null and void in *Professor Yashpal Sharma and Others vs. the State of Chattisgarh* on February 11, 2005.

Though the Supreme Court conceded to the state governments' right to establish private universities after the 42nd Amendment in 1972, it held:

> It (the private university) should be a pre-established institution for higher education with all the infrastructural facilities and qualities which may justify its claim for being conferred with the status of a University and only such an institution can be conferred the legal status and the juristic personality of a University.

Most of the private universities were set up in Chattisgarh merely by making an announcement through official gazette. Till today the national bill on private universities' establishment and regulation could not be passed. Two bills are currently under pending before the Parliament – (1) the bill seeking regulation of the private colleges and universities and (2) the bill seeking safe passage for the prestigious foreign universities interested in establishing their campuses or branches in India. India needs to learn from China, Japan and Malaysia who have

already allowed foreign universities in their countries on certain terms and conditions in national interest.

It needs to strike a balance between the state imposed regulations in the case of domestic universities and needs of the knowledge based and technology-driven economies today. It must give serious though to the need for regulating the private and foreign universities in terms of (a) admissions, fees, subsidies and public policy issues, (b) professional regulations in terms of eligibility, curricula and licensing requirements, (c) regulations in terms of market compulsions, such as quality assurance, transparency, protection of students as consumers and (d) self-imposed regulations in terms of building national or global brand names through self-discipline and managerial strategies (Menon, 2006).

Recent judicial interventions

In the absence of national level vision, direction, legislation and regulation, private higher education in India has already become the cause of too frequent judicial interventions. Every sundry issue comes before the apex court whether it is the administrative issue of common entrance tests or fixing of the fees. Although India has liberalized its economy since 1991, the constitution has preserved the socialistic provisions and overtone. That's why we find constant conflicts between the judiciary and the government. The judiciary is in a difficult position as it is required to preserve the basic structure of the Indian constitution on the one hand and pave the way for the market economy, on the other.

Surprisingly, the Coalition Governments during the past few years (both NDA and UPA) are found tightening their control over higher education institutions despite liberalization of economy. It is evident from the recent fee-cut controversy at the Indian Institutes of Managements under the NDA government and the imposition of reservation up to 49.5% for the socially backward classes in all Central Universities and prestigious professional schools under the current UPA government. The 93rd Amendment (January, 2006) has made reservation mandatory even for the private higher education institutions and the Foreign Universities Bill seeks to make it mandatory even for non-prestigious foreign higher education institutions in India.

Controversy over higher education as an occupation

A serious debate took place during the *T. M. A. Pai vs. State of Karnataka case* in October 2002 on the issue whether to treat higher education under the category of a 'profession', 'trade', 'occupation' or 'service' under Article 19(6) of the Indian Constitution or just as 'public charity' under the prevailing Indian culture and ethos. In an earlier judgment delivered in the *State of Bombay* vs. *R.M.D. Chamarbaugwala case in* 1957 (SCR 874), the Supreme Court of India had taken a stance against the for-profit higher education.

Whereas in an earlier case of Unni *Krishnan J. P. vs. The state of Andhra Pradesh* (1993), there was some confusion over treating education as an 'occupation' in terms of 'principal business of one's life', 'taking up one's time, thought and energies' or a 'job in which one is engaged with a degree of permanency attached' (*Webster International Dictionary*, Third edition: 1650), there was no such confusion in the *T. M. A. Pai* case (2002). In the *T. M. A. Pai* case, the Supreme Court had held:

> The establishment and running of an educational institution, where a large number of persons are employed as teachers or administrative staff, and an activity is carried on that results in the imparting of knowledge to the students, must necessarily be regarded as an occupation, even if there is no element of profit generation. It is difficult to comprehend that education, *per se,* will not fall under any of the four expressions in Article 19(1) g. 'Occupation' would be an activity of a person undertaken as a means of livelihood or a mission of life. The above quoted observations in *Sodan Singh's* case correctly interpret the expression 'occupation' in Article 19(1) g.

Under this judgment, the expression 'private educational institutions' was used not only for educational institutions set up by secular persons or bodies but also those set up by religious denominations. Though the Supreme Court recognized education as falling within the meaning of the expression 'occupation', it refused to regard it as a 'trade' or 'business' where profit was the sole motive. It also refused to uphold its own decision of treating education as an 'industry' in the *Banglore Water*

Supply and Sewage Board vs. A. Rajappa and Others case in 1978. Taking a defensive stand in the *T.M.A.Pai case*, Justice Jeevan Reddy had remarked:

> We do not think that the said observation 'that education as industry' in a different context has any application here.

Earlier also, in the *Unni Krishnan vs. State of Andhra Pradesh* case, Supreme Court had taken a tough stand against for-profit higher education. In this particular case it had observed that:

> Private colleges ----- are felt necessities of the time. That does not mean that one should tolerate the so called colleges run in thatched huts with hardly any equipment, with no or improvised laboratories, scarce facility to learn in an unhealthy atmosphere, for (sic) from conductive to education. Such of them must be put down ruthlessly with an iron hand irrespective of who has started the institution or who desires to set up such an institution. They are poisonous weeds in the fields of education. Those who venture are the financial adventurers without morals or scruples. Their only aim is to make money, driving a hard bargain, exploiting eagerness to acquire a professional degree, which would be a passport to employment in a country rampant with unemployment. They could even be called pirates in the high seas of education.

In *the Unni Krishnan J P* vs. *State of Andhra Pradesh* (1993), the Supreme Court of India banned the Capitation Fee Act of 1984. Instead it allowed 'paid seats' in a fixed proportion in consultation with the concerned state government. The logic was that those who could very well afford to pay might be charged heavily so that they could provide support not only for themselves but also for few others who could not afford the exorbitant costs of private professional education.

In the historic 318-page judgment in *T.M.A.Pai vs. State of Karnataka*), the Supreme Court reversed the earlier stand taken by it in *Unni Krishnan case*. In *the Unni Krishnan case, the* Supreme Court had allowed the state governments to administer and regulate admissions into 'unaided' and 'privately promoted' institutions providing professional education. Rather it took a drastically liberal

view of some of the constitutional provisions with regard to the Right to Education in *the T.M.A.Pai case*. In its October 2002 judgment, the Supreme Court gave a green signal to financially independent private and minority institutions to establish higher education institutions of their choice but banned profiteering.

For the first time in its history, the Supreme Court addressed the supply side of education and conferred the right to deliver, and not only to receive education as a fundamental right to all citizens. Through this judgment, the Supreme Court actually played a proactive role and expanded the right to establish educational institutions granted only to the minorities under Article 26 to all citizens under the Right to Freedom guaranteed by Article 19(1) g of the Indian Constitution. Under Article 19(1) g, all citizens have 'the right to practice any profession, or to carry on any occupation, trade or business'. Thus the Supreme Court of India allowed private initiatives and funding in higher education indirectly but stipulated against 'commercialization' by the private higher education institutions. By commercialization we imply managing or exploiting in a way 'designed to make a profit'. By profit we imply 'a financial gain or the difference between an initial outlay and the subsequent amount earned'. By profiteering we imply 'making an excessive or unfair profit' (Oxford Dictionary).

Under the *Islamic Academy of Education and Others vs. the State of Karnataka and Others*, verdict given by the Supreme Court on August 14, 2003, the private unaided or minority institutions imparting technical and medical education could decide their own fee structure to be scrutinized by a committee headed by a retired High Court judge. It was to be constituted of a chartered Accountant, a member of Medical Council of India or All India Council of Technical Education, State Education Secretary or Health Secretary and a co-opted independent person of repute. It was for this committee to ensure that the proposed fee structure didn't result into profiteering.

Pending bills on private and foreign universities

Under Indian culture, higher education means quest for knowledge and the vocational schools are generally accorded a lower status. Despite having 348 universities, including 62 deemed to be universities, 17626 colleges, 11 centers of

open learning, 63 unaided deemed to be universities, 777,650 unaided private colleges, 150 foreign educational institutions, 10.5 million students and 0.5 million teachers, only 11% of the youth have access to higher education institutions (Bidwai, 2006).

Only 3% of the Indians have access to vocational education and training despite the fact that the Labour Ministry runs 5,114 industrial training institutes and the MHRD also runs an equal number of such training institutes. This percentage varies from 60-80% in advanced economies, such as, US, EU, South Korea and Japan. The private sector and the industries have a lot of scope in playing a proactive role as far as TVET is concerned (Choudhury, 2006: 27).

Only 8% of the adults above the age of 25 are engaged in higher education. About 75% of the higher education in India is privately managed (Norton, 2004) and the public expenditure on higher education is as low as 0.43% of the GDP as per records of the 2005-06 fiscal year (Agarwal, 2006b). Though the government promised to raise expenditure on education from 4% to 6% of the GDP by 2008-09, it could raise it to only 4.27 % during the current fiscal year of 2006-07. Higher education did not receive its promised share despite 31.5% increase in center's allocation for education in general (Thakore, 2006a).

Therefore, it has become imperative to involve private and foreign providers in the business of higher education in India. A lot of debate is going on the two pending bills before the Parliament this winter (2006). We find a lot of polarization on the entry of foreign providers and private initiatives in India The GoM (Group of Ministers) has already cleared the Foreign Education Providers (Regulation) Bill on November 28, 2006. Whereas the Human Resource Ministry is in favour of strict regulations, the Ministry of Commerce is in a mood to allow prestigious foreign universities to start their campuses or branches in India. The Commerce Ministry has an eye on the WTO openings. The MHRD, on the other hand, is eager to retain the funds, about US $3.9 billion, currently being spent by Indian students every year on higher education, professional training and living expenses abroad (Soni, 2006: 2).

For instance, India sent the biggest contingent to the USA followed by China and South Korea in 2005-2006. In a survey it was found that the prime funding for students enrolled under foreign programme is provided by the parents in 65.6%, banks through loans in 26.6% and self in 1.6% cases (Bhushan, 2006: 20). The UK, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Singapore are the other key stakeholders. The government in India has now become alert to this enormous brain drain and capital flight every year. No wonder, it is now willing to allow reputed/accredidated foreign universities to open its campuses under the status of " deemed to be universities". Only foreign universities with excellent credentials are likely to be exempted from regulations under the new legislation. The rest will have to abide by the UGC and AICTE rules and regulations pertaining to fee structure, curriculum designing, repatriation of profits back home and mandatory reservation for the socially backward (Mukul, 2006: 15).

In its consultation paper on "Higher Education in India and GATS: An Opportunity", the Department of Commerce, Government of India, has also recognized the need for the involvement of private initiatives in higher education in a big way. For instance, the McKinsey-NASSCOM study has come out the thesis that India has great potential of capturing 50% of the global offshore market of about US$ 300 million and in the process generate direct employment of about 2.3 million people and indirect employment of about 6.5 million people (http://www.Academics_India.com: 5-6). It has also stated that about 60% of the demand for higher education will come from India and China in 2025, comprising one-third of the world's population. Already India has the 3rd largest pool of skilled personpower despite 11% access to higher education by the youth in the age group of 17-23. The UPA government is trying to enhance access and equity by making reservation mandatory on the one hand and global competitiveness, on the other.

The imposition of reservation of seats up to 49.5% for the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward classes is likely to cost an additional amount of Rs 165 billion (about US $ 3.6 billion) the exchequer in the next five years according to the Veerappa Moily Committee (Iype, 2006) has recommended the quantum leap to enhance both access and equity in higher education in India. The Commerce Ministry is now willing to allow both the private and foreign universities to have their own curriculum and pay scales. The Commerce Ministry is also

willing to allow 100% FDI in the field of education. However, a lot of ambivalence prevails over including the "creamy layers"(financially effluents amongst the socially backward) and the Dalit Muslims under mandatory reservation policy. On the one hand, the UPA government has chosen to accord the group rights to the socially backward classes, it is also using the criteria of higher economic status to exclude the 'creamy layers' from benefits accruing from reservation in jobs and educational institutions. In fact, a lot of ambivalence prevails despite recent legislations and court interventions (Thakore, 2006b).

Reservation: the most contentious issue

It is difficult to say whether reservation should be seen as an 'economic device' or 'political strategy' (Gupta, 1994) but one thing is certain that it is the most contentious issue in India for the time being. But for the politically feasible and beneficial device of reservation, the UPA government could not have created a demand for Rs165.63 billion (about US$ 4.6 billion) for higher education for the next five years. Out of this Rs 90.92 billion would be on non-recurring component and Rs 74.70 billion on the recurring component. This is due to the demand for further expansion of infrastructure including new hostels, air-conditioned libraries, laboratories, and animal houses for students pursuing life sciences and auditoriums for bigger classes (Sarkar, 2006: 6).

Needless to say, it also satisfies the greasy palms in the name of development. Higher education has already become a US $3 trillion business across the world. The US is the biggest exporter of higher education (second most lucrative business after defense in the US). The UK, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Japan and Singapore are also in fray, whereas countries like India, China, South Korea, Malaysia, Thailand and Indonesia are at the receiving end. In the name of internationalization, globalization, excellence and quality education, the advanced economies are able to export not only their curriculum but also allied services, reading materials and teaching faculty.

Coming to the reinforcement of caste as the basis for affirmative action in India, it is surprising to note that the UPA government and the Supreme Court of India have supported the anachronistic policy of reservations in government jobs, schools and

higher education institutions even in the modern era of globalization, hyper mobility and breathtaking innovations in the fields of information and communication technologies. Whereas the court judgments in the cases of *Regents of the University of California vs. Bakke* (1978) and *Grutter vs. Bollinger, University of Michigan* (2003) have been "race exclusive" in the USA, the 93rd Amendment Act and the Supreme Court decision in the *P. A. Inamdar & Ors. vs. State of Maharashtra & Ors.* (August 12, 2005) has been "caste reinforcing".

Instead of rejecting the very idea of expansion of reservation up to 49.5% in all central universities and prestigious professional schools, such as, the Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs) and Indian Institutes of Management (IIMs), the debate got twisted over expanding reservation to private and minority higher education institutions in India (Gupta, 2007). By reservation in higher education, we imply allocation of seats on the basis of criteria (caste and social backwardness, for instance) other than merit. Reservation is different from affirmative action as it can take the shape of quota (fixed number of seats). Whereas the Supreme Court of India was against imposition of reservation policy on minority and non-minority unaided private colleges, including professional colleges, the Human Resource Ministry was in favour of bringing the private universities under the reservation policy.

The MHRD took the stand that like private schools and private hospitals, private higher education institutions should also take social responsibility towards the weaker sections of society as they either got government favors either in terms of free land or tax rebates. However, the Supreme Court in its judgment in the *P. A. Inamdar vs. State of Maharashtra (2003)* case exempted the minority institutions from mandatory reservation primarily because most of these institutions are allowed to admit students up to 50% from their own communities based upon religion or language. Since separate Articles apply to the minority educational institutions under the Constitution of India, even the UPA government had to exempt them from the purview of the 93rd Amendment, making reservation mandatory for private higher education institutions.

We now find 'educational wars' taking place between the political class and the judiciary, on the one hand, and the center and the states, on the other. Whereas

some political parties are in favour of extending reservation to all sections of socially backward classes including the creamy layers (financially affluent), the Supreme Court and most of the big political parties are in favour of keeping the creamy layers out. In order to escape the axe of reservation, some of the universities are trying for the minority status on one pretext or other, such as, the Jamia Milia Islamia and Aligarh Muslim University. Similarly, the Dalit Muslims (converts from low caste Hindus) are also seeking benefits accruing from reservations in jobs and educational institutions on the basis of their minority status, economic or social backwardness and inadequate representation in higher education. Only 6% of the Muslims in India hold a graduate degree (*The Times of India*, Sachar Report, New Delhi, December 1, 2006: 12).

Issues at stake

India must give deeper thoughts to some of the issues related to private higher education before legally denationalizing higher education. We should not forget that both nationalization and denationalization have to be treated like "waves only", with no intrinsic value of their own (Gupta, 2000). Many other factors make them good or bad, desirable or undesirable, successful or failures. In this context, we should not hesitate from asking about the very causes of the surge in private higher education, their common traits, emerging public policies towards private initiatives in higher education worldwide during the last few decades (Levy, 2007).

We must ask: can private higher education be in public interests? How can we make them more accountable to the general public? How can we ensure quality education at privately funded or self-financed higher education? How can the interests of the faculty and students be protected at privately managed higher education institutions? Do such institutions owe any obligation to the society in terms of equity or accessibility? Is it justifiable to impose reservation on private higher education institutions in the name of social responsibility? Should the government be allowed to withdraw gradually from higher education sector in the name of austerity or ignore it in the name of private gain?

Further questions arise: how can private post secondary institutions be made more responsible towards their social, national or global obligations, especially if religious,

linguistic or minority groups at the local level manage them? How should these institutions be regulated in public interest? Should such institutions be regulated at all or should these be left to the markets? Should private higher education institutions be allowed to be publicly funded? Or should the government provide some other incentives to rope in the private sector? Should there be tax incentives to get public support for private education? Should the prospective employees be made to share some of the costs in the form of "graduate tax"? Should the private sector be allowed to shift the substantial costs of higher education to the household? Is for-profit private higher education an anathema?

In the same vein, we may ask: what is the ethics involved behind private higher education? Is private higher education gender-specific or gender neutral? Can private higher education institutions maintain the elitist nature and yet provide accessibility? Can they maintain quality in case they decide to go massist? Are private higher education institutions concerned about only market-oriented or profitable disciplines? If so, who will take care of social sciences, pure sciences and humanities? Does private higher education and technical training lead to better professional growth but at the cost of holistic development? Does it prepare students for their professional roles and individualism at the cost of social, national, civic or humanitarian roles expected of highly educated and professional class? Should higher education be treated as public good or private gain?

Further questions arise: can the private sector deal with the challenges arising due to sudden escalation in demand for higher education, technology-driven educational programs and higher levels of public expectations? Can the private sector maintain its elitist nature and yet fulfil the need for equity and accessibility? Can the private colleges and universities maintain their academic freedom in the era of public accountability and transparency? Should there be competition or collaboration between the public and private post-secondary educational institutions? Is it possible to keep the distinction between the public and private higher education intact in the era of outsourcing?

Many public universities in India rely on private outsourcing for security, hostels, canteens, transport, medical facilities, career counseling, gymnasiums, sports facilities, computer application and information technologies, sponsoring of cultural

events, etc. Similarly, we find the private tutoring business blooming in India. Even if students enroll at public universities, they seek private coaching at exhorbitant costs. About 60% of the students rely on coaching centers for clearing the entrance exams for prestigious professional schools and colleges. These private coaching schools are making about Rs 70 billion (US $1.6 billion), equivalent to 50% of the total amount spent on higher education per annum (Agarwal, 2006c).

Blurring of public-private divide

These days, we find a blurring of public and private boundaries as far as higher education is concerned. Nor is it possible to define the boundary between the public and the private higher education institutions or the relationship between the two. The common interests of the public may be different from those of particular groups or individuals, yet the public can be seen merely as an extension of individual behaviour, or realization of the private. We find many examples of 'private corruption by public officials' and 'enhancement of personal career at the cost of public gains' in the wake of privatization in many countries. As such, there may be mutual infiltration between the public and private sectors in all societies depending upon their historical circumstances, socio-economic development and cultural traits.

The private may call into question the public and reshape it, or the public may transform the private by helping it grow or by simply absorbing it. Both the 'public' and the 'private' form the important components of the society as a whole. The well being of an individual constitutes the well being of the society and *vice versa*. It is a myth to say that one can achieve only at the expense of the other. In today's world scenario, where the multinationals, transnational and offshore centers coexist with the local, state and national, we need not think in terms of 'national versus international', 'state versus market' and 'public versus private'. Rather we should think in terms of 'national and international', 'state and market', 'public and private', etc.

I firmly believe that in the present era, one cannot be a true nationalist without being an internationalist first. With the growth of civil society, technological innovations and international understanding, the distinction between public and private, state and market, national and international is likely to get further blurred.

According to the OECD Handbook (2004: 59), classification of an institution can be "public" only if (a) the ultimate control lies with a public education authority, trust or agency and (b) whose members are appointed by a public authority or elected by public franchise. It can be "private" if (a) the ultimate control lies with non-state or non-governmental organizations and (b) which consists of some members not selected by a public agency or board. However, in practice, this neat classification is not sustainable.

Moreover, it is a myth to say that public and private always denote 'ideas in opposition'. Etymologically speaking, 'public' is supposed to be open, whereas private is supposed to be closed. 'Public' is supposed to contain the whole, whereas 'private' denotes only the part. Public is supposed to be transparent, whereas 'private' is supposed to be concealed. Similarly, 'public life' may signify outer realm, whereas private life may imply inner realm. Public may signify common interests, whereas private may signify personal interests. In some contexts, public may imply official, whereas private may signify unofficial (Starr, 1991: 16-17).

In fact, a preference for the 'public' or 'private' depends upon the degree of individualism and collectivism prevailing in a given society at a given period of time. For instance, in India, nationalization was a preferred public policy in 1970s, today we find a shift towards privatization in public interest. Privatization implies withdrawal from the whole to the part or a shift from public action to private concerns. The swing is not necessarily from sociability to intimacy, but from civic concerns to the pursuit of self-interests. We cannot deny any more that it is the notion of 'self-interest' and not 'selfish interest' that dominates both the public and the private these days and there is nothing wrong in working in 'self-interest' (Sales, 1991: 296).

Community colleges as an alternative

Of late, we find community colleges drawing the attention of higher education researchers and practitioners in India and abroad. On the one hand, we find a trend towards public private partnerships, collaboration between the state and market; on the other hand, we also find a trend towards the drift away from both the state and market. In the USA a large number of students attend community colleges, as

these are less expensive than the regular four-year public colleges or private higher education institutions. These colleges aim at preparing their students towards fulfilling the local needs of their communities by equipping them with the necessary vocational skills and training with generous support from the community.

The movement towards community colleges can play a very important role in emerging economies in providing an alternative to the entrepreneurial universities sweeping the advanced economies in recent decades (Bok, 2003). Even in advanced economies, an urgency is being felt in getting the universities out of their ivory towers and making them respond to the societal needs by forging partnership with their respective communities in order to promote common good (Fairweather, 1996). Learning through community colleges and other institutions of higher learning and vocational training can be defined as "a form of experimental learning in which students engage in activities that address human and community needs together with structured opportunities intentionally designed to promote student learning and development" (Jacoby, 1997: 1).

The most important feature of this learning happens to be the integration of community service with formal education. Even Mahatma Gandhi had emphasized this sort of combination long ago. But we find systematic efforts towards incorporating community priorities pertaining to health, law and education into the university curricula since 1970s. The idea is to promote the tripartite purposes of the modern universities – teaching, researching and outreaching (Subotzky, 1998: 17). However, the community service learning can take different forms in different fields. For instance, it took the form of problem-based learning in the field of health sciences at McMaster University during mid-1960s and a proactive role in the field of education against apartheid in South Africa (Norman and Schmidt, 1992).

The Community Service Learning (CSL) is picking up in India, especially in the southern parts. For instance, there are 81 community colleges in Tamil Nadu, 8 in Kerala, 6 in Karnataka, 3 in Chattisgarh, 3 in Andhra Pradesh, 2 in Gujarat, and 1 each in Maharashtra, Uttaranchal and Delhi. Out of these 111 community colleges, 70 are run on NGO Model, 3 on University Model, 1 on Local Body Model and 37 on Affiliated Model. Most of them cater to the needs of the local employers. A few of them offer job-oriented courses along with academic streams leading to degrees in

BBA, BCA, B. Com, etc. Others offer courses relevant to the social need of the community, such as, watershed management, nature cure, integrated farming, etc. (Alphonse, 2004: 101).

These community colleges are playing a very important role in caste and poverty-ridden rural and urban India. Their sole aim is to empower the "disadvantaged", "underprivileged" and "women" through skill development leading to gainful employment in collaboration with local community and industries. These also encourage the learners from the under privileged sections of society towards self-employment. These are also generally women-friendly. In 54 community colleges having 10,107 students on roll, women comprise 69.09%. These colleges can serve the socially and economically weaker sections better by providing low cost and socially relevant education.

However, the community college movement has yet to gain momentum in North India. India has to find its own solutions in terms of enhancing access and equity in higher education. It cannot have the advantage of a large number of public and community colleges like the US catering to the needs of 80% of the students seeking higher education in the age group of 18-24. Nor can it emulate the example of its Asian neighbors, Japan, South Korea or Philippines, where up to 70% of the students attend private colleges. Nor can it act as fast as China in allowing private and foreign universities due to compulsions of parliamentary democracy. Nor can it provide protection to the students seeking private higher education under the Consumer's Act like Canada due to the lack of requisite economic and political culture.

Whereas we find a rise in public trust in private higher education in advanced economies, we usually find a lack of trust in the private provision and private delivery of higher education in India. India needs a proper legislation on the establishment and regulation of private and foreign universities to build this trust first in order to reap the desired results later on. We all know that private higher education is not only inevitable but also desirable in the current scenario. But it is premature to say whether the private sector in higher education in India will remain at the periphery or occupy the central position in next few decades. It may

be better to describe the emergence of private higher education in India as 'parallelization' rather than 'privatization'.

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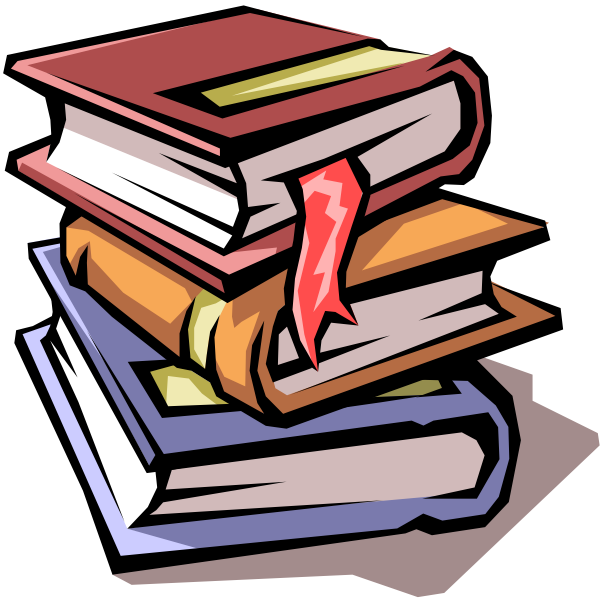
Annexures

Table 1: Glimpses of World Higher Education Landscape



- Worldwide 84 million students attend 20,000 colleges and universities.
- 66 million adult and more than 50% of the working people participate in some form of continuing education now.
- Higher education constitutes a US $3.2 trillion market.
- The entire developing world has only 15% of the share.
- The global demand for higher education is likely to reach 160 million by 2025.

- India and China will be the two biggest countries seeking higher education. Demand is growing at the rate of 20% per annum in India.
- Higher education is no longer elitist. It has become more accessible now.
- There is an increase in the role of household, private and corporate sector in higher education.
- We find a surge in online and for-profit private higher education.
- In 2000, global IT companies certified 1.6 million students worldwide with 2.4 million certificates in Information Technology itself.

Source: Glakas, Nicholas J. 2003. 'Trends Policies and Issues'. *National Council of Higher Education Loan Programmes.* Sarasota, Florida. January 9.

Table 2: Emerging Trends in Higher Education in the 21st Century

- **Increased globalization and increased competition.**
- **Increased importance of quality human resource in knowledge-based and technology-driven economy.**
- **Changing nature of the labour market in the wake of globalization and information revolution.**

- Surge in the demand for highly skilled and technologically competent workforce able to work under multi-cultural, multi-lingual and multi-ethnic settings in the wake of hyper-mobility.
- Declining socio-political priority of higher education as a solely state-funded activity.
- Corporatization and privatization of higher education.
- Rise in private, transnational and multinational initiatives in higher education.
- Commodification and commercialization of knowledge.
- Increase in consumption of higher education by the masses due to socio-cultural and economic importance of higher education and changing power-knowledge realm.
- Increase in the role of information and communication technologies in higher education.
- More emphasis on lifelong learning.

Source: Based upon Peters, Michael and Roberts, Peter. 2000. 'Universities, Futurology and Globalization'. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*: 21(2).

Table 3: Knowledge Revolution and Implications for Developing Countries

Key elements of knowledge revolution	Implications for the developing countries
• Increase codification of knowledge and development of new technologies • Closer links with science base/ increased rate of innovation/ shorter product life cycles • Increased importance of education, up-skilling of labour force and lifelong learning • Investment in intangibles (R&D, education, software) greater than investments in fixed capital. • Greater value added now comes from investment in intangibles such as branding, marketing, distribution and information management. • Innovation and productivity increase more important for competitiveness and growth terms of GDP. • Constant change and completion implies need for constant restructuring and upgrading knowledge and skills.	• Developing countries run the risk of being left behind as a result of increasing importance of knowledge, on the one hand, and widening of knowledge and digital divide, on the other. • They need to develop coherent strategies to deal successfully with the constant restructuring resulting from knowledge revolution. • They need to make more effective use of knowledge for their development. They need to convert their economies into knowledge economies. • They need to become the producers and exporters of new information and knowledge rather than remain as mere importers and consumers of a pre-determined content. • It is not enough to have access to latest information. There are numerous other factors that come into play in the equality of people's access, such as, education and training, language and literacy, bandwidth, web design, etc.

Source: Dahlman, Carl. 2003. 'Challenges of the Knowledge Economy for Education'. *World Education Market.* Lisbon. May 20.

Table 4: On Knowledge Economy

"The powerhouses of the new global economy are innovation and ideas,	*"The generation, application and exploitation of knowledge is [sic] driving modern economic growth. Most of us make our*

creativity, skills and knowledge. These are now the tools for success and prosperity as much as natural resources and physical labour power were in the past century"– **David Blunkett.** From: 'Modernizing Higher Education: Facing the Global Challenge', a speech delivered by the then Secretary of the UK at the University of Greenwich on February 15, 2000. para 10.	*money from thin air: we produce nothing that can be weighed, touched or easily measured. Our output is not stockpiled at harbours, stored in their houses or shift in railway cars … that should allow our economies in principle at least, to … be organized around people and the knowledge capital they produce. Our children will not have to toil in dark factories, descend into pits or suffocate in mills, to hew raw materials and turn them into manufactured products. They will make their livings through their creativity, ingenuity and imagination"* – **Charles Leadbetter.** From: *Living on Thin Air: The New Economy.* 1999. London: Penguin. p. vii

Table 5: International Comparisons in Select Few Countries

	Per capita GDP in US $ (PPP)	Students enrolled in HE in terms of %	Total no. of students in terms of popula-tion	Male ratio	Female in terms of gender empow-erment ratio	Public expendi-ture on HEIs in terms of GDP % in 2004	Private expendi-ture on HEIs in terms of GDP % in 2004	% of students enroll-ment in private HEIs	Expendi-ture % of GDP on HE
USA	39,496	26	82	69	96	1.2 (2002)	1.5 (2002)	24	2.7 (2002)
Canada	32,921	19	57	49	66	1.5 (2001)	1.1 (2001)	—	2.5 (2001)
UK	28,938	14	60	51	70	0.8 (2002)	0.3 (2002)	100	1.2 (2002)
Russian Federation	10,179	30	68	58	79	0.6	—	11	—
Australia	29,893	18	72	65	80	0.8	0.8	1 (2001)	1.6

Singapore	26,799	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Indonesia	3,703	7.1	16	18	14	0.3	0.4 (2002)	61	0.7 (2002)
Japan	29,906	21	54	57	51	0.4 (2002)	0.6 (2002)	77	1.1 (2002)
China	5,642	8.1	19	21	17	—	—	10	—
Republic of Korea	—	29	89	109 (parity in sexes)	67	0.3	1.9	81	2.2
India	3,080	5.1	11	14	9	0.7 (2002)	0.2 (2002)	—	0.9 (2002)

Source: Asian Strategic Group. Salzburg Seminar. Session 436. Beyond Universities: Shifting Demographics in Higher Education. Nov 7-12, 2006. Based upon UNESCO Global Education Database. May 2006.

Table 6: Growth in higher education institutions and enrolment

Year	Universities (including central, state and deemed)	Colleges	Total	Enrolment (in million)
1947-48	20	496	516	0.2
1950-51	28	578	606	0.2
1960-61	45	1,819	1864	0.6
1970-71	93	3,277	3370	2.0
1980-81	123	4,738	4861	2.8
1990-91	184	5,748	5932	4.4
2000-01	266	11,146	11412	8.8
2005-06	348	17,625	17973	10.5

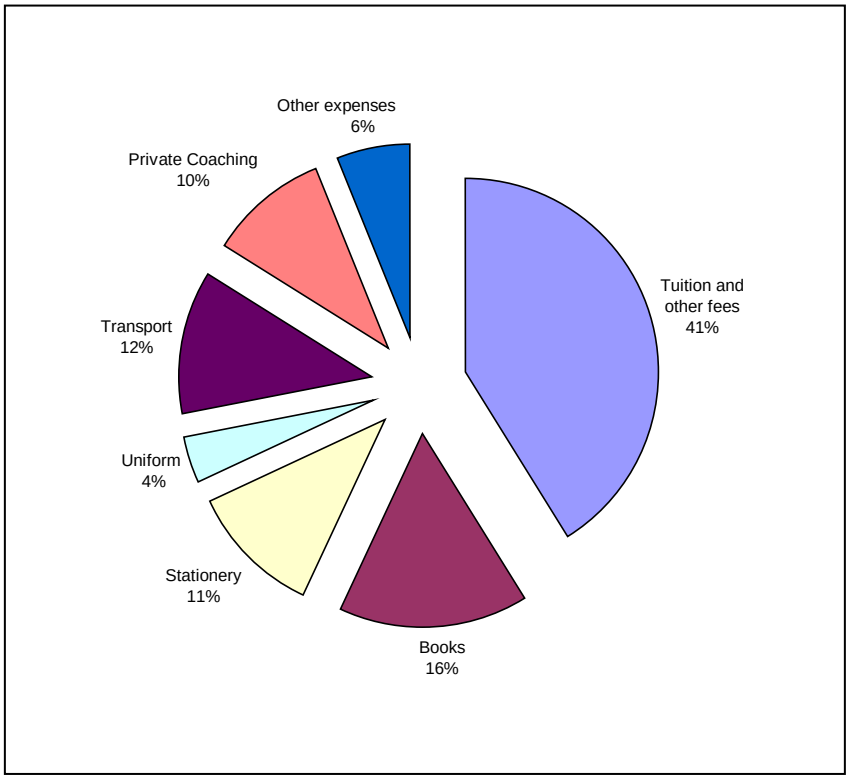
Source: University Grants Commission, New Delhi. www.ugc.ac.in

Table 7: A Typology of Higher Education Institutions in India

Public universities Government owned and government financed. They can raise alternative funds or run self-financed courses under the UGC scheme of vocationalization No. of institutions 240. Enrolment 1 million. It is not a growing sector.	Private universities Private universities can be government aided as well as unaided. There were 7 private universities, 5000 aided colleges and 4000 unaided colleges with approximately 10,000, 5 million and 3 million students respectively during 2002-2003. A private university" means a university duly established through a State/Central Act by a sponsoring body, viz. a Society registered under the Societies Registration Act, 1860, or any other corresponding law for the time being in force in a State or a Public Trust or a Company registered under Section 25 of the Companies Act, 1956.
Deemed to be universities Deemed to be universities are those, which are likely to acquire the status of full universities, in due course. These fulfil the conditions stipulated by the UGC. These can be aided as well as self-financed. There are 62 deemed to be universities. There are 13 university-level institutions, such as, IITs, IIMs, NITs, etc.	Foreign institutions The UGC is planning to allow foreign institutions to establish centers in collaboration with public or private higher education institutions in India. These institutions must be accredited in their own home countries and must follow the rules and regulations laid by the UGC/AICTE. There are about 150 foreign institutions working in India.

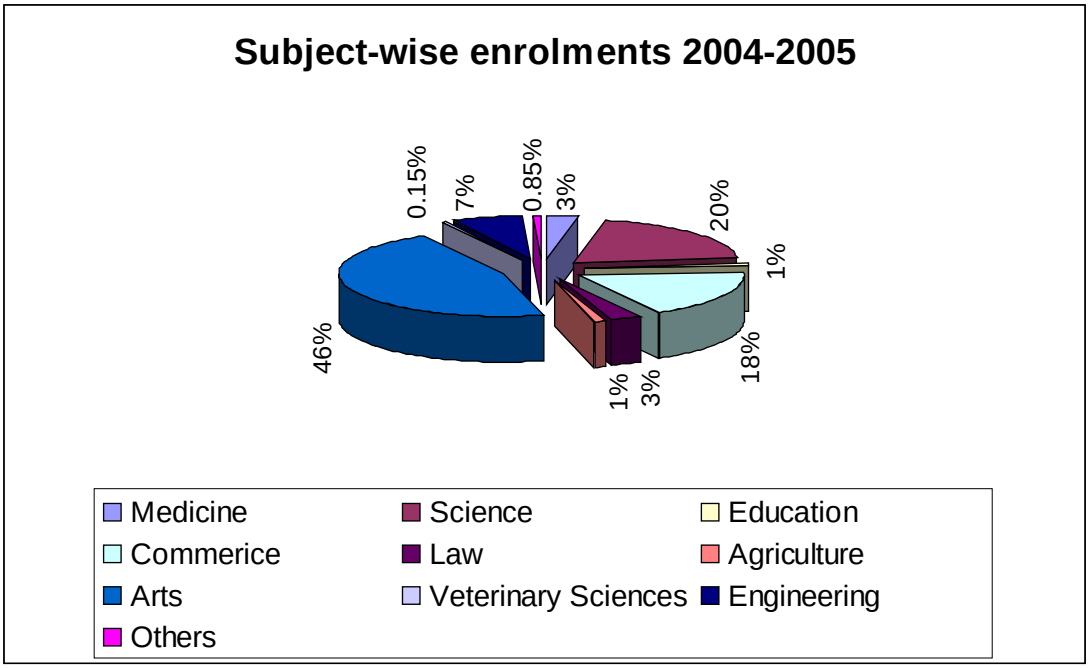
Source: Association of Indian Universities. 2003.

Table 8: Share of Household Expenditures on Higher Education in India



Source: NSSO (1998). p. A117.

Table 9: Discipline-wise Enrolment of Students



Source: University Grants Commission. 2006.

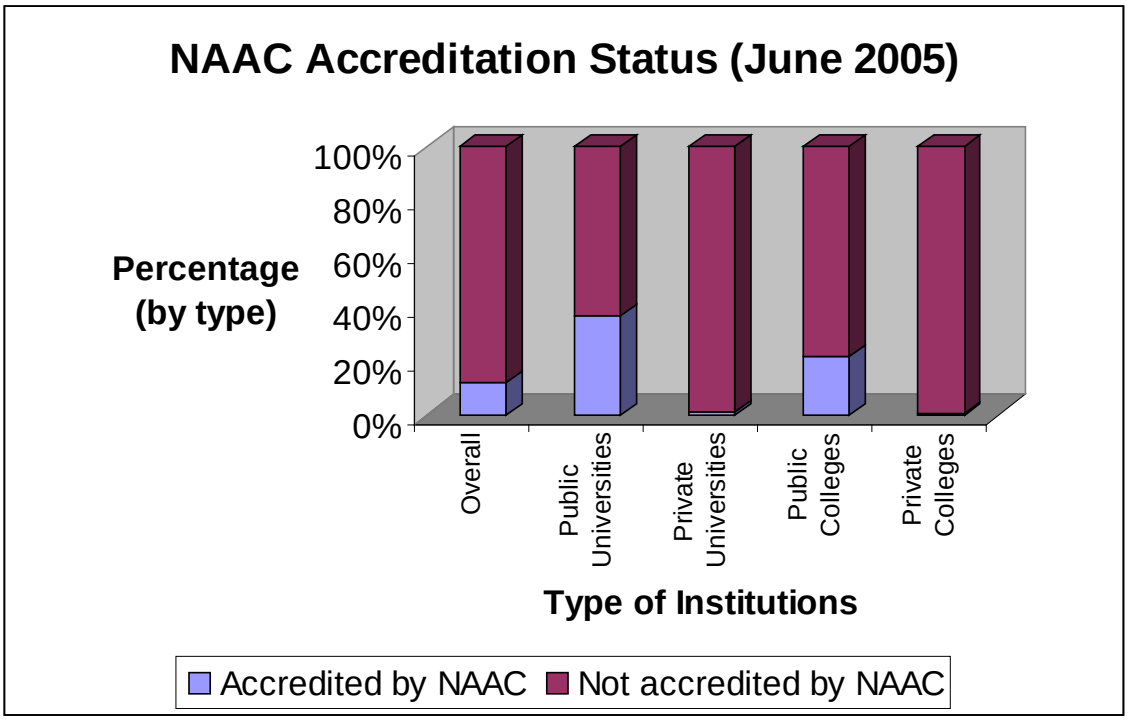
Table 10: Comparison between Public and Private Medical and Engineering Colleges
(In terms of Management)

State	Medical Colleges		% Private	Engineering Colleges		% Private
	Government	*Private*		*Government*	*Private*	
Andhra Pradesh	14	14	50.0	10	213	95.5
Chattisgarh	2	0	0.0	2	9	81.8
Delhi	5	0	0.0	7	7	50.0
Gujarat	8	4	33.3	9	16	64.0
Haryana	1	2	66.6	7	29	80.5
Himachal Pradesh	2	0	0.0	2	3	60.0
Jharkhand	0	2	100.0	4	2	33.3
Karnataka	4	22	84.6	13	99	88.4
Kerala	7	8	53.3	31	51	62.2

Madhya Pradesh	5	1	16.7	6	47	88.7
Maharashtra	19	18	48.6	16	133	89.3
Orissa	3	0	0.0	6	38	86.4
Punjab	3	3	50.0	11	27	71.0
Tamil Nadu	12	7	36.8	16	234	93.6
Uttar Pradesh	10	2	16.7	25	58	69.9
Uttaranchal	0	2	100.0	5	4	44.4
West Bengal	7	0	0.0	15	37	71.2

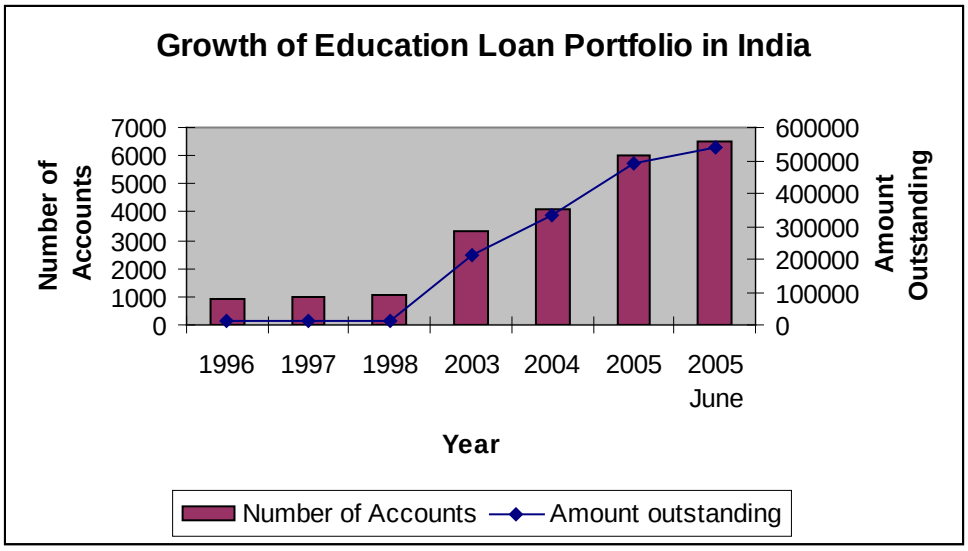
Source: Gupta, Asha. 2005.'International Trends in Private Higher Education and the Indian Scenario'. *CSHE Occasional Paper Series.* University of California, Berkeley.

Table 11: Status of Assessment and Accreditation Carried Out by the NAAC



Source: www.naac-india.com

Table 12: Growth of Students Loan in India



Source: Agarwal, Pawan. 2006. 'Higher Education in India: The Need for Change'. ICIER Working Paper No. 179.New Delhi. p.29.

Table 13: Judicialization of Higher Education in India

Of late we find the Supreme Court of India playing a proactive role in matters pertaining to higher education. It seems to be a fall out of judicialization of politics in general. Judicialization implies a process whereby the judiciary indulges into administrative supervision. It also implies the proactive role played by the judiciary in social engineering by laying the foundations for the desirable behavior by the public institutions and the masses alike.

The judiciary is supposed to be in a better position to resolve the contentious issues in pluralistic and modern complex societies as the judges appear to be apolitical, neutral and fair to the vast majorities. Moreover, they can give equal attention to all the aggrieved parties and take a non-partisan and long-term perspective, a feat that cannot be performed by the other two organs. The judges not only adjudicate between the two litigants in whom the 'better boxer' wins the game but also take side with the 'just party'. They can do so because they are capable of independent decisions and autonomous actions whereas the executive and the legislative

branches are found to be too fragmented to do so.

The shift towards judicialization reflects not only the hostility towards partisan politics and interest groups lobbying but also some hope for logical and rational solutions. The judicial intervention in the case of the IIM fee cut controversy and reservation in private higher education institutions points to the same. In fact, private higher education institutions need a separate body for assessment and accreditation purposes rather than the NAAC or other multiple regulatory bodies.

Source: Gupta, Asha. 2005. 'Judicialization of Education: The Fee Cut Controversy in India'.

International Higher Education: 38. Winter.

Table 14: Constitutional provisions governing education in India

Article 15(4) inserted after 93rd Amendment. Nothing in this article or in clause 2 0r article 29 shall prevent the state from making any special provision for the advancement of any society and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes.

Article 19 (1) (g). All citizens shall have the right to practice any profession, or to carry on any occupation, trade or business.

Article 19 (6). Nothing in sub-clause (g)... prevents the State from making any law imposing, in the interests of the general public, reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right conferred by the said sub-clause.

Article 26. Subject to public order, morality and health, every religious denomination or any section thereof shall have the right (a) to establish and maintain institutions for religious and charitable purposes.

Article 29 (2). No citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them.

Article 30 (1). All minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice.

Source: Constitution of India, 1952. New Delhi: Government of India publication.

Table 15: Web of Regulatory Bodies in India

Statutory Bodies/ Associations	Obligatory functions	Other important functions	Overlapping of functions/duties
University Grants Commission (**UGC**) Established under the UGC Act of 1956 www.ugc.ac.in	Co-ordination and determination of standards in all higher education and research institutions	Disbursement of grants to universities and colleges. Fixation of pay scales, fixation of minimum qualifications, assessment accreditation through **NAAC**.	Some of the functions overlap with AICTE, DEC, MCI, DCI, NCTE, BCI, ICAR, Ministry of Health, Ministry of HRD, State Councils, etc.

Distant Education Council (**DEC**) established under section 25 of the IGNOU Act of 1985 by the Ministry of HRD www.ignou.ac.in/dec	Responsible for promotion, coordination and determination of standards of the programmes provided by open learning centers in India.	Releases grants to open learning centers and correspondence course institutes. There are 11 centers of open learning in India. IGNOU enjoys credibility even abroad.	DEC has its own assessment and accreditation system. It runs programmes on air and television through *Gyan Bharti*. Shares functions with UGC.
All India Council for Technical Education (**AICTE**) established in 1987 by the MHRD www.aicte.ernet.in	Responsible for envisaging planning coordination and development of technical education.	Approves degrees and diploma programmes in architecture, pharmacy engineering and hotel management.	It has a programme of accreditation through NBA. It shares some of the responsibilities with UGC, DEC, CIA, etc.
Medical Council of India (**MCI**) established under the MCI Act in 1953 Ministry of Health. www.mciindia.org	Recognizes medical institutions and provides recognition to medical practitioners. Determines eligibility criteria for admission.	It is responsible for recognizing foreign qualifications for practice in India. It defines medical standards in India.	Shares responsibilities with UGC, DEC to a limited extent, State Medical Councils and State Governments.
Pharmacy Council of India (**PCI**) established under the Pharmacy Act, 1948 Ministry of Health. www.pci.nic.in	It regulates the profession and practice of pharmacy in India.	Responsible for approval & registration of pharmacies. Prescribes curricula and practical training.	Shares regulatory role with the AICTE and State Pharmacy Councils.
Indian Nursing Council (**INC**) established in 1947. Ministry of Health www.mohfw.nic.in/inc	Responsible for setting uniform standards for training for nurses. Collects data on them.	Accepts qualifications awarded by various universities inside and outside India.	Shares responsibilities with State Nursing Councils having registering powers.
Dental Council of India	Mainly	Recommends to	It works under

(**DCI**) established in 1948.Ministry of health. www.dciindia.org	responsible for regulating dental education and profession in dentistry.	central government to allow permission to start a dental college/courses.	the Ministry of Health. It is responsible for laying down the curricula.
Central Council of Homeopathy (**CCH**) established in 1973. Ministry of Health. www.cchindia.org	Prescribes and recognizes qualifications in homeopathy. Prescribes curricula, code of ethics, etc.	Maintains central register of homeopaths. Lays down terms and conditions for recognition.	Works in collaboration with state councils.
Central Council of Indian Medicine (**CCIM**) established in 1970, Ministry of Health www.ccimindia.org	Prescribes minimum standards of education in Indian systems of medicine, namely, *Ayurveda, Unani*, etc.	Prescribes curricula, courses, standards, professional conduct, etiquette, code of ethics for practitioners.	Works in collaboration with state councils.
Rehabilitation Council of India (**RCI**) established in 1992, Ministry of Social Justice www.rehabcouncil.nic.in	Responsible for standardization and regulation of the training to the personnel and professionals engaged in the field of rehabilitation and special needs.	Responsible for registration of the professionals, assessment and accreditation, promotion, recognition of institutions for physiotherapy.	Works under the Ministry of Health and state councils.
National Council for Teacher Education (**NCTE**) established in 1993. www.ncte-in.org	Responsible for planning and coordinating teacher education in India and laying down norms and standards.	Recognizes teacher education institutions within India.	Shares responsibilities with the UGC and DEC.
Indian Council for Agricultural Research (**ICAR**).It is not a statutory body. Ministry of Agriculture. www.icar.org.in	It coordinates agricultural research and education. Also accredits agricultural universities and	It provides funds to agricultural education and research institutions at the center and state level and also to	It shares responsibilities with UGC.

	holds common admission test.	deemed to be universities.	
Bar Council of India (**BCI**) established under the Advocates Act of 1962, Ministry of Law. www.barcouncilofindia.nic.in	Lays down standards of professional conduct and legal education.	Maintains the list of members of the bar and foreign universities whose qualification are valid in India.	It shares responsibilities with the Bar Councils at the state level.
Professional Associations for Chartered Accountants/Company Secretaries			
Institute of Chartered Accountants of India (**ICAI**) established in 1949,Ministry of Company Affairs. www.icai.org	Regulates the profession of chartered accountants in India. Conducts professional courses & coordinates practical training.	It is responsible for conducting the exams for the Chartered Accountants. The final exam is considered equivalent to master's degree provided the bachelor's degree is obtained before.	It works under the Ministry of Company Affairs.
Institute of Company Secretaries of India (**ICSI**) established in 1980, Ministry of Company Affairs.	Regulates the profession of company secretaries in India. Conducts professional courses & coordinates practical training.	It is responsible for conducting the exams for the Chartered Accountants. The final exam is considered equivalent to master's degree provided the bachelor's degree is obtained before.	It works under the Ministry of Company Affairs.

Source: Based upon Gupta, Asha. 2006. *Looking Beyond Universities: Higher Education in the 21st Century* (forthcoming).

Table 16: General perception about private higher education in India

Hypothesis under survey:

(1) Private HEIs have a better quality image than Public HEIs.
(2) Employment opportunities are better after graduating from Private HEIs than Public HEIs.
(3) Private HEIs generally have inadequate infrastructure and part-time faculty.
(4) Tuition fees and other expenses are higher at Private HEIs than those at Public HEIs.
(5) There is greater academic freedom in Private HEIs than in Public HEIs.
(6) Private HEIs are more accountable to their stakeholders than Public HEIs.

Findings of a survey dealing with 4000 respondents in 11 Indian cities, Dec. 2005-Jan. 2006

Survey Finding		Implication
Students view private higher education as a gateway to employment	hence	Research/course curriculum issues would not be amongst the priorities of the Private HEIs, as demand for employment-specific courses takes precedence and faculty is limited. Students in Private HEIs are not looking for 'schools of excellence' but they are looking for 'schools of relevance.
Students and parents are willing to pay the higher fees for the private higher education	but	They seek regulation and accreditation to ensure fairness and transparency.
Recruiters prefer the Private HEIs on account of their relatively better skills training	and	They do not perceive any other major differentiation between the Public and Private HEIs. They rely on government monitoring of admissions, curricula designing, fee structure and accreditation.
A large number of students and their families now seek more information about Private HEIs. They are looking for quick jobs and 'value for money'	and	Therefore, all aspects related to branding, transparency and accountability have become vital and critical.
Faculty in Private HEIs are required to focus on industry-specific content and pedagogy requirements	with	Little or no concern on academic research and rigor.
Private stakeholders are concerned about the prevailing ambivalence and confusion due to contradictory stands taken by the government and judiciary	therefore	We find lower commitment from private and foreign stakeholders than their true potential. Hence we find lower incentives to wards private initiatives and funding in higher education in India.

Source: Based upon FICCI Survey on Understanding of Private Higher Education in India: A Stakeholders Perspective. 2006. March. www.ficci.com/press/060318-Survey_on_Education.doc.

Chapter 7

The Academic Profession in East Asian Private Higher Education

Terri Kim

The paper considers the internationalisation of the academic profession in East Asian private higher education. There will be a special emphasis on the case of South Korea.

Private higher education has a strong tradition in East Asia but it is diverse in terms of its origins, scale and size, prestige, reputation, and quality. The shape of the academic profession thus needs to be understood in these national contexts of diversity. The origins and early development of private higher education in East Asia are entwined with the history of internationalisation of higher education and international political relations.

The paper will first offer a comparative overview of the origins and early development of private higher education in East Asia since the late nineteenth century. It will then shift attention to the case of Korea to discuss some of the distinctive features of Korean private higher education and the current policy and practice of internationalisation. The paper argues that the strikingly similar internationalisation strategies undertaken by the major private universities in Korea point to the "new institutionalism" (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; 1991; Levy, 2004) which is growing in the Korean private higher education sector. In conclusion, the paper will discuss some of the key challenges that old private universities in Korea are facing now.

The relations of private higher education and internationalisation in East Asia

The early development of private higher education in East Asia was closely entwined with Western Christian missionary activities in the region, and the rise of national aspirations for modernisation.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, private higher educational

institutions were established by Western missionaries working in East Asia. For instance, in mainland China in the 1920s and 1930s, there were thirteen Protestant and three Catholic colleges and universities in China with over a thousand faculty members and six thousand students (Ng, 2002, pp.2-7). However, many of these private institutions underwent significant change during the first half of the twentieth century – the period which saw the decline of the Western imperial powers in East Asia by the end of World War II. With political independence, private higher educational institutions in East Asia were upgraded to University status, renamed, or even nationalised. For example, in mainland China, all private universities were made public after 1949. However, there was a new expansion of private universities in China again from the 1980s onwards.

The discontinuity of the early form of internationalisation through Western Christian private higher education is noteworthy in China. For instance, St. John's University (□□翰大學) in Shanghai was founded by the Bishop of Shanghai, Samuel Scherschewsky in 1879. It was the first institution to grant bachelor's degrees in China starting in 1907. Before the Chinese Civil War, it was one of the most prestigious universities in China. It had the Faculty of Science and Natural Philosophy, and the courses were taught in English. However, in 1952 the Communist government adopted a policy of creating polytechnic/technical universities, following the Soviet model of higher education. Under this policy, St Johns was split apart. Most of its faculties were incorporated into East China Normal University and Fudan University; and the Medical School was incorporated into Shanghai Second Medical University, which has become the School of Medicine, Shanghai Jiaotong University (Harnett, 1998, pp. 7-40; pp. 171-180; Hayhoe, 1996, pp. 49-50; pp. 80-81).

Another example is Yenching (燕京) University which was private and one of the top universities in China before the Civil War. In 1919, Yenching University integrated three existing Christian universities in Beijing. Theology, Law and Medical were the main Schools of the university, with Arts and Science studies. In 1928 Yenching University and Harvard University founded Harvard-Yenching Institute for the education of humanities and social sciences in East Asia and Southeast Asia. After the People's Republic of China was established in 1949, Yenching University was merged into Peking University to become the major state university in China (Harnett, 1998, pp. 171-223; Hayhoe, 1996, pp. 43-50; 78-80).

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it was through Christian private institutions that higher education became formally available for women for the first time in China, as well as in other East Asian countries. For example, Ginling Women's University (金陵女子大學) founded in Nanjing, was a Christian university granting bachelor's degrees to female students for the first time in China. In 1951, Ginling Women's University was merged with the University of Nanking (金陵大□) - a famous Christian private university founded in 1888; and subsequently, Nanjing Normal University was founded on the campus of Ginling Women's University in 1952. University of Nanking was merged with Nanjing University (南京大□) (Harnett, 1998, *op. cit.*; Hayhoe, 1996, pp. 80-84).

In Japan, on the other hand - unlike China and Korea - many of the elite private higher education institutions, for instance, Keio, Doshisha and Waseda universities, were founded mainly by the innovative national leaders of the nineteenth century, *i.e.*, the Japanese samurai elites who had experienced the Western education system.[1]

In the early period of the Meiji reformation, however, American and European academics were appointed to the professorial posts at major Japanese universities -

[1] Keio University started as the first private institution of higher learning in Japan, which dates back to the formation of a school for Dutch studies in 1858 in Tokyo. The founder of Keio, Fukuzawa Yukichi had studied at Brown University in the United States. Keio University expanded and established its first university faculty in 1890, and became a flagship private university in Japanese higher education.

Another example is Doshisha University which was founded by an ex-samurai named Niijima Jou (Joseph Hardy Neeshima). He was inspired by the Anglo-American ideas of a university after studying Phillips Academy, Amherst College, and Andover Theological Seminary. After he returned to Japan in 1875, he founded Doshisha English School (同志社英學校, Dōshisha eigakkō) in Kyoto, which eventually incorporated a law school, normal school, and women's college. By 1920, Doshisha became a full-fledged university in the Anglo-American tradition.

Waseda University was founded in 1882, also by a samurai scholar politician, Okuma Shigenobu, who also served as a former Prime Minister during the Meiji era. Waseda acquired a full university status in 1902.

(For details, see Cummings, 1973; Ninomiya, 1977; Okada, 2005)

even at Tokyo Imperial University until the early 1890s. The open policy of foreign academic staffing ceased, with the strong emphasis on Japanese nationalism at the turn of the century. Tetsujiro Inoue, the first holder of the new German-style professorial chair in Philosophy at Tokyo Imperial University from 1890 affirms the situation:

> We had many foreigners as teachers at Tokyo University in the early years of Meiji, in order to make up the deficiency in Japanese professors. In principle, however, professors at Japanese universities should all be Japanese. Accordingly, we managed to dismiss the foreign instructors relatively quickly from the Faculties of Medicine, Law, and Science so that there was not one of them left. That was the policy throughout the university… The Japanese university is a place where Japanese perform the professorial tasks – it is very different from a colonial university. (Excerpted from Tetsujiro Inoue, 1943, *Kaikyuroku* (Reminiscences); translated by Hall; Re-quoted from Hall, 1998, p. 102).

In the early modernisation period, a number of private universities in Japan were also founded by Western Christian missionaries, who took an active role in expanding educational opportunities for women. After 1919 several of the private universities received official status, for instance Kobe College.[2]

As in Japan, the early private higher education tradition of the nineteenth and early twentieth century has also survived in Korea, where private higher educational institutions were able to develop into major research universities in the country. They have led the expansion and development of Korean higher education.

The Korean pattern of private higher education development

[2] Kobe College was founded by two American female missionaries in 1875, which started as Kobe Girls' School for the education of young women in Kobe. It was renamed as Kobe College in 1894 to serve as a private higher education institution. In 1948, with the governmental reform of the educational system, Kobe College became the first women's college in western Japan (http://www.kobe-c.ac.jp/ekc/3set.htm).

The Korean pattern of private higher education development shows some distinctive features, which differentiate its position from neighbouring countries in East Asia.

First of all, the Korean government has kept strict and direct regulation over private higher education. The pattern of governmental regulation of all aspects of both public and private higher education in Korea is a continuity of the Japanese model since the colonial period. In the case of Japan, however, this governmental intervention could, from 1970 on, be justified by the government subsidies to private education - up to 30% of their total income in the mid-1980s (Currie, 2002; Yonezawa and Baba, 1998: 146). On the other hand, in Korea, Government's subsidies for private HEIs started only in the 1990s. Although the amount of government funding has increased since then, it covers on average less than 3% of the income of private universities (which is still low compared with the contemporary Japanese figure of 10%). Most higher education funding (around 80%) in Korea comes from private sources. Public financial expenditures on higher education as a percentage of GDP are very low at 0.3% in Korea, compared to the OECD mean of 1.1%. The proportion of government subsidies against the total revenue of universities was 22.7%, much lower than the OECD average (78.1%); the USA (45.1%); and Japan (41.5%) (MOE statistics published on 11 May 2006, and reported in the *University News Network*, 12 May 2006).

Overall, the Korean government has been a regulator rather than a purveyor of higher education. In other words, contractual relations of the Government and the University - based on the principle of public funding allocation - have developed late in Korea. It may also be suggested that the Korean government has regulated the domestic higher education market with egalitarian and meritocratic principles to ensure equity and access in higher education. Perhaps the relatively low level of international competitiveness of the Korean universities in general can, in part, be attributed to the over-emphasis on equity and access during the period of rapid expansion of higher education.

Second, the expansion of Korean higher education has been led by the private sector, which has resulted in universal access to higher education in a relatively short period of time. In Korea in 2005, 97% of 18-year-olds graduated from high school, and 82.1% of the age cohort went on to higher education institutions (KEDI, 2005). In terms of the number of institutions and student enrolments, private higher education accounts

for almost 80% of the Korean higher education sector, which is higher than the Japanese case (about 76-77%).[3] Despite the large private higher education market, however, there is a lack of strategic diversification among four-year universities in Korea. The proportion of four-year general universities producing postgraduate degrees in Korea is about 75 %, which is higher than in the US (61%) and Japan (48.5%) (Ryu, 2006, p. 26).

Third, what makes Korean private higher education even more distinctive is that unlike Japan or China, the status of private universities in Korea is not necessarily lower than public institutions in general. Unlike Japan[4] and China, public higher education institutions in Korea – apart from Seoul National University - have not enjoyed elite status. National and public universities are not superior to the major private higher education institutions in Korea. Among the top-tier universities, the Korean version of the 'golden triangle' is the so-called "SKY" universities. The acronym stands for Seoul National, Korea and Yonsei Universities. Both Yonsei and Korea universities were established as private institutions in 1885 and 1905 respectively, and have been the apex private higher educational institutions in Korea.

According to the University League Table based on a comprehensive evaluation conducted and published by *Joongang Ilbo* for the last twelve years, an average of eight out of the top ten universities have been private institutions in Korea.

Table 1: University League Table 2005

Ranking	University

[3] Japan has 709 four-year higher education institutions (87 national, 80 local public, and 542 private institutions). The total number of undergraduate enrolments is 2,809,295, while the student share of private institutions is 77% (MEXT, 2004; Re-quoted from Akabayashi and Naoi, 2005).

[4] In terms of quality of education and research, the social and academic reputation of private universities in Japan is generally lower than that of national institutions. According to the Asahi Ranking, only one private university – Keio - was listed in the top 30 universities in Japan (Currie, 2002). According to the world-wide university ranking published by Shanghai Jiaotong University in 2004), five Japanese national universities were included among the world top 100, whereas only one Japanese private university was among the world top 200-300 (http://ed.sjtu.edu.cn/ranking.htm).

1	POSTECH (private, specialising in Science and Technology)
2	KAIST (national, specialising in Science and Technology)
3	SNU (national, general)
4	YONSEI (private, general)
5	KOREA (private, general)
6	Sung Kyun Kwan (private, general)
7	Hanyang (private, general)
8	Seogang (private, general)
9	Ewha (private, general)
10	Kyunghee (private, general)

Source: *Joongang Ilbo*, 4 October 2005
(http://article.joins.com/article/article.asp?ctg=12&total_id=1693753)

In terms of research funding, the gap between elite and low quality private institutions in Korea is also significant, whilst competition among the major research universities in Korea (regardless of the public-private sectors division) has increased. As shown in Table 2, among the top ten research universities ranked by the amount of research funding allocation in 2005, six universities were private.

Table 2: University Ranking by the amount of Research Funding allocation

Ranking 2005	University	Previous Years' Ranking 2004	2003
1	Seoul National	1	1
2	Yonsei (private)	2	2
3	KAIST	3	3
4	Hanyang (private)	4	6
5	Sung Kyun Kwan (private)	5	4
6	Korea (private)	7	5
7	Chonnam National	15	11
8	POSTECH (private)	6	7
9	Kyungpook National	8	5
10	Inha (private)	9	9

Source: University News Network (http://www.unn.net/gisa/gisa_read.asp?key=36724)

The following section will examine more closely the origins and development of Korean private higher education and explain why and how private higher educational institutions have played a leading role in the development and internationalisation of higher education in Korea.

Private Higher Education and the internationalisation of the academic profession

University history in Korea is not long - less than 130 years. The ideas about a 'modern university'in Korea were a mixture of the Anglo-American ideas and the Japanese colonial state's imported version of a Prussian model of the University (Kim, 2001).

The Anglo-American liberal model of higher education developed early in the form of private institutions such as Yonsei and Ewha, which were established by American missionaries in 1885 and 1886. When the country fell under Japanese colonial domination, Korean nationalism was nurtured within the private higher educational institutions newly established by the Korean national leaders as well as the Western missionaries.

However, these private higher educational institutions were directly subject to the Japanese colonial government's rules and regulations. There was no buffer space to safeguard the autonomy of private higher educational institutions - given the colonial government's legal framework (Kim, 2001). The Japanese State's imported version of a Prussian (German) university model also developed as an Imperial University in Korea as well as in Japan during the colonial period. The *raison d'etre* of public higher education was thus subordinated to the Japanese colonial purpose.

During the colonial period, the national and public higher educational institutions established by the Japanese colonial state in Korea provided an *indirect* channel to Western knowledge for Koreans.[5] For instance, the Japanese colonial government

[5] The Imperial University in Korea was established in 1926 with the same principles, forming an elite group for the systemic development of Korea and stressing Japanese

selected able Korean students to study in Japan and not in Western countries (whereas Japanese students and scholars were sent to the Western world to absorb directly the knowledge needed for modernisation).

In Korea, it was the private higher education sector that opened a *direct* path to Western knowledge for Koreans (Kim, 2001, pp. 64-72; pp. 85-89). In that sense it can be suggested that, historically, the internationalisation of higher education in Korea has been led by private universities.

During the Japanese colonial period (1910-1945), the embryonic Korean academic profession was being shaped by the Japanese colonial State's control over the meritocratic principle in education, which was fundamentally defined by 'nationality' (Kim, 2001). For instance, the professorships in Kyung Sung Imperial University were open only to Japanese. Accordingly, the private sector of higher education was the alternative favoured by the Korean academic candidates for a professional career. The US model of higher education in the private sector was the major academic route open for a national (and nationalistic) Korean elite to enter the academic profession (Kim, 2001; Joung, 2002).

In academe, there were different channels for absorbing Western knowledge and culture in the Japanese imperial university, and in the nationalist private institutions of higher education (Kim, 2001). Overall, the dual history of Korean higher education originated from the Japanese colonial education system. The first generation of the university academic profession in the public sector was mainly Japanese, whereas in the private sector the academic profession was dominated by the foreign educated – including Western expatriates as well as Korean nationals.

After political independence in 1945, Korean higher education came under direct American influence. There were structural reforms in the higher education sector

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culture and obligations to the Japanese state. As indicated, Kyung Sung Imperial University catered mainly for the Japanese residents in Korea, and only a third of the highly selected students were from a Korean background. When Kyung Sung Imperial University was established, 220 Japanese and 89 Koreans were enrolled (Jung, S.E.(2002) *Kyung Sung Je-Kook Dae-Hack Yeonkoo [A Study of Kyung Sung Imperial University]*, Seoul: Muneum-sa, p. 96).

immediately after 1945, as a result of deliberate efforts to eradicate the Japanese colonial legacy. Kyung Sung Imperial University was renamed as Seoul National University in 1946. More precisely, Seoul National University was a reorganisation and integration of the former Kyung Sung Imperial University and nine professional schools formerly sponsored by the Japanese colonial government. Some of the leading Korean academics who had been teaching in the leading private higher educational institutions such as Yonsei, Korea (called Bosung then), and Ewha were recruited to Seoul National University to fill the vacancies left by the departure of Japanese academics after political independence. The three private higher educational institutions were also upgraded to the status of University in the same year.

By the time of the establishment of the Republic of Korea in 1948, there were four universities (i.e. Seoul National, Yonsei, Korea and Ewha), 23 independent colleges (3 national, 4 public and 16 private), 4 junior colleges (all private) and 11 miscellaneous schools of collegiate standing, with a total enrolment of 1,265 faculty members and 24,000 students (Kim, 2001, p. 152). Since then, the expansion of Korean higher education has been remarkable. As of 2005, there are a total of 411 higher education institutions, which include 171 general universities (145 of which are private) and 158 junior colleges (143 of which are private), with an enrolment of 62,631 faculty members and 3,278,197 students in Korea (KCUE, 2005).

Despite the strong American influence on the development of a new Korean higher education system after political independence from Japan, the style of government regulation of private higher education has remained fundamentally the same, reflecting the Japanese colonial legacy. In other words, the pattern of Government-University relations survived even after political independence and still continue, even though there has been, continuously and consciously, a deliberate effort to eradicate the Japanese colonial legacy in Korean education by adopting an American model.

The Korean academic profession has also reflected this trend. On the surface, the academic profession has been also shaped under American influence. According to the Korean Council for University Education (KCUE), the proportion of doctorates in the university academic profession in Korea is 82.9% and about 40% of them gained PhDs overseas (KCUE, 2000). More than two thirds of the PhDs were obtained in the USA. In the case of Pohang University of Science and Technology – a new flagship private

higher education institution in the fields of Science and Technology - 93.3% of the academic staff took PhDs in the USA, and in the case of Yonsei University, the proportion of American doctorates is 81% and in Seogang and Ewha Women's University, it is estimated at 81.3% and 80.2% respectively (*Joongang Ilbo*, 2002, November 15). Among newly appointed university academics in Korea in 1999, the percentage of those with overseas PhDs was estimated at 52.2%; and the proportion of American PhDs in the group was 70.5% (KCUE, 2000).

However, the old colonial legacy of Japanese modernisation strategy, often identified with the slogan 'Eastern spirit, Western science (東道西器論)', has survived in the Korean academic profession. In fact, a foreign higher degree itself is not the most important element in Korean academic recruitment. Arguably, academic bonding (*hack-yeon* in Korean) has been regarded as more crucial for successful academic employment and career development in Korea. The academic power networks have been most evident in the proportion of alumni faculty members at major universities: for instance, in 2002, the proportion was 95.5% at Seoul National University, 80% at Yonsei University, 68% at Korea University, and 60% was the national average. In comparison, at Harvard and Stanford, the proportion of alumni among the faculty members was only 12% and 1% respectively (KBS 1TV Report, 10 June 2006).

In summary, it can be suggested that professional relations are also personal in Korea and are based on highly exclusive academic networking and the prestige of an early Korean academic background of high status, which can be further strengthened by foreign academic qualifications – normally from American institutions (Kim, 2001, pp. 177-183).

The strong desire of ordinary Korean people to enter elite educational routes in Korea and then to receive advanced degrees from major universities overseas (especially from the USA) has been further intensified as the national economy has continued to develop. According to OECD, Korea has the second largest absolute number of students (after China) studying abroad. The number of primary and secondary school students in Seoul who have gone abroad to study was 7,001 between March 2005 and February 2006, marking an increase of 15% (Source: Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education; Reported in *Dong-A Ilbo*, 11 May 2006). The number of Korean students who obtained US doctoral degrees between 1999-2003 also exceeds that of any other

group of foreign nationals in the U.S.A. Among the foreign nationals who obtained US doctoral degrees, the number of Seoul National University graduates were estimated as 1,655, ranking 1st, and Yonsei University graduates 720, ranking 5th, and Korea University graduates 445, ranking 8th (*Hankyoreh Shinmun*, 17 May 2006).

The financial implications are significant. According to the Korean International Trade Association, Koreans studying abroad spent US$ 4.6 billion in 2002 on tuition fees and living expenses, while foreigners studying in Korea spent only US$ 20 million (Re-quoted from the Observatory on Borderless Higher Education, Breaking news article, 27 August 2004: www.obhe.ac.uk).

All in all, the current pattern of educational migration in Korea points to the fact that there is strong public demand for internationalised higher education at all levels in Korea. Given this and the ongoing pressure from the WTO/GATS, the Korean government has removed restrictions for foreign institutions to provide educational services directly in Korea. At the same time, major private universities are in severe competition to increase international competitiveness.

The contemporary state of internationalisation of Korean private higher education

Given the government higher education policy of internationalisation framed by perceptions of economic globalisation, university academics in Korea are experiencing structural and cultural changes. The vision of internationalisation was clear: to upgrade major Korean universities to the level of a global standard of excellence and solidify South Korea's reputation as one of the region's "knowledge economies".

The specified "global standard" in Korea, however, has relied upon the *quantity* of international publications and the international ranking of research universities on the basis of internationally published Scientific Citation Indices (SCI). Major Korean newspapers report that the number of SCI-level publications by Korean academics have increased from 3765 in 1998 to 7060 in 2004 (*Dong-A Ilbo*, 5 September 2006). The Korean government also announced that the international ranking of the Korean university academics - in terms of international publications recognised by the SCI - has moved up from 17th in 1998 to 14th in 2001 (MOE, Republic of Korea, 2002).

Nevertheless, there have been growing concerns about the level of internationalisation achieved by Korean universities as the quantitative measurement is not sufficient to show real quality based on the international *impact* of Korean academic research and publications by Korean university academics. The level of international competitiveness of Korean universities in general has not improved significantly as indicated by the IMD World Competitiveness indicators (*Dong-A Ilbo*, 5 September 2006).

In addition to the number of international publications in the SCI/SSCI ranked journals, a newly emphasised criterion in Korea to measure internationalisation of universities is the *number* of foreign students and staff.

The government has created a new fund to invite to Korea 431 distinguished foreign scholars in science and advanced fields of research, and to implant state-of-the-art research and education (MOE, May 17, 2002). Thus, elite universities in South Korea are now in competition to recruit foreign students and scholars, to conduct more lectures in English, and to establish an infrastructure for welcoming foreign students.

The Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development has recently released numbers that show the figures for foreign students and professors at Korean universities have continued to rise. Since 2000, the number of international students at Korean universities has risen nearly six-fold from 3,969 in the year 2000 to 22,624 for 2006. The numbers of foreign professors in Korea have also increased during the same time period, doubling from 1,313 to 2,540. International students from China account for 65 % of all enrolments, and students from Japan (3%) and Taiwan (3%) are the second and third highest concentrations of students from any one country. The vast majority (6,610) of foreign students studying in South Korea are concentrated in the capital, Seoul (*The Korea Times*, 4 September 2006).

In response to the government's international policy, the number of universities in Korea having foreign academics as more than 10 % of the total academic staff members has also increased from 9 in 2005 to 13 in 2006. Among such universities, the success of some of the mid-ranking medium-sized specialist private higher education institutions is impressive. For example, Pusan University of Foreign Studies has 25% of its academic staff positions filled with foreigners from 18 different countries; and

Hansei University has 22.7% and Dongseo University has 22.2%. All three are innovative and rather specialised private institutions that have gained a new prestige.

It is noteworthy that all of the three universities were established by Koreans with Christian backgrounds. Christian values are strongly grounded in the mission statements of these universities which have been successful in both internationalisation and specialisation.[6]

New elite private universities

There are new flagship private universities that were established in the regions outside the Seoul metropolitan area, and have been recognised as successful in undertaking internationalisation strategies, with close links with industry and the corporate sector, and diversification and specialisation in either teaching or researching on selected areas.

For instance, POSTECH (Pohang University of Science and Technology) is a research-led private higher educational institution established in Pohang city in the Southeast region in 1987. As Korea's premier research-centred private university specialising in Natural Science and Advanced Technology) POSTECH has been ranked top in the national university league table since 1996 - within less than ten years after its establishment, and recently, 49th in the world university ranking (in terms of citation/faculty, according to The Times in 2005). The proportion of international academic staff is currently 9% and that of courses taught in English is 25% (undergraduate) and 35% (postgraduate). Its 2020 vision is to be within the world top twenty universities by the year 2020 (http://www.postech.ac.kr/vision2020/).

Another example is Handong Global University (HGU) which is an outstanding teaching-led private higher educational institution established in 1995. With special emphasis on Christian education for cultivation and global education, the mission statement of HGU is to become a world changing global Christian university. Nearly

[6] For details, visit the website of each university:
http://eng.pufs.ac.kr/about/overview.aspx;
http://www.hansei.ac.kr/Hansei_English_Website/uProgram_Divisions.html;
http://www.dongseo.ac.kr/main_eng.html?Menu_Code=14-01.

100% of the academic staff members have their PhDs from major international universities such as Harvard, MIT, UC Berkeley, and UCLA. Both English and Chinese are required subjects of study for two years, and there are many courses taught in English (http://www.handong.edu/n_english/sub_01-03.html). Among 138 full-time academic staff members, 25 are international professors who are native speakers of English (http://www.handong.edu/n_handong/about/status_01.html) It plans to recruit a total of 40 international academics within the next three years.

Old prestigious private four-year general universities

The international recruitment policy of foreign students and staff alike is also a high priority among the flagship four-year general universities in Korea, which show strong similarities in their internationalisation strategies. Among the universities leading the contemporary trends of internationalisation in Korea, there are traditional prestigious private universities – e.g. the Big 3 private universities: Yonsei, Korea, and Sung Kyung Kwan.

As the oldest university in Korea, Yonsei University (延世 大學校) was first established in 1885. With its student body comprising the top 1 percent of high school graduates in Korea, Yonsei University is proud of its long history as the leading institution of higher education in Korea, as well as its reputation as the most international university in Korea. Currently, there are approximately 3,500 foreign students from 69 different countries enrolled at Yonsei. As the leading private university, Yonsei's budget is estimated as approximately 10% of the combined budget of all private universities in Korea.

Yonsei University was the first institution of higher education in Korea to introduce English as a mandatory course in its undergraduate curriculum, to implement foreign exchange student programs, to establish a Graduate School of International Studies (GSIS), and to develop an International Division devoted exclusively to foreign undergraduate and graduate students.

Yonsei University's new Underwood International College (UIC) runs undergraduate education programmes entirely in English for first-class international students recruited from the Asian region and elsewhere. Yonsei's new 'Vision 2020' strategy is

summarised as "in-bound internationalisation", to create an international learning environment on campus where students naturally acquire intercultural competence while studying at Yonsei. UIC will make such a counter-balance of the out-bound internationalisation trend which is very common in Korea. Accordingly, it has been reported that more Korean higher school students studying abroad are returning to Korea to enrol in international undergraduate programmes available at major Korean universities – such as Yonsei Underwood International College (*Dong-A Ilbo*, 24 September 2005).

In terms of international academic staffing, Yonsei University Underwood International College has recruited world-class scholars, such as the winner of the 2002 Nobel Prize in Chemistry, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology professor Kurt Wuethrich, Stanford University professor David Brady, Cornell University professor Naoki Sakai, and the secretary-general of the OECD Donald Johnston (*Joongang Daily Newspaper*, 10 June 2006; *Dong-A Ilbo*, 24 September 2005).

However, Yonsei University has somewhat taken an extreme measure in international academic staffing policy for Underwood International College: that is, only foreign nationals can apply for the full-time faculty positions at Underwood International College, Yonsei University - as if those foreign passport holders would guarantee the international standard of UIC. Given the condition, no Korean nationals, however excellent he or she may be as international scholars, would be eligible to apply for any faculty position at Yonsei Underwood College, unless they had given up their Korean nationality. Overall, it looks like the international staffing policy at Yonsei Underwood College would support a counter-discrimination practice against Korean nationality in the name of 'internationalisation'.

For the ordinary faculty positions at Yonsei University, a foremost essential selection criterion now includes the number of international publication in the SCI/SSCI ranked journals. However, there is another irony here. For instance, since Educational Studies, regardless of subject areas, are all categorised as a field of Social Sciences at Yonsei for the purpose of academic staff recruitment and appraisal, those specialising in Arts and Humanities, e.g. Korean Philosophy of Education can be disadvantaged. However, such a conformist rule to use simple categorisation and metrics-based research assessment as the most important criterion to measure the level of

internationalisation and the academic excellency is quite common and widespread in Korea universities nowadays.[7]

With the University's 120th anniversary last year (2005) as an impetus, Yonsei had also proclaimed its "Global 5-5-10 Project", through which the University wishes to advance into the global top 10 in at least five research fields within 5 years. By investing intensively in medical science as well as life science and engineering fields, Yonsei University is determined to boost the number of SCI (Scientific Journal Citation Index) registrations from the current 132nd rank to be within the top 50 within five years (*Korea IT Times*, 1 April 2006). Yonsei University has also announced that it will open a new campus for residential college life by 2010 in the government's planned ubiquitous city, New Songdo which will be a free-enterprise zone where English will be the lingua franca (*The New York Times*, 5 October 2005*).*

Along with the internationalisation policy and practice, English is increasingly used as a medium of instruction in higher education in Korea - for example, over 30% of degree courses at Korea University are now conducted in English.

Korea University (高麗大學校) was founded as Bosung College in 1905; and re-named as Korea University in 1946 after Independence, and has developed as one of the best private universities in Korea. With the "Global KU project" (initiated by the President Euh, Yoon-dae in 2003), Korea University aims to become world's top 100 schools by 2010. Korea University ambitiously plans to conduct 60% of its courses cross all disciplines in English by 2010. All new faculty are required to lecture in English, and

[7] For instance, one of the essential criteria for academic staffing at Seoul National University is that candidates for a faculty position need to have two journal articles published in the past year to be considered for employment. For example, those who are publishing books rather than journal articles would be disadvantaged. Similarly, a candidate who might have made a major contribution to his/her field three years earlier might not be considered. This problem was also indicated by the international panel on Educational Excellence organized by the South Korean government in 2001. This was composed of invited prominent international university academic managers mostly from the USA and the UK: Under the new government's guidelines for academic staffing, scholars like "Daniel McFadden, a Nobel laureate in economics who had one article in print when he was granted tenure three years after arriving at Berkeley, would not be eligible to teach at SNU." (SNU, 2001: 22).

over 50 new faculty positions have been allocated for foreign faculty. All students are required to pass English proficiency exams in order to graduate. The total number of foreign students at KU also increased dramatically from 1,375 in 2002 to 3,432 in 2005.

More recently Korea University has signed a collaborative agreement with NUS and Fudan University to establish the "S3 University Alliance" (S3UA). S3 stands for Shanghai, Seoul and Singapore. The new alliance marks the beginning of a thriving partnership between the three leading Asian universities. Research and education programmes initiated under S3UA will be globally oriented, with a significant focus on Asia. The three universities will strategically develop joint-programmes focusing on Asian MBA at Korea University, bio science and technology at Fudan University and Asian financial markets at NUS. Expected to be launched within a year, these joint programmes aim to be the best in Asia within five years, and among the world's top five in 10 years. (http://newshub.nus.edu.sg/headlines/0605/s3_19may06.htm)
Sung Kyun Kwan, originally the old Confucian university established in 1398, reincorporated as a modern university in 1946. In the 2003 University League Table, SKK University became one of the 'Big 3' private HEIs in Korea. It also devised "Vision2010+" as strategic development plans aiming to enter the Asian top 10, and the world ranking top 100 by 2010.

As a part of internationalisation strategies, the SKK-GSB (Sung Kyun Kwan Graduate School of Business established in 2004) has recruited an American Dean, Professor Robert Klemkosky, and its curriculum has been patterned after the MIT Sloan School of Management and other top-ranked US MBA programmes to educate the Asian leaders for the 21st century global economy. The university research development strategies also have a special focus on Chinese studies and Legal studies.

Conglomerate sponsorship was essential in realising the Sung Kyun Kwan vision 2020: e.g. Samsung Digital School on campus provides specially designed elite education in the field of Nano technology for the 200 students recruited annually, all of whom are under full scholarships and given free accommodation. All courses are taught in English.

Overall, there are similarities in the vision of internationalisation and their strategies among these major private universities.

Conclusion

The development of Korean higher education has been led by private sector initiatives and by private finance, and the role of Government in higher education has been as a regulator, coordinator, assessor and chastiser simultaneously. Many of these private universities, those successful in internationalisation in particular, often have a Christian motif in their history and current mission statements. This is not just a coincidence. In the development of Korean private higher education, American influence has been strong, which can be traced in both the Christian values of the successful private institutions and the internationalisation of academic staffing in Korea.

On the policy level, Korea seems to follow, again, the Japanese path of internationalisation - with a specific target number of international students and staff to recruit.

In Japan such internationalisation strategies were included in the 1983 Nakasone Plan, which set the goal of increasing the number of international students in Japan from about 10,000 to 100,000 by the beginning of the 21st century (Tsuruda, 2003). Similarly, the Korean government announced in March 2005 new plans to increase the number of international students studying in South Korea from 17,000 to 50,000 over the next five years. The so-called 'Study Korea' project is designed to establish South Korea as an educational hub in Asia. (In 2006, about 85% of foreign students studying in Korea are from Asian countries). The Korean government is also planning to increase the number of scholarships for foreign students by 25 % next year, and to establish off-shore high schools and cultural centres in Vietnam, China, the Philippines, and other Asian countries. The government is also encouraging South Korean corporations to provide internships and guaranteed employment to foreign students after they graduate (OBHE, Breaking News Article: 16 September 2005: http://www.obhe.ac.uk/cgi-bin/news/article.pl?id=407&mode=month).

The Korean government also set a target to increase the number of foreign students and foreign academic staff to 17% in the public sector of higher education, and 30% in all higher education. It was announced that 103 new foreign academics would be paid up to 100,000 US dollars to start working in the thirteen national universities from

the autumn of 2002. The so-called "Brain Pool" scheme has been implemented as a new incentive to attract foreign academics to South Korea within new fields such as Information Technology and Bio-technology and basic sciences (Kang, H.S., 2002, May 20).

Thus it is clear that structural change is likely, given the government's new steps in internationalisation policy.

The strong desire for drastic change in internationalisation policy was also signified by the appointment of Professor Robert Laughlin, the American Nobel Prize laureate in Physics in 1998, to the presidency of State-run Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology (KAIST) in May 2004. KAIST became become the first state-funded university in Korea to be headed by a foreigner (Kim, 2005).

In East Asia, unlike Europe, there is no regional integration of higher education areas at the supranational governmental level, but many national governments and individual universities are eager to increase international academic exchange links and to recruit foreign academics, as a part of 'internationalisation' policy and practice. At one level, recruiting foreign academics is welcome as a positive change to diversify and internationalise the organisation of the national university culture as well as to increase the international competitiveness of knowledge production. At another level, it is often considered as a short-term way to meet a policy target.

However, for foreign academics, there is no legal protection for equality of job opportunity - unlike in the UK, USA, Australia, or Canada. There are more foreign academics employed at private than at national universities in Korea, but a large majority of them are part-time or on short-term contracts. They are, in general, excluded from academic management roles and the administrative business of the university.

Overall, it has been taken for granted in *both* Korea and Japan that foreign academic staff are not employed on the same legal terms as the local staff (although in Japan, revisions to the law now mean that foreign academic personnel can be appointed as regular faculty members at national universities).

In the UK, in contrast, foreign nationality is not automatically an issue in the academic recruitment process. The equal opportunities law requires information about ethnic origin of applicants (instead of nationality), along with the age, disability, and gender. In other words, ethnic background is considered a more important criterion than nationality for the surveillance of equal opportunity in academic staffing in UK universities. In France, on the other hand, the legal framework for employment is different from the UK. Officially ethnic background is not supposed to be documented in job applications. French university staff are all civil servants who are *de jure* required to possess French nationality; however, foreign scholars can *de facto* be employed by French universities.

In comparison, Korea, as illustrated earlier, is still emphasising numbers - e.g. the number of international publications and the number of foreign students and staff - as if internationalisation is achievable by quantitative growth. The major public and private universities are all undertaking similar internationalisation strategies, with a set target based on achieving world ranking by a certain time deadline. The discourse is about becoming a "world class", "global" university.

In other words, within this internationalisation policy discourse, "new institutionalism" (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; 1991; Levy, 2004) has become firmly grounded in the everyday practice of university life in Korea - ranging from mission statements and strategic planning for internationalisation to international academic recruitment, research & publication, teaching and academic appraisal. Overall, new institutionalism among these internationalising private universities in Korea and a search for a position in world university rankings has been strongly visible among the old private universities in Korea. Internationalisation policy and practice have been routinised: these are taken for granted as 'the way to do these things'. The current challenges ahead of the old major private universities in Korea would be whether they can try to opt out of this convention, the world competition game; and develop new and original international visions.

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