HIGHER EDUCATION RESEARCH in JAPAN

English Versions of Articles Originally Published in Daigaku Ronshu

RK

Research Institute for Higher Education Hiroshima University

Higher Education Research in Japan

English Versions of Articles Originally Published in Daigaku Ronshu

The Daigaku Ronshu Editorial Board

Akira Arimoto, Hiroshima University Keith J. Morgan, Hiroshima University Atsunori Yamanoi, Hiroshima University Yoshihito Yasuhara, Hiroshima University Tsukasa Daizen, Hiroshima University Fu-tao Huang, Hiroshima University Jun Oba, Hiroshima University

Editors

Editor-in-chief Akira Arimoto, Research Institute for Higher Education, Hiroshima University *Editor* Keith J. Morgan, Research Institute for Higher Education, Hiroshima University

Communications in relation to **Higher Education Research in Japan** should be addressed to The Research Institute for Higher Education, Hiroshima University 1-2-2, Kagamiyama, Higashi-Hiroshima, 739-8512, Japan

Higher Education Research in Japan is published annually by the Research Institute for Higher Education, Hiroshima University, as part of its programme as a Centre of Excellence in research. Its aim is to facilitate international access to significant contributions to research by publishing English language versions of articles originally published in **Daigaku Ronshu**. It is widely distributed to international centres of research in higher education.

December 2003

Higher Education Research in Japan English Versions of Articles Originally Published in Daigaku Ronshu

Volume 1, December 2003

Contents

Akira Arimoto ······ 1
Atsunori Yamanoi ······ 21
Takashi Hata ······ 43
Keith J. Morgan ······ 79
Fu-tao Huang ······101
Hirotaka Nanbu ······121
Naoyuki Ogata ······137

The Research Institute for Higher Education at Hiroshima University (RIHE) was established in May 1972 when the Ministry of Education (MEXT) authorized it as the first national institution of higher education research. Since then RIHE has expanded its commitment to relevant academic scholarship making a significant contribution to higher education research worldwide as well as nationwide. It celebrated its thirtieth anniversary in 2002.

In that memorable year, RIHE's programme for "Construction and Quality Assurance of the 21st Century Higher education System" was chosen as one of 113 projects in the five fields constituting the MEXT's 21st Century COE Program. RIHE was the only institution in the field of higher education research to be selected. In large part this was due to the tradition, climate and spirit derived from many colleagues and former staff of the institute over the three decades of its existence-from a time when higher education research was thought to be eccentric to today when it is recognised as indispensable. We sincerely and modestly accept the remarkable opportunity granted us, being fully conscious of standing "on the shoulders of giants". At the same time we consider it as a challenge, leading to new and uncharted frontiers.

The COE program extends for five years in the first instance, allowing us to develop the designated project. Specifically it will cover intensively topics of importance: institutionalization of faculty development and staff development and their quality assurance; quality assurance of research systems; arrangement of academic organization and its quality assurance; construction of data bases; and training of young researchers in higher education.

In addition we are able to extend our ability to communicate with people who are interested in higher education research in Japan by translating into English articles contributed to DAIGAKU RONSHU (Research in Higher Education), one of the long-established and main publications of RIHE. HIGHER EDUCATION RESEARCH IN JAPAN constitutes one of the most significant initiatives of the COE program, which, together with its sister international journal HIGHER EDUCATION FORUM, initiated in 2003, is intended to establish a meaningful and fruitful international research network.

As the leader of the COE program, it will be a source of particular pleasure if our publications contribute valuable information and expertise to many readers. I am grateful for the great support and cooperation already provided by readers worldwide in our aim to promote further the international knowledge system.

> December, 2003 Akira Arimoto Director and Professor COE Program Leader RIHE, Hiroshima University

Higher Education Research in Japan

Volume 1, December 2003

Higher Education Research in Japan English Versions of Articles Originally Published in Daigaku Ronshu

Volume 1, December 2003

Contents

The Role of Social Conditions in the Institutionalization of	
Faculty Development in Japan	Akira Arimoto ······ 1
A Study on the System of Fixed-Term Appointments for	
Faculty Members: Focusing on the Process from its	
Introduction to Legislation	Atsunori Yamanoi ······ 21
Formation of the Meiji Government in Relation to the	
Universities and Society: the Budget Controversy during	
the Early Stages of the National Assembly and the Issue	
Concerning the Independence of the Imperial University	Takashi Hata ······ 43
Economics of Education. Part 5.	
Equity, Earnings and Education of Women in Japan	Keith J. Morgan ······ 79
Structures of Undergradate Curriculums in Chinese Universities	
in the Latter Half of the 1990's: a Comparative Study between	
Japan and China	Fu-tao Huang ······101
Higher Education Examination System for Self-taught Learners	
in China: an Analysis of Programs Offered	Hirotaka Nanbu ······121
Professional Education Reconsidered: Conflict between	
Academic Knowledge and Practical Knowledge	Naoyuki Ogata ······137
5 5	, 0

The Role of Social Conditions in the Institutionalization of Faculty Development in Japan

Akira Arimoto^{*}

The Issue

Faculty development (FD) refers to enhancing the quality of the university professoriate. The United Kingdom and the United States were ahead of other countries in introducing this concept to universities, but on the whole, its institutionalization in Japan has lagged greatly. Recently however, universities are beginning to press ahead with the institutionalization of FD. The haste to do so seems to be based on a new realization both inside and outside academia that the role of the university professoriate is critical for the development of universities, as well as a rising awareness that enhancing the quality of the professoriate is a vital key to the development of learning, not to mention social development. Japan is no exception. A report presented by the University Council in 1988 recommended making FD programs mandatory, and FD has since become widely acknowledged as a part of policies for higher education.¹

If significant and effective FD is expected from inside and outside academia, the process of institutionalizing FD, its mechanism, and dynamics must first be examined. A study for monitoring its implementation is also indispensable. By studying FD as a social system, it should be possible to understand its social conditions, functions, and structural aspects. In other words, the institutionalization of FD cannot be realized without the maturity of certain social conditions and without full understanding of FD's social functions and roles by people inside and outside academia. Nor can it be expected to function effectively unless criteria for FD as a system are established and internalized at a conscious and behavioral level by the professoriate.

As long as FD is part of a sub-system within the entire university system, it is not only defined by the relationship between society and the university in a broad perspective, but it is also predicated on the relationship between the university system and the organization to which it belongs. In other words, social conditions for FD are influenced both by external factors in the form of demands from outside academia and internal factors comprising demands from within the university. The university is controlled by social conditions, but at the same time, it contributes to social development through its social functions. Simultaneously, it establishes criteria as a seat of learning in the social structure, and pursues research, education, and social services related to academic work. As a sub-system within the

^{*} Director and Professor, Research Institute for Higher Education, Hiroshima University

The article was originally published in "Daigaku Ronshu" (Japanese), No. 31, 2001.

university, FD is also subject to social conditions as part of the university system and organization; it is expected to serve a professional role concerning academic work and to contribute to the advancement of learning. Specifically, it is influenced by the various social systems that function in society, by expectations of the university accompanying restructuring and reorganization and, above all, by academic development based on advanced knowledge and academic discipline (see Chart 1).

Factors that affect the institutionalization of FD can be broadly classified into (i) internal factors (expectations from within the university, the logic of learning) and (ii) external factors (various social systems, government policies for higher education). Since the university is the "seat of learning," logically, the influence of (i) should have been primarily reflected in the institutionalization of FD at the very inception of the university. However, events do not necessarily progress according to theory. FD has begun to be fully institutionalized on an international level only in the latter half of the 20th century, and more specifically since the 1970's. In Japan, it began to occur only in the late 1990's. The delay in Japan is considered to be due to an under-developed state of culture, social climate, and nature that are necessary for fostering expectations of FD within the university system and bringing them to fruition. In this sense, the influence of (i) was insufficient to effect actual institutionalization, but the influence of (ii) clearly had a significant effect. Specifically, such social systems as the economy, politics, scientific technologies, religion, and regional communities had a direct impact on the university system. The influence of the economic system was especially large, and when its pressure reached a critical limit, the university had no choice but to initiate reforms. In coordination with the economy, it is noteworthy that politics also exerted a large influence on the university system, especially directly in the form of government policies for higher education.



Chart 1. Relationship between Society, University and Faculty Development

Social structure

Social structure

Akira Arimoto

Institutionalization of FD in Japan was expected to take shape from academic theories forming the basis of internal factors, but it was actually realized only after external factors such as social pressures and particularly higher education policies began to target the issue. With a focus on this background and the actual state of FD institutionalization, this paper attempts to probe the traditional climate and nature of universities and identify, to a certain extent, the problems and issues therein. Research on FD is regarded as part of the realm of the university professoriate, but in Japan, not only is institutionalization of FD under-developed, organizational research concerning institutionalization has yet to be pursued. Research on FD institutionalization must be approached from all angles, including social conditions, social functions, and social structures as mentioned above, but little research has hitherto been conducted from these angles.² In light of this situation, this paper examines and expands on the perspective of previous studies to present an in-depth analysis of FD in terms of the four social conditions that prompted its institutionalization: (i) factors affecting the institutionalization of FD; (ii) the influence of external factors, *i.e.*, the dynamics of social conditions; (iii) social changes; and (iv) policies for higher education.

Factors Affecting the Institutionalization of FD

When looking back on the history of institutionalization of FD in Japan, it is generally understood that voluntary and independent efforts within universities initiated the movement. While universities were hesitant in pursuing the matter, the pressures of social conditions increased and eventually triggered action by the universities. It is necessary to examine the course of events that led to such a result from the viewpoint of FD institutionalization. Dividing the contexts surrounding the university into internal and external contexts reveals the constant influence of both of them on the criteria, structure, and function of universities, and clarifies the expectations, demands and pressures for FD that are at work both inside and outside the university.

First of all, a study of social structures with a focus on the internal factors of FD institutionalization should reveal the structure of FD criteria, internalization of its awareness and acquisition of its role, and fulfillment of that role through actual reforms and practices. In doing so, it becomes apparent that the criteria and philosophy of FD, which serve to enhance the quality of the university professoriate, also expect scholars to improve and reform through self-study the most important activities of the university as the seat of learning. Thus, it is fundamental for the institutionalization of FD to be derived from within the university through the voluntary and independent efforts of university personnel themselves. If FD is essentially regarded as an activity that is stimulated by academic theories inside the university and promoted through proactive movements by university personnel, and if it is considered to encourage academic development from within the university, thereby contributing to social development, then it cannot be denied that until recently even scholars, who avidly research a great many things, neglected to study themselves and the organization of the university to which they belong. In fact, internal voluntary efforts are the most

important aspect of FD. As is evident from the history of universities, self-study is only a recent trend, and studies by university scholars of universities have only recently begun to be pursued. It would not be an overstatement to say that this situation bluntly indicates the delay of academic institutionalization of university studies as well as a delay in establishment of self-study facilities.³

The delay in establishing self-study facilities and the slow development of FD are closely related. However, it should be pointed out that in the past, the movement to adopt the concept of FD, which was first institutionalized in many foreign countries, had its starting point inside the university. It is impossible to ignore the fact that university researchers who institutionalized self-study facilities established the path for FD as part of self-study. Indeed, the FD concept was introduced relatively early, in the first half of the 1980's, through the pioneering research activities of certain scholars.⁴ Their slow but steady work provided a pacesetting and valuable practice, but unfortunately achieved only sporadic progress. It was not adopted in university policies, neither, used to motivate the entire system nor developed into a systematic and organizational stage, and was eventually abandoned altogether. At that time, the climate in universities strongly regarded self-study as taboo, and prevented the creation of a basis for institutionalizing concepts and ideas. Thus introduction of the concept failed to develop into larger movements involving systems and institutions. This situation remained unchanged until the beginning of the 1990's when the significance of self-study was finally advocated at the policy level. It was perhaps only in the latter half of the 1990's that, at long last, fullscale institutionalization was commenced.

Secondly, it is believed that changes in social conditions created the foundation for realizing the institutionalization of FD. In the 1980's, external factors, or the "external pressures" of social conditions, were not yet powerful enough to provoke any changes in the university. On the contrary, as Japan was in the midst of a bubble economy that lasted ten years, its universities eluded serious effects from external pressures. However, in conjunction with such situations as economic recessions, financial deficits, and structural reforms seen in the United Kingdom, the United States and other countries, social pressures gradually began to weigh heavily on Japanese universities as well and forced them to make reforms. Since university reform, educational reforms and FD are closely related to each other, they were not excluded from this movement. Rather, as external pressures grew stronger day by day, by the latter half of the 1990's they eventually brought about the introduction of FD at the systemic and institutional levels. It was also during this time that the economic rationalization advocated by the *ad hoc* Commission on Administrative Reform since the 1980's was reflected in higher education policies.

External pressures signify changes in the university environment, and can be apprehended in reference to the relationship with the social system as opposed to the university system. The social system is built entirely upon the interactions of sub-social systems such as the economy, politics, education, science and local communities. Therefore, from it we can observe how relationships of mutual competition and rivalry are created and frictions and tensions are constantly generated among

Akira Arimoto

these sub-social systems. While universities are related both directly and indirectly to the economy, politics, education, and science and technology, they are essentially involved as the seat of learning for education, research, and science and technology. They are especially closely connected to the education and science systems, and pursue ideals from the logic of education and research centering on academic theories and academic work. Therefore, it is inevitable that universities will be pressured by economic and political systems and be forced to demonstrate rationality and relevance in education and research in order to attain a standard of research appropriate to a science and technology-oriented nation (see Chart 1).

At a stage where the influences of economic and political factors are weak, pressures for education and research reform are also small. When mutual tensions and conflicts are maintained at a low level, the influence of any pressure tends to be overlooked both inside and outside the university. In fact, as long as the economy kept rising steadily and the higher education system was expanding rapidly, whatever tensions and conflicts that may have existed between the economy and education were insufficient to cause drastic reforms. Political pressures were similarly insufficient to bring about large-scale reforms, and an institutional balance between politics and education was maintained. However, once the entire social structure became a cause of serious concern due to the collapse of the bubble economy, economic depression, stagnant economic growth and financial debts, the education system - and above all the higher education system itself - as a sub-social system, could not escape major tensions, conflicts and frictions. Specifically, accompanying the end of steady growth, there were increases in pressures demanding institutional and organizational rationalization such as downsizing, restructuring and mergers. Combined with such pressures, policies for university reform were raised for discussion in the political sphere as well, and no longer was it sufficient just to formulate policies, but there came a point where decisive action for reform had to be taken. Such action in the political sphere in conjunction with the economic sphere, and especially at the administrative level, flowed into the practical realm of education and research activities in rapid succession. A number of stages can be identified. They included the establishment of the ad hoc Commission on Administrative Reform, ad hoc Education Council, and University Council in 1980 and their policy proposals, and the implementation of university reform policies through a 1991 Ordinance of the Ministry of Education formulated in response to a report of the University Council.

Thus a time span of about 10 to 15 years was required for the entire process—from the rise of academic awareness of FD, to conducting preliminary studies, receiving attention in academic society, maturity of social conditions centering on economic factors, strengthening of external pressures, formulation of policies, and transferring those policies to the practical field. Academic philosophies, logic, and theories were quick to urge reforms, but responses from within the university to realize those reforms were weak. Instead, the economy and politics eventually exerted their power and relentlessly worked to change the status quo. A structure in which the influence of such external factors as the economy and politics is greater than that of internal factors related to academic theories

can be assumed to be a structure where external pressures for the institutionalization of FD also have strong impact. In the economy, actions reflecting market principles gained momentum, and in politics, actions reflecting national and governmental university policies intensified. If, regardless of such social pressures that induce, precipitate, and promote university reforms, universities were to remain fixated on their traditional views, it is apparent that they would plunge into a state of anachronism. At this point, the position of advocating the concept of FD was replaced by movements for reconsidering imminent theories prompting immediate action to reform the functions and structure of university organization, or in other words, reviving internal pressures.

Thirdly, the institutionalization of FD entails competition and conflicts arising from interactions among internal and external pressures, and this must be borne in mind as an issue to be resolved. As explained above, a comparison of factors among interacting systems shows that economic and political factors have a stronger influence than academic factors, and in effect have exerted control over the institutionalization of FD. Although FD institutionalization was initially addressed in academic terms and pioneering efforts were made by scholars and academic societies, it remained a partial undertaking, and did not develop into a motivating force across the whole of the university system, its organizations, groups, or individuals. As opposed to this internal pressure, social pressures gradually increased their influence and exerted enough power externally to affect the university system, organization, groups, and individuals. It is the conjoint force of internal and external pressures together that has played an important role in establishing FD. For this reason, it is apparent that the actions to be taken by the professoriate hold special significance as a response to the conjunction of both internal and external powers. Put another way, within the relationship among the three parties consisting of the university, society, and the academic profession, the university vector and the social vector - incorporating economic and political factors - confront and compete with each other, and create a system where the quality and capacity of the academic profession is questioned.

Normally, it is natural for university scholars to be motivated by self-studies and internal pressures, but they tend to resist external pressures. Only when faced with imminent events such as university downsizing, restructuring, death or unemployment do they respond to the issue of reform. Given such characteristics, relying on the independence and autonomy of university faculty would be insufficient to realize institutionalization of FD and invigorate its activities. As such, a coercive scheme may need to be imposed through an ordinance making FD institutionalization mandatory. Actually, since 1991, a Ministry of Education ordinance has been calling for reforms, and has in effect been questioning the "self-examination and evaluation" best effort system, a self-study function of university scholars who are the central figures of FD. Prior to this ordinance, the few movements that evolved within the university as mentioned above were not sufficient to realize FD institutionalization. Therefore, there is no denying that the university began to take action only after bureaucratic coordination of policies and administration actually took effect.⁵

Akira Arimoto

The problem lies in the possibility that results borne not from internal pressures but from external ones are results where the original spirit of self-study is not fully exerted. Indeed, it is difficult to say that sufficient results were produced even after the implementation of FD policies. Even if selfexamination and evaluation appeared to show some progress, at a stage where autonomy and independence are encouraged by external pressures, a compromise can be seen between external pressures and independence. Therefore, it is assumed to be virtually impossible for independence and autonomy to function fully. The evaluation of the University Council, which supervized the reforms during this time, was not necessarily good either. Rather, it can be said that the Council used its criticisms as leverage to advocate the introduction of "third-party evaluation" and in effect defined the limits of internal efforts. Since evaluation and FD are closely related to each other, the fact that selfstudy was still considered weak most likely meant that the progress of FD was judged to be making little headway. In fact, a national survey conducted by the Association for University Education in 1999 revealed that FD was implemented in as few as 20% of universities nationwide.⁶ While this is an improved figure reflecting the impacts of the external pressure from direct government policies taken since 1991, it also straightforwardly confirms the readily recognizable fact that if such external pressure did not exist, activities for FD in Japan would be flagging and stagnating at an even lower level.

The Structure of External Factors—Dynamics of Social Conditions

As explained above, it is clear that recent nationwide FD movements have developed considerably during the past ten years. However, only some of the universities are engaged in such efforts, and even at these universities, the philosophy and objectives of FD do not necessarily permeate throughout the organization to allow faculty members to implement FD based on a full understanding of FD. Thus at present, the institutionalization of FD is clearly still at a mid-point. The key to future trends lies in the awareness and actions of the faculty, who are the primary promoters of FD, but as long as they follow the traditional course of events, no clear guarantees can be expected for swift improvements. Meanwhile, external factors are developing at a greater speed than expected and the fact they are pressing for reform in the present state of the university cannot be ignored. Social changes revolving around technological progress are advancing so quickly that the mindset and awareness of university scholars can hardly keep up. This has produced what can be termed a "cultural lag." Expectations, demands and pressure from the economic and political spheres are relentlessly projected onto the university, and are now being focused onto university administration almost forcibly. Moreover, these movements keep accelerating and are in effect widening the gap between awareness and actions of university scholars. Given this situation, unless universities and university scholars reconsider their attitude and ability to act only when external pressures reach an extreme, the functions originally expected of FD (i.e., transforming the university voluntarily, independently, and systematically from within) will only be made more difficult to realize. At the very least, a transformation of awareness and actions must occur so that universities and university scholars can fully respond to external pressures rather than merely submitting to them. Otherwise, they risk being crushed by external pressures. The demands of external pressure should therefore be thoroughly analyzed from this angle and a precise diagnosis given in order to press forward with specific reforms from within the university. In other words, it is clear that the mounting external pressures for FD, and specifically the social conditions promoting its institutionalization, must be sufficiently examined before studying the current state of FD.

First of all, since the government serves the role of spokesperson for the social conditions that constitute external pressures and exerts the power directly to regulate university reform, it is necessary to focus on the government's university policies and in particular on FD policies. As described above, the institutionalization of FD was directly influenced by governmental university policies, or more specifically, through bureaucratic coordination. Social conditions refer to pressures borne from social changes that work to promote FD, and are acknowledged mainly in the form of political and economic pressures. As a part of the former, government initiated the introduction of the current move to implement FD through revision of the Standards for the Establishment of Universities in 1991. However, at that time, an ordinance was simply issued making self-examination and evaluation semimandatory in relation to upgrading curriculums, and policies directly concerning FD were not explicitly presented. Nevertheless, introduction of the concept of "self-examination and evaluation" can certainly be translated as the introduction of self-study. Moreover, this is not entirely unrelated to the basic and fundamental activities of FD: it is an aspect implicitly related to FD and cannot be ignored. Indeed, politically speaking, FD institutionalization in Japan is considered to have begun at this point, and its major feature is seen as a mechanism of stimulating and encouraging spontaneous, voluntary, and independent self-study activities from within the university, a process that had lagged behind in the movements to institutionalize FD.

But as with a driving license, the "temporary permit" stage corresponds to the "grace period for payment" in economic terms, and is rather short. Then comes the "real license" or the "settlement" stage. That is to say, the recommendation by the University Council (1998) advocating third-party evaluation, was followed by full-scale activities for its development in 2000. It can be said that from this point on, a stronger influence was exerted heteronomously by external control and supervision of FD rather than by institutional autonomy. From this viewpoint, FD can at least be said to have apparently set aside intrinsic efforts and as a result shifted swiftly to extrinsic approaches. In the light of the observation that independent efforts slowly yet steadily progressed during the 10-year trial or experimental period, it should have been natural for political issues to focus on devising measures to further the trend. However instead, external evaluations were strengthened, and this switch of emphasis from self-evaluation to third-party evaluation indicated the extent of political development as a corollary to control and supervision. The fact that new measures for establishment of a separate evaluation mechanism were promoted instead of measures to further develop the activities of the Japan

Akira Arimoto

Universities' Accreditation Association which was regarded as an extension of self-examination and evaluation, confirms this corollary.⁷

Secondly, it is important to note that government policies are not established in isolation but are formulated in relation to a mechanism that allows social pressures to permeate the political process. In this case the inevitability of FD institutionalization is connected to the maturity of the relevant social conditions. In terms of the intricate relationship between theoretical studies, social reality and policies, at the stage where academic-level theories are proposed, the bigger the gap with social reality, the more premature it becomes for theories to be linked directly to policies. Policies tend to enter an implementation stage when theories mature to the extent that they can be substantiated by reality. It was well after UNESCO advocated lifelong learning that it was incorporated in the so-called "46 Report" of the Society and Education Commission, and much later that its specific implementation was raised for discussion. Studies in an education-oriented society have always been approached theoretically through educational sociology, and only later reflected in policies.⁸ The timing of introduction of policies for a fixed-term system of university faculty appointments was also affected by large differences with studies on the issue.⁹ In a similar way, FD theories too were carried out at a theoretical and conceptual level in the 1980's, but policies were finally transformed into practice only in the latter half of the 1990's. To begin with, as long as FD is intimately related to the original mission and activities of universities, it is naturally regarded as an extension of academic theory. Therefore, regardless of the activities of society and the administration or the lack of it, FD is originally something that should have been put into practice consistently since the creation of the university. Even so, in the 800 years of university history, the progress of FD has been extremely slow. Even within the history of universities in Japan, it was neglected for a long time. The reason why a necessity for its institutionalization is urgently being incorporated into the reports of the University Council and in policies in recent times is due to none other than social pressures from both the economic and political spheres that directly demand policy decisions, rather than from the vector of academic theories.

However, at the same time, demands for university reform have always been prevalent in various forms among social conditions. For example, during the "university dispute" of the late 1960's, a considerable amount of external pressure was placed on universities, demanding reform. Nevertheless at that time, such pressures were not focused on the FD issue; although educational reforms which constitute the very foundation of FD were questioned, the issue of FD was not even raised. This is partly because the foreign concept of FD was not introduced in Japan at that time, but more importantly, it is because social conditions were not yet ripe for FD.

Thirdly, it is believed that an order of priority or a hierarchy exists for social conditions that call for FD. Since the various social conditions for FD signify the many aspects of social changes, a wideranging analysis is naturally required. Social fluctuations at the macro level have a direct bearing on FD, and are represented by market principles and economic recessions. Factors revolving around these social changes that press for university reforms and above all require FD can be studied in various forms. For example, if social conditions are randomly enumerated, in an abstract sense, the following factors are brought to light: popularization of higher education, academic development, decrease of the 18-year old population, stagnation of economic growth, outlining of establishment standards, advancement of market principles, intensification of internationalization, pursuit of a learning-oriented society, abolition of the recruitment agreement, incorporation of independent administrative institutions, reexamination of educational departments, introduction of third-party evaluation institutions, increase in school advancement rates and full enrolment in 4-year universities (2008 issue), reform of higher education curriculum (2006 issue), and the IT revolution. Viewed according to the process, from social changes to the institutionalization of FD, these factors can be roughly classified into external pressures represented by social changes and policies and internal pressures from academic theories. In other words, there are two flows: one that flows from social changes to policies to FD, and another that flows from academic theories to FD. Taking into consideration the fact that the former flow had a larger impact on FD than the latter as seen above, three constituents of (i) social changes, (ii) policies, and (iii) academic theories can be identified and their characteristics analyzed.

The hierarchy in (i), social changes, had little direct impact on the institutionalization of FD in the 1990's in light of the fact that there was an increasing trend toward popularization of higher education from the 1960's. Yet it remained significant as long as educational reforms played a central role in FD. In the post-popularization stage, the collapse of the balance between quantitative and qualitative development became the major problem prompting FD. The decrease of the 18-year old population, full enrolment in 4-year universities, and the socialization of learning were intertwined with this More direct factors were the stagnation of economic growth, national and local problem. governmental deficit finance, and the advancement of market principles. These factors exposed the possibility of university downsizing, and were closely linked to the rationalization and quality enhancement of university faculty. Internationalization, with its strong ties to economic factors, also pressed for a review of the quality of traditional educational research by upholding global standards. The IT revolution, which has become the focus of much attention in recent years, is also a change that cannot be ignored. From a broad perspective, these economic factors account for the large emphasis placed on university reforms, and subsequently on FD. As opposed to this, in (ii), policies, FD promotion policies based on the University Council and other councils have the most direct impact on FD, and include such related policies as the outlining of establishment standards, introduction of thirdparty evaluation institutions, incorporation of independent administrative institutions, and reform of the higher education curriculum. Academic theories, (iii), refer to the internal factors described above. Among factors (i), (ii) and (iii), (i) and (ii) exert a larger influence on FD and carry more weight.

Social Changes

First of all, popularization of higher education is closely related to education reforms, and has an extremely powerful influence on FD in the narrow sense of the term,¹⁰ referring to the pursuit of teaching techniques and enhancement of the quality of the university professoriate. Particularly in Japanese society, the formation of an education-oriented society allowed high educational backgrounds to become dominant and the university to be integrated into a system of selecting and distributing human resources. Thus economic development became a "pull" factor and the trend for higher academic backgrounds became a "push" factor ushering in the popularization of higher education ahead of other countries. The "university dispute" which took place in the latter half of the 1960's caused such quantitative developments of the university to be at variance with an educational system of universities that aimed to foster an elite, and was proof of the tensions and conflicts that ensued. Yet at this time, it did not trigger quality enhancement of the professoriate. It did, however, reveal the delay of qualitative developments in response to quantitative developments, and served to predict that sooner or later the contradiction seen in the imbalance between quantity and quality would reach a limit. In fact, the contradiction reached the limit when quantitative expansion exceeded the 40% mark in terms of the advancement rate of students into universities and junior colleges and a "post-popularization" stage began. Furthermore, since the contradiction was maintained until the very limit, it had accumulated to the extent that the delay in making reforms caused a greater need for larger reforms. It can be said that the delay in educational reform in response to the needs of popularized and diversified students, combined with the delay in faculty's change of educational awareness, brought about a need for FD specifically oriented toward the development of educational quality and teaching techniques.

Popularization spread gradually but, despite the implicit contradiction, it did not become a direct impetus for FD. The reason for this is not entirely unrelated to the fact that the trend of the student population advancing to higher stages of education kept increasing and that the issues of university downsizing and restructuring were never raised for discussion. Conversely, it can be said that recognition of the decrease in the 18-year old population became a motivating force for policies and university actions. According to an estimate by the University Council, the 18-year old population will decrease by more than 800,000 from a peak of 2,050,000 down to 1,190,000 in approximately 20 years. This is clearly linked to a forecast that this phenomenon would cause a decrease in the number of students advancing to universities. The decrease in the absolute latent population of traditional students is an issue that cannot be removed from the issue of downsizing universities. This situation has been argued by scholars for more than ten years and was considered a natural course of events,¹¹ but it is only recently that the universities started to give it serious consideration. Today, however, junior colleges are finding it harder to secure enough students to fill their normal capacity, and this circumstance has finally given recognition to the grim reality of perhaps having to downsize. Not only junior colleges, but four-year universities are also beginning to experience extremely low enrolments,

and are turning toward AO examinations, scouting for entrance examinees, and open campus sessions as strategies for enrolling new students. Within this context, university organizations have been made aware of the close connection between reduction and FD, and are left with no other choice but to consider FD in earnest.

As long as the problem of quantity contains the issue of quantity and quality adjustments faced by the post-popularization stage, it is assumed that a new development will unfold regarding the problem of quality. Although the present stage is one that is filled with ambiguity and uncertainties, it is obvious that it is laden with the issues of an increasing advancement rate and full enrolment in fouryear universities, also called the "2008 issue." If social conditions keep evolving, it is inevitable that by failing to address FD, university management will no longer prove effective. In order to constrain the issues of restructuring, merging, downsizing or death that have already emerged, some advocate the necessity of raising the advancement rate to 60%. However, such a quantitative expansion will promote further popularization, and will only aggravate the issues of quality assurance and maintenance that are already beginning to intensify. In fact, the time will soon come for non-selective enrolment in universities following junior colleges. When this happens it will hasten the diversification and decline of students' academic abilities, so that in order to maintain a given academic level, a qualitative re-examination of education would become an unavoidable issue. Increasing the advancement rate to 60% will indeed bring the university down to "school" level and cause the transformation of universities into secondary education institutions. Burton Clark points out that the "transformation of higher education into secondary education" is an extremely serious problem today for universities in the United States, but the same is true for Japan. Judging from the present situation, it seems that diversification and deterioration of academic abilities is inevitable, and that university education and research have no other way to go but down a steady path toward exhaustion, decline, and desolation.¹²

Secondly, factors that are directly linked to the economy have emerged as direct causes of university reform. Since the stagnation of economic growth cannot be overlooked as the condition most directly-related to university reform, it should be positioned at the top of the hierarchy. The end of steady economic growth impacted Japanese society at the beginning of the 1990's along with the collapse of the economic bubble, and in due course affected universities as well. Continued economic rationalization measures that began at the time of the *ad hoc* Commission on Administrative Reform provided the background to current university reforms. Although government policies had a greater effect on university reform, it cannot be denied that stagnation of the economy spurred this rationalization trend even more. The downturn of economic growth and the accumulated national debt of 645 trillion yen were undoubtedly linked to the review, reduction, and rationalization of university budgets and management, and led to demands for reorganization and restructuring, starting with a reduction of 10 percent in personnel in the national universities. These factors also elicited demands for rationalization, including the integration and merging of universities, called vociferously for

Akira Arimoto

accountability, and scrutinized the relationship between investment and performance. Furthermore, in order to assess the organization and activities for performing a selective distribution of resources, it was more than likely that a tightening of evaluations would be demanded. The universities are essentially dependent on taxes paid by citizens and consumers so they cannot afford to ignore the voices of the sponsors of this so-called "economic logic." In fact, universities are at risk of losing their *raison d'etre*, so it is apparent that they must address the matter in earnest. At the same time, however, universities and their personnel must work to achieve a level of activity that is more than commensurate with the taxes being injected, as well as prove, present, and obtain approval for the fact that they are achieving results. Otherwise, universities will undoubtedly become even more subordinate to and influenced by the economy than they already are. Until they assert the legitimacy of academic theories against economic theories, external pressures will cause their downturn and eventually their "death." Economic movements latently harbor the momentum for evoking such awareness of crisis, which at present is seen to be increasing further.

The advancement of marketization and the introduction of market principles also rank high in the hierarchy with respect to their influence on universities. This signifies permeation of external economic pressures into university society and marks the beginning of a period of market coordination in which education is regarded in terms of the relationship between demand and supply. Under a market mechanism, education is integrated into the competitive world. In today's society, the market is controlled by stock movements, and huge amounts of money flow across borders. This is also a period in which marketization controls educational values per se. Thus the whole of the realm of education is also facing an onslaught of marketization, and the dynamics of commercializing, automating, and standardizing education, and effecting an economic definition of its qualitative standards. The realm of higher education is no exception. With the emergence of a globally borderless economy, competition at the international level will intensify, the market value of education will be determined by demand and supply, and consumers' purchasing power and product selection will dominate above all else. The assessment of whether productivity is increasing in direct proportion to the amount of resources and money invested will be implemented as a tool for measuring the capacity and potential of higher education. Therefore, there will be pressures at work demanding assessment, comparison, and results of throughput and output relative to the input. The increasing demand for accountability - which is originally an economic term - is closely connected to this phenomenon of marketization, and as it presses for university reform as an international movement, it is only natural for it to extend its influence to FD, the essential core of university reforms.

The progress of internationalization and further of globalization, is intimately related to these types of economic mechanisms. At the very least, since resources on earth are limited, an international zero sum game of resource acquisition is unfolding over those scarce resources. A small number of advanced countries hold an oligopoly of the world's resources and wealth, and are seeking to extend their possession. In the realm of higher education, which comprises valuable resources, as well as in a

knowledge-based society and a knowledge-oriented economic society, the value of knowledge is high in economic terms. Thus, it is only natural that competition for acquiring knowledge would evolve. The trend of 1.2 million students migrating towards the centers of learning throughout the world is proof of this fact. Because the hubs of such centers of learning are generally located in advanced countries, which possess a high share of resources on a global scale, the flow of foreign students mainly moves from developing countries toward advanced countries. This is what is known as the "brain drain" phenomenon. The brain drain and influx of researchers occur according to the same principle. The formation of centers of learning and the concentration of human resources in those learning centers demonstrate the mechanism of internationalization, but it is the reverse side of this mechanism that is activating an international race for creating universities of global standards through university reforms.¹³ To a certain degree, creation of COE's, development of university bases, and the strengthening and departmentalization of graduate schools are measures being implemented by each country and are expected to further intensify. International competition inevitably produces disparities among countries, institutions and organizations and causes them to expand. At the same time, the establishment of internationally viable universities causes an increased awareness of global standards all the more, and gives rise to the issue of pursuing quality assurance in research, education, and services of universities in specific terms. In other words, this means that universities based on academic work are engaged in a competition of academic productivity, and are required to raise their productivity regarding their functions and roles in research, education, and services.

Hierarchical differentiation is closely related to economic theories, and pressures placed on universities from this angle are increasing. As social surveys indicate, recent years are seeing a complete division of social structure into two categories.¹⁴ If this social division is assumed to have an influence on universities, then it is highly likely that it will cause universities to be divided as well. In Japan a dual structure of universities and vocational colleges was superficially eliminated by post-war reforms that converted them into a new university system, but policies of differentiating prioritized universities from other universities is certainly a reflection of the trends of social changes. It can be seen that the Matthew effect is at work in this situation.

Higher Education Policies

Policies during this time were characterized by marketization (deregulation), liberalization (deregulation), rationalization (regulation) and popularization (deregulation). Regulation and deregulation, two values which contradict each other, were simultaneously pursued. This indicates that while the pursuit of marketization, liberalization, and popularization appears to have relaxed strict government-initiated controls and management, rationalization is steadily being promoted, and government control is actually being strengthened in some aspects. At least as long as the policies include the dynamics of differentiating in both directions, the policies themselves are fraught with tensions and conflicts, and it is easy to see that their adjustment is a vital issue. Put the other way,

Akira Arimoto

today's higher education is not built upon a monolithic one-dimensional value, but the system itself is constantly experiencing tensions and struggles while confronting various conflicts of values, and is deeply involved in a search for controlling and integrating those tensions and struggles. Burton Clark pointed out that such values as social justice, competence, liberty, and loyalty are at conflict with each other in the modern higher education system.¹⁵ This concept can be used to explain the tendency of pursuing excellence on one hand and equality on the other, and demanding allegiance to the nation on one hand and freedom on the other. Marketization demands excellence, popularization demands equality, rationalization demands loyalty, and liberalization literally demands liberty.

As a policy that pursues efficiency and effectiveness of the system, rationalization eliminates as much as possible any wastefulness, redundancy and idleness in seeking to achieve the desired effect. It would include, for example, the reinforcement of protection policies for prioritized universities, the incorporation of national universities as independent administrative entities, the revision of teacher training universities and departments of education, and the introduction of a third-party evaluation institution. Liberalization, on the other hand, aims to relax control, allows wastefulness, redundancy, and idleness, and respects the independent and proactive choices of the parties concerned. In the case of universities, it would promote respect for values such as "freedom of learning" and "university autonomy." The implementation of this policy can be seen in such measures as the outlining of establishment standards, the introduction of market principles, the promotion of popularization measures, the pursuit of a learning society, and reform of higher education curriculums.

Excellence attaches importance to superiority and ability. Politically, it has traditionally held two aspects, represented by the English-style protectionist approach and the American-style competitive approach. In the case of Japan, the former was realized in the protection policies for the elite sector produced by the former imperial universities. In the post-war period the entire system is considered to have been designed with a protectionist approach, and the American-style competitive approach was implemented only with a limited scope. On the whole, the former imperial universities were granted protection and authority from the very beginning, but competition for similar protection and authority were required of other national and private universities. Following the ad hoc Education Council, recent policies strongly advocate liberalization, marketization, popularization, and the introduction of market principles into the higher education system. If this were to continue, then certainly it could be said that trends toward the American-style system are increasing, and that policies of free competition are being implemented throughout the system, as is indicated by the slogan hailing "universities with distinct character in a competitive environment" in the report of the University Council. However, although it may seem that the principle of competition applies to the entire system, in fact the protectionist model that has predominated since the pre-war period had been discreetly preserved. Rationalization policies aimed mainly at national universities -i.e., their incorporation into independent administrative institutions, re-examination of the departments of education, and the introduction of a third-party evaluation institution – are augmented by the political continuity of the

pre-war university hierarchical structure into the post-war era, and seem to be setting the tone for further strengthening in the 21st century.

Equality and fairness are values diametrically opposed to excellence. They were incorporated into higher education policies as important values, and were reflected in the post-war standardization policy. As such, as long as democratic principles are upheld, the necessity of implementing them through substantive measures remains high. In fact, this trend is apparent in such measures as the promotion of popularization policies, pursuit of a learning society, and reform of higher education curriculums. The university, which was previously open to only a handful of the pre-war elite, has developed into an institution that, combined with junior colleges, now enrolls over half the students in secondary schools. This is largely due to the realization of equal opportunity for education and is consistent with the recommendation proposed in a report by the University Council that promoting popularization to seek universal access will increase the advancement rate to 58%. It can be construed as an official acknowledgement of the need for an equalitarian approach in political issues. However, at the same time it may cause universities gradually to turn their backs on excellence, promote diversification, and run the risk of lowering students' scholastic abilities and morale.

It is clear that a system incorporating both excellence and equality will deepen its struggles by trying to balance the two. The more this is true, the more it will be questioned as to whether future policies should prioritize excellence, equality, or both. At the same time, issues concerning university standards and quality assurance will undoubtedly be questioned as well. Movements such as those described above are increasing demands on the university in the form of external pressures, and are expected to further strengthen in the future.

Conclusion

This paper has examined the issue of institutionalization of FD with a focus on social conditions, and has taken particular note of the fact that FD, which should, from theories inherent in universities, have naturally formed proactively and independently, actually faced many difficulties. It pointed out the need to re-examine the environment and character of universities that prevent them from objectifying self-study, and also reviewed the strengthening influence of external factors demanding such re-examinations. It is important that universities do not succumb to external pressures and act passively, but exert their original mission and capacity professionally. The following points are offered as general conclusions.

First, a thorough examination of social conditions that require FD indicates that universities no longer have the potential to develop freely and infinitely, but are in a position where they cannot ignore the severe crisis looming over them. The recommendations of the University Council and legislation by the government have been imposed under external pressures, and do not necessarily coincide with theories of the university. These are facts, but it is also true that they have a commonality with internal pressures that are produced from academic theories in that they originally

Akira Arimoto

both demand FD. Apprehending a current situation, which constitutes demands from both internal and external pressures, and making a choice are issues that are directly and indirectly related to the university professoriate's perceptions and awareness of its mission.

Second, the university professoriate must understand that institutionalization of FD in the narrow sense, referring exclusively only to education, is merely the first stage of FD. If in consideration of the original significance of academic theories universities are reluctant to act only under external pressures, they must cultivate the spirit of protecting those theories and at least counter external pressures by persuasively explaining, demonstrating, and obtaining an understanding of their standpoint. It is the role of the university professoriate to act as leader of these activities, which are the epitome of FD. Most important above all else is to focus specifically on education, which forms the very core of the concept in its broadest sense, and to develop criteria, values, technology, and quality related to educational reforms and education. This essentially means the pursuit of FD in the narrow sense of the term. With regard to the broad and fertile image envisioned by the concept of FD, it is clearly only the entrance to the first stage of FD, as seen by the progress of FD activities in the US. Third, social conditions involve diverse demands, and are considered to further demand institutionalization of FD from their various respective angles. Failure to respond to those demands will undoubtedly cause universities and the academic profession to lose their credibility. As described above, FD is still in its first stage, and vet the actual state of FD institutionalization in Japan is clearly inadequate, hovering at an extremely low level of only one-third of all universities. In the meantime, social conditions have become ever more serious, particularly in such aspects as the economy, politics, policies, bureaucratic coordination, and market adjustments, and it is predicted that these pressures will increase further in intensity. In the light of this understanding, it is apparent that the issues of the first stage cannot be neglected, and that the longer the efforts to address these issues are postponed, the more the values of the university professoriate as a profession will lose social trust, and cause its further downfall.

Finally, this paper has focused on social conditions related to the institutionalization of FD and provided tentative theories for it, but it has stopped short of delving into an analysis of social functions and structures. Also, among the many external and internal factors, it has examined the former but not the latter. Therefore, a study of FD from the perspective of internal factors deeply related to the essence of FD is an issue that must be addressed in the future.

References and Notes

- University Council, "Nijuisseiki no Daigakuzo to Kongo no Kaikaku Hosaku ni Tsuite Kyosoteki Kankyo no Naka de Kosei ga Kagayaku Daigaku" ("University Image and Future Reform Policies for the 21st Century – Universities with Distinct Character in a Competitive Environment") (Report), October 26, 1998. "It is important that each university clarify its intention of implementing, under the university establishment criteria, organizational studies and training (faculty development) regarding its respective philosophy and aims as well as teaching contents and methods, throughout the university or by departments and disciplines, with the aim of improving the teaching contents and methods of each faculty member." (p. 53).
- 2. "Shogaikoku no FD/SD ni Kansuru Hikaku Kenkyu ("Comparative Study of FD/SD in Foreign Countries"), Akira Arimoto ed., Kotokyoiku Kenkyu Sosho (Review in Higher Education 12), R.I.H.E., Hiroshima University, 1991. Akira Arimoto, "FD no Kozo to Kino ni Kansuru Senmonbunya no Shiten" ("A Study on the Structure and Function of Faculty Development from a Perspective of Academic Discipline"), Daigaku Ronshu (Research in Higher Education), Vol. 26, 1997. Akira Arimoto, "Gakumonteki Seisansei to FD no Kankei – Daigaku Kaikaku no Shiza" ("Academic Productivity and Faculty Development in the Academic Reforms Today"), Daigaku Ronshu (Research in Higher Education), Vol. 29, 1999.
- 3. In the case of Japan, facilities similar to the Research Institute for Higher Education, a specialized research institution for universities, were first established at Hiroshima University in 1972, followed by Tsukuba University in 1986. Others were established during the 1990's. Learned institutions related to the higher education system, such as the Daigaku Kyoiku Gakkai (formerly known as the Ippan Kyoiku Gakkai), Management and Administration Society, and the Japanese Association of Higher Education Research, were established fairly recently, in 1997. Cf. Akira Arimoto, "Recent Developments of Higher Education Research: Its Relationship to Policy and Practice, Pergamon, 2000, pp. 93–106. The institutionalization of self-review and evaluation was also effected in 1991 with a Ministry of Education ordinance. Considering the fact that FD is essentially linked closely to self-study, its institutionalization is not unrelated, but should rather coincide with this movement. In this sense, FD and self-study are two facets of the same phenomenon.
- 4. London University Education Research Center, Department of University Teaching Method Research (translated and edited by Kitamura, Umakoshi and Higashi), "Daigaku Kyojuho Nyumon" ("Introduction to University Teaching Methods"), Tamagawa University Publishing Department, 1982. Akira Arimoto, "Gaikoku no Daigaku Jugyo FD/SD no Doko to Jittai" ("Teaching in Foreign Universities Trends and Actual Conditions of FD/SD"), edited by T. Kataoka and K. Kitamura, in "Daigakujugyo no Kenkyu" ("Study on University Teaching"), Tamagawa University Press, 1989.
- Clark indicates the following forms of adjustment for the higher education system: political adjustment, bureaucratic coordination, market coordination, and professional coordination. See: Burton Clark, *The Higher Education System*, University of California Press, 1983. (Translated by Akira Arimoto), "Koto Kyoiku Shisutemu – Daigaku Soshiki no Hikaku Shakaigaku" ("The Higher Education System – Comparative Sociology of University Organization"), Toshindo, 1994.
- See: General Education Commitee for "Investigation of university general education," Science and Arts Faculty at Kurashiki University, Daigaku Kyoyo Kyoiku ni Kansuru Jittai Chosa Hokokusho" ("Report on the Investigation of Actual Conditions of University General Education"), June 1999.
- Especially in the case of national universities, depending on the merging of third-party evaluation and introduction of policies for the incorporation of independent administrative entities, an increased possibility of further extrinsic developments can be observed.
- Johji Kikuchi, "Educational Background, Hierarchy, and Professions," (in Japanese) Kyoiku Shakaigaku Kenkyu (The Journal of Educational Sociology), 1992, pp. 87–106.
- 9. Akira Arimoto, "Daigakujin no Shakaigaku" ("Sociology of Acacemics"), Gakumonsha, 1991.
- 10. Masakichi Kinukawa, "Daigaku Kyoiku no Honshitsu" ("Nature of University Education"), U League, 1995. Akira Arimoto, "Faculty Education and Faculty Development," Koto Kyoiku Journal (Journal of Higher

- 11. Kazuyuki Kitamura ed., "Daigaku Tota no Kenkyu" ("Research on Reducing Universities"), 1987.
- 12. Burton Clark, "Small Worlds, Different Worlds," DAEDALUS: Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Fall 1997. Clark states that "Mathematics instuructors may find themselves facing students whose achievements correspond to the sixth-grade level and hence need to complete some elementary schoolwork as well as their secondary education.If secondary schools graduate students whose achievement is below the twelfth grade level, as they commonly do, and if some colleges admit all or virtually all who approach their doors, then college faculties will engage in K-12 work. Remedial education is spread throughout American higher education, from leading universities to community colleges, but it is relatively light when selectivity is high and quite heavy when selection is low or even non existent." (pp. 33–34). In fact, recent years are seeing the emergence of F-rank universities that do not require entrance examinations. There is no doubt that the trend toward an increasing advancement rate and full enrolment will further

aggravate the adverse conditions of the education system, where declining scholastic abilities are already a serious problem. Referred to as the "2006 issue," the further deterioration of the current situation is unavoidable with the advancement of ever diversified students due to the new guidelines for higher education. As it is highly unlikely that university education can revert to its traditional form in the past, the time has come where improving the quality and techniques of teaching of faculty members can no longer be postponed.

- 13. Akira Arimoto ed., Gakumon Chushinchi no Kenkyu (Study on the Centers of Learning), Toshindo, 1994.
- 14. Among current structural theories, there is a view that "if the high level of openness is maintained, excluding the periods during and after the war, it is reasonable to conclude that the structure of disparities concerning mobility opportunities in Japanese society has fundamentally remained unchanged" (Junske Hara ed., "Nihon no Kaiso Shisutemu 1 Kindaika to Shakai Kaiso" ("Japan's System of Stratification 1: Modernization and Social Classes"), Tokyo University Press, 2000, p. 29). There is also a view that "the general trend is such that Japanese society gradually opened up from the late 1960's to the early 1980's, but has begun to close since the late 1980's" (Toshiki Sato, Fubyodo Shakai Nihon: Sayonara Sochuryu (Japan's Unequal Society: Goodbye to the Middle Class), Chuo Koron Shinsha, 2000, p. 76).
- 15. See note 5 above for Koto Kyoiku Shisutemu Daigaku Soshiki no Hikaku Shakaigaku (The Higher Education System: Comparative Sociology of University Organization).

A Study on the System of Fixed-Term Appointmentsterm for Faculty Members

-Focusing on the Process from its Introduction to Legislation-

Atsunori Yamanoi*

Introduction

This paper focuses on the academic appointment system in Japan, and expressly examines the introduction of a fixed-term system within the framework of recent university reforms. It describes the development of the fixed-term system up to its legislation using various data. On the basis of this background, the state of nationwide implementation of the fixed-term system will be analyzed in a subsequent report.

As is generally known, ever since the Standards for the Establishment of Universities were revised in 1991, Japan has moved into a period of unprecedented reforms in higher education. Representative reforms in university organization alone include the dismantling of the Faculties of General Education accompanying the abolition of teaching of general education in national universities, establishment and re-organization of new faculties, departments, and graduate schools, shifting of the main emphasis for graduate courses to graduate schools, and departmentalization.

Reforms in management and administrative aspects involve, for example, transition from a bottomup decision-making system centered on the professoriate to a top-down system revolving around the leadership of the president and deans, creation of universities open to the community based on the social logic of the relationship between universities and society, and a shift from a self-monitoring and evaluation system to a system of external assessment of universities.

Furthermore, with respect to the functional aspects, which form the "source of knowledge" in universities, some prevailing issues are revitalization aimed at sustaining quality and improvement of results gained through the teaching functions of the university, stimulation of research functions in universities in order to create "Centers of Excellence," promotion of interaction among those academics who study education and establishment of cooperative systems between industries and universities within the framework of universities' social service functions.

The personnel system plays a vital role in each of the above: teaching, research, social service, management and administrative functions of a university. For this reason, among others, a transition was to be made from the traditional seniority system coupled with a system of tenure to a merit system, and a fixed-term system was to be introduced in that process.

Professor, Research Institute for Higher Education, Hiroshima University

The article was originally published in "Daigaku Ronshu" (Japanese), No. 30, 2000.

In the wake of such reforms in the sphere of higher education in the 1990's, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) in September, 1999 essentially adopted a policy of incorporating national universities as independent institutions. This created a situation which required fundamental restructuring of management and administration, finance, personnel affairs, evaluation, and other aspects of governance of the national universities. As of September 1999, the framework for incorporating universities has yet to clarify what special provisions will be established within the general law for incorporation to give special consideration to the unique situation of universities as the sources of knowledge. However, judging from the decreasing population of 18-year olds, the principle of student as consumer and social logic, a trend towards market principles can be expected. Although there is no doubt that the basic problem of how to combine university philosophy with market principles stands in the way and has yet to be clarified, the current series of university reforms is apparently turning into what might be regarded as a third revolution comparable with those in the Meiji era and immediately after the Second World War.

Such events are destined to be influenced greatly by political judgment, but the power to determine how to restructure the basic mechanism of the universities lies in the abilities of university staff. Particularly from the standpoint of one who specializes in studying higher education, the author believes it is necessary to confirm, according to both domestic and international perspectives, what logic and framework will be used in restructuring Japan's universities beyond the 1990's and into the next century, and if possible, to propose specific policies for the immediate future.

One of the focal points of the reforms is the fixed-term appointment system. In this study, the author wishes to examine the proposals for such a scheme with reference to studies that have been pursued concerning the academic marketplace, career formation, and personnel affairs. To do so, the entire personnel system including the proposals for a fixed-term system need to be reviewed and reconsidered particularly in connection with the changed legal status of the of national universities. In this respect, reforms of the personnel system will become a vital issue, together with the administration and financial affairs of the national universities. This paper reviews the sequence of events preceding implementation of the fixed-term system of appointments by reference to the relevant documentation.

Developments Prior to the Revision of the Standards for the Establishment of Universities

As has often been pointed out, the academic marketplace in Japan is characterized by the following: (1) mobility of staff both in the academic marketplace and within the organization is very low; (2) research universities in particular have a strong tendency to recruit from *alma mater* graduates (inbreeding); (3) the colonization of neighboring institutions by appointment of graduates from designated research universities is advancing; (4) the academic marketplace in Japan is strongly male-oriented: especially by international standards the proportion of women is extremely low; (5) despite a

Atsunori Yamanoi

trend toward internationalization of higher education, the academic marketplace in Japan is not fully open to the international academic community, so few foreign faculty members are recruited; (6) a large gulf between universities and society is one cause for poor mobility of staff between universities and the wider community; (7) inter-departmental mobility of teachers within the same university is low (although in recent years the restructuring of Faculties of General Education has generated a temporary higher mobility).¹ These features of the academic marketplace in Japan are linked simultaneously to employment patterns of university teachers. The most conspicuous example of this is the adoption of a rewards system based on seniority while, at the same time, maintaining basic tenure. The features of the academic marketplace are thus closely linked to the features of the academic appointment system. They are furthermore triply related to university organization, particularly to an academic appointment system that was adopted from a pre-war German pattern. The distinct structure of chairs in Japan is that of a one-to-one vertical hierarchy formed by the professor and an associate professor (or lecturer).

As demonstrated by the results of the Carnegie International Survey on the Academic Profession, combination of these three elements has resulted in transfers of faculty members and mobility within institutions that are low by international standards. In fact, the average number of times a faculty member in Japan is transferred in his/her entire career is 0.78, one of the lowest of the 14 countries surveyed.²

Definite proposals for dealing with problems in the academic marketplace, the personnel system, and the employment system in Japan have been presented by the Central Education Council and researchers in universities from an early stage. Specifically, a report issued by the Central Education Council in 1963 stated, for the first time, that

"in order for universities to constantly secure personnel who are fully qualified in their fields of expertise, the establishment of a fixed-term system for faculty members must be considered."

In regard to research, a study conducted by Michiya Shimbori served as the forerunner. He pointed out the need to: (1) explore a system which would allow an individual to have not only one but several alma maters; (2) review the *koza* (chair) system and especially the one-to-one vertical hierarchy where only one associate professor or lecturer is assigned per professor; (3) re-examine the system of appointing young faculty members (lecturers) to a tenure-track rank; (4) take into account structural regeneration of faculty members and improvement of the cycle.³ These recommendations were made in 1965. Since then 30 years have passed, but the progress of personnel reform is slow. Item (1) presupposed the establishment of universities with a graduate school or universities with an emphasis on general liberal arts education for an academic elite, or some alternative structure that would encourage migration of students when they enter graduate school. Several universities with a graduate school and liberal arts universities were established, but they conformed to the pattern of traditional research universities; and while the concept of reform was debated, no reforms have been

realized to date. The small *koza* system (literally meaning "chair") of traditional research training universities, identified as item (2) has been replaced by a larger *koza* system corresponding to the departmental system of universities in the United States; however, in regard to appointment, tenure and promotion, the customary practices retain the characteristics of the small *koza* system. Item (3) refers to a fixed-term system, but it does not necessarily focus on staff at lecturer-level, and many issues remain for the future. With respect to item (4), a generational change in the ranks of professors within the *koza* system would produce a large gap between the new and old generations. However, a system for creating a mixed composition of professors of different generations has yet to be established.

Subsequently, higher education entered a transition period as it shifted from the elite stage to the massification stage, and was engulfed by the university disputes that occurred around 1970. After this period, self-research concerning universities was no longer considered taboo, and specific university reforms were proposed for the numerous university issues that had accumulated. However, higher education specialists unanimously agree that practically no fundamental reforms were actually made. Yet, this is not to say that amidst this situation, university faculties and administrators either lacked policies or were indifferent to the situation. In fact, specific proposals were presented by various councils including the Association of National Universities. For example, according to the "Basic Measures for the Comprehensive Expansion and Improvement of Future School Education", a report submitted by the Central Education Council on June 11, 1971, which came to be known as the 46 Report (the report was presented in the 46th year of the Showa era), the section dealing with "Improvement of Personnel Affairs and Benefits of Faculty Members" states the following.⁴

"Higher education institutions shall secure those people who agree with the objectives and spirit of the institutions, and to the organizational status of education or research. In order to prevent education and research activities from becoming stagnant due to the closed nature of personnel affairs, higher education institutions are also required to devise special schemes to handle personnel affairs, such as inviting the participation of outside experts to review and assess the performance of faculty members, setting a limitation to the term of appointment in the case where faculty members wish to continually occupy the same position, and employing only a restricted number of faculty members who are graduates of the same school.

At the same time, outstanding talents should be assimilated into higher education institutions, and drastic improvements must be made regarding the salary and benefits of the faculty so that they may widely interact with people outside academia. In this case, a salary structure that would encourage the academic efforts of faculty members is desirable."

This short excerpt from the report contains various proposals, such as assessment by external peer review, a fixed-term system, measures to halt inbreeding, recruitment of faculty from outside the

Atsunori Yamanoi

academic community, improvements in faculty benefits, and establishment of a salary system that encourages academic efforts. These proposals reflect the fruits of university research, and served as the starting point for ensuing recommendations and policies for university reform.

Since the "46 Report" was presented, various concerned organizations submitted their own requests concerning conditions for the improvement of faculty benefits to MEXT. In response to these submissions, MEXT established the "Advisory Committee for the Improvement of Faculty Benefits" under its authority. The Association of National Universities also created a standing committee on this issue. The "Report on Improved Benefits for National University Teachers (draft plan)" prepared by the Sixth Standing Committee (chairman: Shigeto Tsuru, president of Hitotsubashi University) of the Association of National Universities in April, 1973 addressed improvements of working conditions as its main theme. In its list of contents it identified the following topics.⁵

- (A) Basic policies for the improvement of working conditions
- (B) Specific reform proposals for the improvement of working conditions
- I. Proposals for the Improvement of Working Conditions
 - (1) The hierarchy of ranks and the adoption of a fixed-term system
 - (2) Modification of the salary scale and significant raising of salary standards
 - (3) Measures for improving working conditions in a fixed-term system
 - (4) Increase of fringe benefits and qualification changes
 - (5) Establishing a new salary scale for "research and teaching assistant staff" (tentative name)

II. Appointment of Professors Based on a Screening System

- (1) Objectives of the professorial screening system
- (2) Subjects for screening
- (3) Adopting an open search system for professors
- (4) The fixed-term system and screening timing
- (5) Screening committee
- (6) Administrative protests
- (7) Principles for the establishment of screening standards
- (8) Specifics of screening standards
- (9) Correlation among screening standards
- (10) Exceptional measures
- (11) Transitional measures for adopting this system
- (12) Streamlining the Association of National Universities for the management of this system

This reform plan assumes an improvement of working conditions by dramatically increasing the salary of national university teachers, but it is regarded as the first legitimate draft that mentions a fixed-term system for national university teachers in Japan. The basic outline of the proposed fixed-term system is as follows. (1) The names of ranks - professor, associate professor, lecturer, and

research associate - should be revised and replaced by professors and researchers. (2) The term of appointment for professors (formerly professors, associate professors, and lecturers) in national universities should be eight years; however, it would be possible for professors to be reappointed for a further eight years through a professorial review system; and subsequently their term of eight years might continue to be renewed by the professorial review system until they reach a retirement age determined by the regulatory authority of the university. (3) The term of appointment for researchers (formerly research associates) should be three to six years in the same department, though with no opportunities for reappointment thereafter. However, a one- to two-year grace period should be granted to enable such researchers to look for their next job. This fixed-term system requires improvements to be made in working conditions, for example, by devising measures for (1) a special salary increment to compensate for re-assignations, (2) an opportunity to take early retirement, (3) aggregating the number of years required to receive a pension and retirement benefits, (4) setting up a system for research leave (sabbatical year), (5) expanding the opportunities for mobility for researchers, (6) improving and developing fellowship programs, and (7) substantially increasing the provision of travel fees for research exchanges. Review of each eight years as the term of appointment was based on the average number of years it has taken for academic staff to be promoted to lecturer, associate professor, or professor. The professorial selection system should be delegated to the professoriate, which should serve as the regulatory authority in the university. The report advocates the public announcement of selection results, administrative appeals, and disclosure of the principles and criteria used for selection. Selection criteria should include those specifically addressing (1) research performance, (2) teaching performance, and (3) management performance. The professorial selection system also provides for exceptional measures and transitional measures until transfer to the new system is complete.

Compared to the currently proposed fixed-term system, the distinctive characteristic of the draft plan proposed by the Association of National Universities is application of an eight-year term uniformly to all national university teachers; members of faculty in public and private universities are not included. Unlike the situation 20 years ago, no options are available for promotion to other ranks (excluding research associates). Another large difference with the fixed-term system is the application of the general timeframe of eight years as the term of appointment to staff of all levels. Moreover, provision for fixed-term reappointment is guaranteed until the age of retirement. In the event, neither an internal university self-monitoring and evaluation system nor a system of external assessment was introduced in the 1970's. So, even if this draft plan had been realized, there must be doubts concerning the viability of a system where the professoriate is vested with the authority to determine the term of appointment. Yet, compared to the current fixed-term system, it addressed matters concerning the improvement of the special leave system, salary, pension, retirement pay, and other benefits, as well as evaluation criteria. These are all issues necessary for discussion concerning implementation of any fixed-term system. In fact while the draft plan proposed by the Association of

Atsunori Yamanoi

National Universities described above met with a variety of pros and cons, it was not implemented. Nevertheless, to a large extent it does provide a point of reference for discussions of subsequent proposals for personnel systems.

Notwithstanding the 46 Report and the efforts made by stakeholders in the Association of National Universities, however, no significant reform of faculty members' appointment, except for some minor improvements made to the working conditions, occurred during the period of the Tanaka Cabinet. It was more than ten years later in April, 1987, that the *Ad Hoc* Education Council formed during the Nakasone Cabinet published the "Third Recommendation Report on Educational Reforms^{*}". In the report, implementation of a fixed-term system was first mentioned as a new form of non-tenure system that could develop into a major element of educational reform. The report also identified the following points as related matters.⁶

"Faculty members and staff

Faculty members bear the central role in university education. Therefore, it is a vital issue for universities to secure distinguished staff who have both a deep passion for education and research and excellent abilities. At the same time, faculty members form the necessary workforce for delivering teaching and research, and for operating the university. Raising their potential and improving their organization are future issues that universities must be aware of.

- (1) To seek diverse human resources from the faculty, measures to give more flexibility to qualification conditions should be pursued. This would also expand appointment opportunities for members of the community and foreigners.
- (2) In order to eliminate the closed nature of appointments and to promote mobility, a fixed-term system must be made available to faculty members. In so doing, detailed arrangements including benefits and research requirements must also be examined.
- (3) Active policies should be formulated in regard to cultivating researchers and training successors.
- (4) Universities themselves must actively participate in evaluations of performance of faculty in teaching and research activities.
- (5) For the revitalization of teaching and research, it is necessary to reorganize the administrative structure and improve its functions. At the same time, systematic and specialized training should be offered to staff members so that they may further strengthen their potential."

"In universities in Japan, personnel systems are apt to be closed. The security of guaranteed employment leads to stagnation in personnel activities and causes poor mobility among universities as well as between universities and regional communities. It

^{*} Preceding this report, reference to a system of short-term appointments and to a contractual fixed-term system was included in an "Outline of discussions (IV) published in January, 1987.

is certainly important for faculty members to be able to dedicate themselves to their duties, seek to raise the level of their activities and expand their potential under stable conditions. However, it is also necessary to implement, at least in part, a fixed-term system and open the way to allow each university to decide whether or not to adopt it so that the vitality of universities can be constantly renewed. Realization of a contractual fixed-term system should also be considered. Especially for young faculty members at the research associate or lecturer level, this system should maintain their mobility and provide opportunities to as many people as possible. Furthermore, both a fixed-term system and contractual fixed-term system should be made available for associate professors and professors, and in implementing these systems, the necessary benefits and research requirements need to be examined."

As described in the above citation, two types of fixed-term systems were proposed: a limited implementation of a fixed-term system and a new type of system called a contractual fixed-term system. It clearly indicates that implementation of a fixed-term system should be not only for relatively young faculty members such as lecturers, but also for the ranks of associate professor and professor as well. Benefits, research requirements, and other particulars were to be determined when implementing these systems. The report of the *Ad Hoc* Education Council, in line with the composition of its membership, strongly reflected the intentions of the commercial community; inevitably it drew much attention with its controversial issues concerning the liberalization of school selection. The business world held the view that the concept of a contractual fixed-term system was contained in the report in order to enable private companies to recruit necessary manpower for their think-tanks from universities. In any case, it can be said that the framework for today's fixed-term system finally began to take specific shape at this time.

Developments after the Revision of the Standards for the Establishment of Universities

Against this background, revised official "Standards for the Establishment of Universities" were implemented in July, 1991. As proposed by the *Ad Hoc* Education Council, the University Council was defined and established by the "University Council Ordinance" (September, 1987). After the Standards for the Establishment of Universities were revised, discussions on the fixed-term system were first taken up by the University Council. The "Planned Improvement of Higher Education for Fiscal 1993 and thereafter" (May, 1991) provided for the implementation of a fixed-term system and incorporated it into the schedule of planned developments. It stated that

"In order to raise the mobility of faculty members, it is necessary to consider implementation of a fixed-term system or contractual fixed-term system, including a review of benefits, research requirements, and other particulars in relation to the systems."

The term "fixed-term system" officially appeared for the first time at this stage.⁷

Atsunori Yamanoi

After the "Standards for the Establishment of Universities" were revised, the University Council presented its report on the "Improvement of Faculty Employment" in June, 1994.⁸ the report recommends the following in regard to the need to revitalize faculty personnel affairs:

"Going forward, in order for our country to further develop and also contribute to the international community amidst complex and rapid changes in society, universities are expected more than ever to stimulate their teaching and research activities as institutions charged with the responsibility of cultivating talent and supporting academic research. They must secure superior staff as faculty members, as they are the ones who bear the central role of education and research in universities, and seek to improve the conditions of their personnel affairs so that they may fully exert the abilities expected of their respective roles. This will ultimately enable each university to offer diversity and uniqueness in teaching and research in line with its philosophy and objectives."

Regarding the personnel affairs of faculty members, it also mentions that

"each university shall, by its own autonomy, be responsible for appropriately administering its personnel affairs,"

and advises universities to use their own discretion in addressing personnel reforms independently. In defining the responsibilities clearly inherent in personnel rights, the recommendation report lists the following specific policies for improvement of faculty employment: (1) careful regard to diverse backgrounds and experiences with the objective of raising the mobility of faculty members and employing researchers recruited from outside the universities; (2) active utilization of an open search system; (3) establishment of standard criteria for appointments; (4) identifying explicit procedures for appointments; (5) raising the potential of faculty members; (6) employment of foreign teachers. In regard to the fixed-term system, it states explicitly:

"(7) It is important to raise the mobility of faculty members, particularly that of young staff who are just starting as members of the faculty. To this end, future implementation of a fixed-term system or contractual fixed-term system for faculty members must be considered, together with their benefits and research requirements."

It is noteworthy that the report (a) identifies a fixed-term system as one form of fixed-term system, (b) introduces the new concept of a contractual fixed-term system in addition to the fixed-term system, (c) emphasizes the mobility, especially of younger faculty members, that is entailed in implementation of a fixed-term system, and (d) examines the form of benefits and research requirements needed in relation to a fixed-term system. The most distinct characteristic of the fixed-term system at this stage lies in the emphasis placed on improving the mobility of faculty members through cooperation between industries and academia and by providing opportunity for staff to be recruited from professionals and others working in non-academic employment. This is indicated by the fact that implementation of a fixed-term system targets younger faculty members but it can also be deduced from the concept of the contractual fixed-term system. Moreover, in relation to the issues of appropriate benefits and research requirements, future consideration is guaranteed. In a separate clause, the report also identifies the problems of foreign teachers in public and private universities, and recommends that these matters be accommodated by legislative revision. Based on the above understanding, the University Council established a schedule of self-monitoring and evaluation of the course to be taken in reforming faculty employment, and recommended its proposals as measures that needed to be addressed immediately for revitalization of faculty personnel affairs.

Subsequently, in September, 1995, in response to a request from the University Council General Assembly, the Organizational Operation Subcommittee submitted a report entitled "Overview of Deliberations by the Organizational Operation Subcommittee: a Fixed-Term System of Faculty Members."⁹ The Subcommittee had held intensive discussions on the arrangements for a fixed-term system that remained an unsettled issue in the 1994 report. Legislation for a fixed-term System of Faculty Members in Relation to the Revitalization of Teaching and Research in Universities." However, this report draws heavily on important suggestions for specifically analyzing application of the concept of the fixed-term system provided in the Subcommittee's report.

Taking into account previous reports, the Subcommittee's report basically acknowledges the appropriateness of a fixed-term system that allows each university discretion with regard to implementation. From this standpoint, it specifies the need to ensure consistency with laws relevant to civil servants and labor-related laws that would be the major bottlenecks to implementation from the perspectives of those involved with the establishment of universities. It also advises on general matters concerning the relevant academic grades and institutions that need to be provided in statutory form or further examined. This shows that, already by 1995, discussions had been held regarding the sort of revisions needed to be made for legislative purposes for implementation of a fixed-term system. The report describes the specific form of the fixed-term system as follows. (1) Institutionally, targeted faculty members should include all ranks - including professors; but for professors in particular, it is left to the discretion of the university to decide whether or not to adopt the fixed-term system. Universities might also manage the system in a way that

"refrains from determining a fixed term but, based on evaluations, authorizes the continuation of office until the age of retirement is reached."

(2) On the other hand, in regard to the fixed-term system for research associates, it states that

"the duties of research associates are diverse, and therefore, in line with this circumstance, further examination is needed to judge whether or not it is possible to implement the system in limited areas only."

Although up to this point the general tone for implementing a fixed-term system for research associates assumed the targets to be all the younger faculty members, the report also cites the difficulty of accommodating research associates due to the complexity and diversity of their duties. (3) Furthermore, decisions on "reappointment or renewal," duration, and other component units of the

Atsunori Yamanoi

fixed-term system are to be entrusted to the authority of each university. (4) Finally, a system for inviting people from outside academia to take charge of designated courses or teaching and research projects on a fixed-term basis could constitute another form of fixed-term system, but this is would need to be considered independently by each university. In any case, prototypes of the three existing fixed-term systems for which there had been legislation (research organization type, research associate type, research project type) had been established by this time, and each university had to determine the length of appointment in consideration of situations that differed according to discipline and job description.

The report by the Organizational Operation Subcommittee also makes specific mention of implementation methods for the fixed-term system. It proposed that its implementation should be in a way that would prevent its operation from becoming arbitrary. For example, the treatment of departments and methods employed should not differ for each faculty member. From the perspective of revitalizing teaching and research, it is desirable for the system to be in principle implemented for units of a significant size, such as departments. In national and public universities, the Board of Trustees should be vested with the authority to make the final decision, and in private universities, it would be appropriate for the Board of Directors to make the final decision in consultation with the faculty. A cautious approach is required, especially in regard to the evaluation and review system within the fixed-term system. Relevant matters include reviews to grant or reject reappointment, review standards, and others measure that accompany the fixed-term system. For a renewal review, the report advises, at the discretion of the university, formation of a committee of on-campus faculty members, and use of external assessment for reference. Furthermore, each university is expected to take appropriate steps to determine the timing and method for renewal reviews, with an eye to the smooth re-assignment of those faculty members concerned.

The above citation illustrates how a basic structure for implementing the fixed-term system was identified through discussions of the Organizational Operation Subcommittee. During this time, discussions concerning the fixed-term system were not only addressed in the reports of the University Council, but also were debated within the broader arena that determines policies for scientific and academic study in Japan. For example, the Science and Technology Basic Plan (abridged) endorsed by the Cabinet in July, 1996 determined as follows.

"In order to promote the mobility of researchers who are indispensable to the realization of a flexible yet competitive research and development environment, a fixed-term system for researchers shall be implemented with due consideration to allow the system to function effectively in Japan's research community. In some national research institutes, a new fixed-term appointment system that would serve to gather qualified personnel or be used as the gateway to success in the career of young researchers should be introduced, and benefits and other conditions determined. With respect to faculty members, the conclusion of the discussion currently being conducted concerning a fixed-term system
must be promptly obtained, and necessary matters established. The private sector is also expected to examine the fixed-term system in relation to circumstances unique to the private sector."¹⁰

Clearly, the Science and Technology Basic Plan emphasizes not only the views of the universities, but also of the national research institutes and various bodies in the private sector, with respect to science and technology in Japan. Particularly in order to promote a fixed-term appointment system in the national research institutes, a tenure system with a fixed term of appointment is to be made available and implemented at the discretion of the institutes. This fixed-term system is to be applied mainly to young researchers, and should take into account their employment at a commercial corporation after leaving the institution. It should also ensure augmentation of research funds. Regarding faculty members, a fixed-term system and matters related to its legislation were presently being deliberated, but the report calls for a conclusion to be reached as early as possible, and urges the development of necessary matters based on that result.

A similar discussion is found in the "Report on the Training and Securing of Researchers for the 21st Century" (proposal) dated July, 1996.¹¹ It cites a fixed-term system as one of the basic concepts of policies for training and securing researchers, and states that

"The mobility of full-time researchers in universities and other higher education institutions should be secured, as well as implementation of a fixed-term system and measures to recruit excellent talent from outside academia."

Furthermore, as will be described in detail below, from the perspective of revitalizing research activities a report by the National Personnel Authority in August 1996, expressed its intention of conducting a detailed study of a fixed-term system as a new scheme of employment, including its salary levels and working styles.

In response to the trends seen in the report submitted to the University Council General Assembly, the Science and Technology Basic Plan, and various reports and recommendations proposed by academic councils and the National Personnel Authority, the University Council conducted hearings with concerned bodies and held extensive discussions. Eventually it drafted a "Final Report on the Fixed-termTerm System of Faculty Members" in October, 1996.

Views of University-Related Organizations

Following submission of the report "Overview of Deliberations" by the Subcommittee, the University Council consulted widely about the proposal for a fixed-term system for appointment of faculty staff. In September, 1995, views were sought from such concerned organizations as the Association of National Universities, the Japan Association of Private University Organizations, and the Japan University Accreditation Association. Each of these bodies replied in November, 1995. Given the subsequent sequence of events, it was fully possible for these replies to be reflected in the final report of the University Council, which was made in the following year. By examining the

principle issues addressed in the replies it becomes possible to identify the aspects that were seen to be significant and might have been incorporated in the final report; in addition points made by the National Personnel Authority will also be cited.

Views of the Association of National Universities Views of the Association of National Universities were offered for each item in the "Overview of Deliberations." The essential features are summarized below.¹²

Significance of Implementing the Fixed-Term System

- (1) Revitalization of Teaching and Research through Increasing the Mobility of Personnel
 - (a) Implementation of a fixed-term system would undoubtedly promote interaction among staff and revitalize teaching and research activities. However, applying a fixed-term system to professors responsible for education and research would produce more negative effects than positive ones. The purpose of academic freedom must not be undermined.
 - (b) Regarding the argument that performance evaluations within a fixed-term system would revitalize teaching and research, it should be noted that performance evaluations are not necessarily related directly to a fixed term system. Rather, the significance of selfreviews and third-party evaluations should be confirmed.
 - (c) The significance of the view that the implementation of the fixed-term system will facilitate restructuring of an organization cannot be fully denied, but it should not either be over-estimated.
- (2) Fostering of Young Educators and Researchers through Diverse Experiences

This argument is generally true, but depending on the discipline or the potential of the researcher, it may be necessary to allow complete dedication to one field only.

<u>Basic Direction</u> In the event the system is implemented, the Association agrees that the principle of leaving specific matters to the discretion of each university applies to its implementation. If basic matters concerning institutions and entities that will ultimately decide on the implementation of the system as well as determine which academic grades are to be subject to the fixed-term system are established by legislation, they should allow for a wide variety of forms and methods for implementing the system in universities.

Ideal Shape of the Fixed-Term System

- (1) Operating the Fixed-Term System
 - (a) Faculty Members Subject to a Fixed-Term System

The Association is not necessarily against the statutory application of a fixedterm system to all faculty members but, in terms of operation, it would be appropriate to exclude professors except in special cases. With respect to associate professors, its application should be limited in scope. For research associates, depending on their duties, it would be acceptable to apply a system. A fixed-term system is also pertinent for teaching and research support staff.

(b) Treatment of Renewal

The association approves of allowing universities to determine whether or not to use a reappointment system. Even if reappointments are not made available, measures for providing extensions in yearly increments should be strongly emphasized.

(c) Length of Term

The association agrees with allowing each university, in accordance with its unique situation, to determine the length of term.

- (2) Methods for Implementing the Fixed-Term System, etc.
 - (a) Organization and Methods of Implementing the Fixed-Term System

The decision should be left to the discretion of each university. It is preferable for the fixed-term system to be implemented by an identified unit, but the unit should be a department or the educational program depending on the university. In some circumstances, it might not be wise to implement the system uniformly. This could be especially true in the case of research associates.

- (b) Body Vested with the Authority to Decide on the Implementation In statutory terms, it is appropriate for the president to make the final decision based on consultations with the board of trustees.
- (3) System of Evaluation and Review in the Fixed-Term System
 - (a) Review for Renewal

Although external cooperation can be invoked for performance assessment, it is not appropriate to consult external agencies about the propriety of granting or not granting reappointments. Moreover, a decision concerning reappointment and the application of the fixed-term system to individual faculty members should be made through the professoriate, as should issues concerning recruitment.

(b) Review Criteria

The Association endorses the idea of reviewing the performance in both research and teaching. Considering how difficult it is to establish specific recruitment criteria, the same can be said of establishing precise criteria for review of reappointment.

(4) Measures Accompanying the Implementation of the Fixed-Term System

It is not appropriate to link the implementation of a fixed-term system to conditions for the development of teaching and research.

Summary

The current status of rejecting on principle implementation of a fixed-term system exemplifies extreme institutional rigidity. A need for the Organizational Operation Subcommittee of the University Council to consider implementation of a fixed-term system is therefore understandable. Yet, a fixed-term system is a means for revitalizing teaching and research, and future discussions should establish that it does not itself become the goal. Further, in relation to the fact that there are no examples of other countries uniformly applying a system of fixed tenure to all faculty members, the existence of limited tenure would pose a problem when recruiting personnel from other countries.

As can be understood from the above reply, the Association of National Universities took the stance of accepting the recommendations of the University Council concerning a fixed-term system. However, some negative views can be seen: (1) the Association is against applying the fixed-term system to professors; (2) it is necessary to show flexibility in considering the duties of research associates; (3) the fixed-term system should not be linked to the development of teaching and research; (4) the fixed-term system should revitalize teaching and research; and (5) establishment of review criteria for reappointments would prove to be difficult.

Views of the Japan Association of Private University Organizations The Japan Association of Private University Organizations generally approved the recommendations of the University Council, but it sought clarification concerning the following twelve points.¹³

- 1. The Association acknowledges and evaluates highly the significance of implementing a university fixed-term system as specified by the Council. However, a fixed-term system for faculty members is only one effective policy among various others measures for revitalizing teaching and research.
- 2. In other countries, the fixed-term systems exclude professors, but in Japan a system is being considered for all faculty members including professors. What are the reasons for this difference? In private universities, application of a fixed-term system to research associates is accepted, as it has previously been, and implementation of a fixed-term system is expected to function effectively.
- 3. Japan can hardly be said to have a flexible, cross-sectoral labor market as in Europe and America. The Council's views on this point, as well as what kind of conditions of employment are being considered, should be clarified.
- 4. There are some concerns about implementing a fixed-term system for faculty members only, in that the insecurity of their status may prevent universities from being able to recruit excellent personnel. How this point is dealt with is a vital issue.

- 5. Education requires continuity and latitude. For private universities, a fixed-term system may pose a problem to the success of distinctive private school education founded on the spirit of creative education.
- 6. Depending on the discipline, researchers may be engaged in their research topics over a long period of time. There are concerns that implementation of a fixed-term system for all faculty members may hinder such research activities.
- 7. In regard to the management of the university by fixed-term faculty members, whether or not they can assume responsibility for mid- to long-term policies is a problem. A careful approach is needed when examining measures to overcome this problem.
- 8. Implementing the fixed-term system for faculty members may cause them to become overly conscious of reviews so that they end up putting their immediate accomplishments before all other issues. Care must be taken that performance is not given too much priority, and the difficulties of teaching evaluations should be fully heeded.
- 9. Since Japan does not have a cross-sectoral labor market at present, it is questionable whether a faculty member who is not granted reappointment should alone be responsible for his own future course. This issue must be fully deliberated as a problem involving the entire system of tenure.
- 10. In cases where recruitment of faculty members is difficult due to the location and physical conditions of the university, implementation of a fixed-term system would make it more difficult to secure excellent faculty members.
- 11. Legislative developments and improvements of such conditions as salaries and retirement benefits under the fixed-term system are essential.
- 12. It is not desirable to combine a fixed-term system and teaching and research conditions into one package. Upgrading of teaching and research conditions should be promoted independently from implementation of a fixed-term system.

Views of the Japan University Accreditation Association The reply from the Japan University Accreditation Association can be summarized as follows.¹⁴

(1) Overall Opinion of the "Overview of Deliberations"

It goes without saying that active personnel interactions in university institutions in Japan are extremely important. However, under the present circumstances in Japan where the employment system is based on life-long employment, implementing a fixed-term system poses a risk of destabilizing faculty employment and producing stagnation of teaching and research.

(2) Specific Opinions on the "Overview of Deliberations" (problems related to the implementation of a fixed-term system for faculty members)

- (a) Considering the diffusion of the life-long employment system in Japan and the lack of a cross-sectoral labor market, implementation of a fixed-term system under these circumstances could destabilize the employment of university faculty and cause dissipation of qualified personnel, as well as fomenting inequalities among universities.
- (b) With the adoption of a fixed-term system, a large number of faculty members may turn to short-term researches that would yield immediate results. As a result, by international standards, it could threaten to lower Japan's research level.
- (c) Long-term efforts in education and research may come into conflict with a fixed-term system of faculty members.
- (d) As described at the end of the "Overview of Deliberations," fixed-term systems are not applied to professors in other countries. The Council needs to clarify anew the reason why professorships are included among the targets of a fixed-term system in Japan.
- (e) There is a problem in regarding a fixed-term system as a part of the "upgrading of teaching and research conditions in universities" and devising support measures for it notwithstanding the fact that the implementation of such a system for faculty members is but one alternative for revitalizing university education and research.
- (f) In order for a fixed-term system of faculty members to truly contribute to the interactions of academic staff and the revitalization of teaching and research, it is not enough for only a handful of universities to implement it on an individual basis. Rather, it must be uniformly implemented by a large majority of universities. At the same time, performance evaluations both for recruiting new personnel or during a faculty member's term of appointment under a fixed-term system should be conducted nationally and uniformly to maintain fairness. There were also opinions calling for its national, uniform, as well as objective implementation.
- (g) Since Japan does not have a legislative basis for realizing a fixed-term system, revisions must be made to civil servant laws and labor laws.
- (h) Attempts to revitalize university education and research require the active promotion by all means of interactions with other universities and research institutes. It is especially necessary to resolve the difficulties accompanying transfers from private universities to national or public universities and in order to promote the mobility of faculty members.
- (3) The "Overview of Deliberations" presented the basic direction of a fixed-term system for faculty members, but the problems listed above have yet to be clarified. Based on this understanding, it is desirable for further deliberations to be conducted on these issues with discretion and in specific terms.

Views of the National Personnel Authority The National Personnel Authority (NPA) is responsible for recommending terms and conditions for state-appointed researchers in the national research institutes but not for faculty members in the national universities. However, the NPA does recommend salary scales for staff in the national universities, so its response to the University Council is relevant to the issue of the economic conditions of university faculty.

The following discussion was presented as the views of the NPA on the establishment of the "Law Concerning the Employment of Regular Service Staff Engaged in Research Activities" in March, 1997 that was discussed during the process of legislating for a fixed-term system.¹⁵ In June 1997, a law for fixed term appointment of researchers was established. The views presented were made in response to a request by the Diet and Cabinet for the NPA's views on the establishment of the above law. The NPA subsequently held discussions in order to clarify its ideas concerning implementation of a fixed-term system for state-employed researchers that it prepared during the salary recommendations it made in August 1996. Its response, as described below, is based on the provisions of Article 23 of the National Public Service Law. In it, the NPA states that

"in consideration of measures concerning salary and flexibility of working hours of stateappointed researchers as well as the particularity of the research operations, it is necessary to implement a scheme that allows a fixed-term appointment of researchers in the two cases of 'invitation-type' appointments and 'young researcher fostering-type' appointments."

Specifically, the invitation-type fixed-term system disallows invitation of personnel through intradepartmental transfers, and prescribes only the appointment of outside researchers on a fixed-term basis. In this case, the term of appointment is to be 5 years or less, in principle, though permitted up to 7 years but only when especially necessary; and with a proviso that, up to 10 years is allowed for fixed-term project-type research. Furthermore, renewal of an appointment or reappointment may be granted within a limit not exceeding 5 years from the day of recruitment in the case where an individual's term of appointment is less than 5 years. In regard to the treatment of salary, a new remuneration scale composed of a simple ranking system is to be established as a different framework from the current remuneration scale. It also provides for exceptional monthly remuneration amounts specifically when inviting distinguished researchers with recognizably outstanding records of performance within a range up to the maximum amount for relevant staff under the Law Concerning Salaries of Personnel in National Public Service. Official responsibilities and normal performance are basically to be evaluated by the level of remuneration, and the constitution of various fringe benefits is to be as simple as possible. However, it allows a lump-sum payment to be made but only to those who have achieved especially significant accomplishments. In parallel, the fostering-type fixed-term system for young researchers, serves to meet the needs of those who are acknowledged as being capable of conducting research independently and who demonstrate high potential so that they may be

engaged in research activities that contribute to the cultivation of skills that are needed in order to become promising researchers who will play a leading role in their respective research fields. This type is essentially predicated on the current fixed-term system for research associates. However, it differs from the current fixed-term system for research associates in the point that the term of appointment is 3 years as a rule, but extended up to 5 years but only when it becomes absolutely necessary. The treatment of economic conditions of salaries and other such matters is given the same consideration as in the invitation-type fixed-term system.

As indicated above, the law for the fixed-term system was enacted in June 1997. The number of fixed-term researchers recruited in ministries and agencies by the end of fiscal 1997 was 7 for the invitation-type system, and 16 for the fostering-type system. In addition, only one case was approved for invitation-type employment for fiscal 1998, and 53 cases scheduled for employment in the fostering-type system for young scholars.

Final Report of the University Council

On October 29, 1996, the final report on the "Fixed-termTerm System for Faculty Members" was drafted after consideration of the views of higher education organizations on the "Overview of Deliberations by the Organizational Operation Subcommittee: the Fixed-termTerm System of Faculty Members" submitted by the Organizational Operation Subcommittee of the University Council.¹⁶ It essentially recommends a fixed-term system as the preferable form of tenure for faculty members, and proposes the following. (1) The fixed-term system can be applied to all faculty members from professors to research associates, by a process to be decided individually by each university. (2) The unit for implementation is to be left to the discretion of each university. (3) For national and public universities, the president shall make the final decision concerning implementation upon conferring with the board of trustees; for private universities, the board of directors shall ultimately make the decision in full consideration of the views of the president and other educators. (4) The term of appointment shall be determined by each university. (5) The treatment of reappointments shall be left to the decision of each university; both decisions to include or exclude a system for reappointments are acceptable. (6) For performance evaluations of faculty members, fundamentally, each university shall devise its own inventive approach to establish a system with due consideration for both teaching and research. (7) Other relevant policies should be pursued. As this basic structure shows, the specific views of university-related organizations were hardly incorporated into the final outcome.

At this stage, the focus is on the fact that discussions were held by the University Council and other organizations on a fixed-term system and steps for its legislation. However, problems with this lie first in the provisions for the length of terms and the concept of reappointment itself that would be questioned after a term has been completed, regardless of the form of tenure. In light of the concept of reappointments mentioned in the "Overview of Deliberations," the final report defines reappointment

as a new appointment, and clearly states that an appointment ends at the end of the appointed term. A second problem pertains to research requirements and the pledge concerning research requirements and economic conditions for faculty members who are appointed on a fixed-term basis and their posts. A third involves the appeal procedure for those who are considered for reappointment. These are matters that universities will have to address when the fixed-term system is implemented.

Be this as it may, this paper provides a chronological account of the developments of various recommendation reports concerning the course of events preceding implementation of the fixed-term system for faculty members in Japan.

References

- Yamanoi Atsunori, "Research on the Public Solicitation System as a System of University Personnel Affairs: A Study of Recruitment by Public Solicitation in Teacher Training Universities and Departments," Hiroshima University RIHE, *Daigaku Ronshu* (Research in Higher Education), Fiscal 1998, Book 29, p. 26.
- Yamanoi Atsunori, "Mobility and Authority," Arimoto Akira and Ehara Takeichi eds., Daigaku Kyojushoku no Kokusai Hikaku (International Comparison of University Professorship), Tamagawa University Press, 1996, p.191.
- Shimbori Michiya, Nihon no Daigaku Kyoju Shijou: Gakubatsu no Kenkyu (The Academic Marketplace in Japan: A Study of Academic Clique), Toyokan Publishing Company, 1965, p. 255.
- Central Education Council, "Basic Measures for the Comprehensive Expansion and Improvement of Future School Education," (Recommendation Report), June 11, 1971.
- Association of National Universities Sixth Standing Committee, "Report on Improved Benefits or National University Teachers (draft plan)" (chairman: Tsuru Shigeto, president of Hitotsubashi University), April 14, 1973.
- 6. Ad Hoc Education Council, "Third Recommendation Report on Educational Reforms," April 1, 1986.
- University Council Report, "Planned Improvement of Higher Education for fiscal 1993 and Thereafter," May 17, 1991.
- 8. University Council Report, "Improvement of Faculty Employment," June 28, 1994.
- University Council Organizational Operation Subcommittee, "Overview of Deliberations by the Organizational Operation Subcommittee: the Fixed-termTerm System of Faculty Members," September 18, 1995 (Report submitted to the General Assembly).
- 10. The Science and Technology Basic Plan (excerpt) adopted by the Cabinet on July 2, 1996.
- 11. Academic Council, "Report on the Training and Securing of Researchers for the 21st Century."
- 12. Based on the reply of the Association of National Universities (November 24, 1995).
- 13. Based on the reply of the Japan Association of Private University Organizations (November 6, 1995).
- 14. Based on the reply of the Japan University Accreditation Association (November 22, 1995).
- 15. The views of the National Personnel Authority were presented on the establishment of the "Law Concerning the Employment of Regular Service Staff Engaged in Research Activities" dated March 6, 1997.

December 2003

41

16. University Council, "The Fixed-termTerm System of Faculty Members," October 29, 1996.

(This report comprises a part of the research results of "Basic Research on the Revitalization of Personnel Affairs Accompanying the Fixed-termTerm System of Faculty Members" (basic research (2)) conducted through the Fiscal 1999 MEXT Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research.)

Formation of the Meiji Government in Relation to the Universities and Society

- the Budget Controversy during the Early Stages of the National Assembly and the Issue Concerning the Independence of the Imperial University-

Takashi Hata^{*}

Introduction

In the early stages of the national assembly of the Imperial Diet, the policies of the opposition parties were to pass judgment on the Imperial University and call for the abolishment of higher middle schools (*koto chugakko*) and other governmental schools. They took advantage of budget debates to put pressure on the government to improve the management of the Imperial University and higher middle schools. Initially, their argument was considered almost meaningless and it was "difficult to grasp their views of universities" (Terasaki 1979, p.241). However, the opposition parties not only presented a means to curtail expenses, but they also questioned the higher education policies of the Meiji government, and pressed for the development of private schools, the linking of ordinary middle schools with the Imperial University, the financial independence of the Imperial University, and the establishment of another Imperial University in Kyoto. Despite the fact that the national assembly had limited authority at this time, the holdovers from the movement for a democratic era, who occupied the majority of the early national assembly demanded reforms in the higher education system promoted by the Meiji government. It is what they proposed as alternatives that holds great significance.¹

The first objective of this paper is to analyze the basis that formed the opposition parties' policies for higher education, and especially the status of their argument for the independence of the Imperial University. The second objective is to examine the disposition of the surplus fund, and to search for possible explanations why the university did not achieve financial independence. The budget disputes of the first national assembly produced a total surplus of 10 million yen; its disposition became a new point of controversy, as well as a factor that prompted the parties and the government to come closer to each other. It is especially noteworthy that the government was considering an endowment for the Imperial University as one of the uses of the budget surplus. The establishment of a special account under the Law relating to the special finance for governmental schools and the library was not an imaginary notion, but rather had a basis strong enough to be considered by the government. The third objective is to examine the changes in the higher education policies of the opposition parties in

Professor, Research Institute for Higher Education, Hiroshima University

The article was originally published in "Daigaku Ronshu" (Japanese), No. 27, 1998.

relation to the shift in adversarial relationships in the early national assembly, with a focus on the changes to their demands for independence of the Imperial University.

Part 1 Higher Education around the time the Imperial Diet was established

Section 1 Higher Education Policies in 1890 (Meiji 23)

1. When referring to this era, higher education policies that existed before the establishment of the Imperial Diet must first be examined. After the Meiji Restoration, the higher education system and institutions that took shape under the protection and support of the clan oligarchy (*hanbatsu*) government merged with higher education institutions established by ministries in the new government, and gave rise to the leviathan Imperial University (Nakayama 1978). Higher middle schools were then established in regional areas in connection with the university, making the Imperial University an established system at that time (Nakano 1995). Meanwhile, the diverse private education institutions. "Doshisha Daigakko Setsuritsu Shushi" (Declaration of Doshisha University) (April 1883, Doshisha 1979, p.231) and "Keio Gijuku Shihonkin Boshuu no Shushi" (Solicitation of Capital for Keio University) and its establishment of university departments (*daigakubu*) (January, 1889, Keio University 1960, p.51) indicated the hopes and realities of "a university created by the hands of the people" (*Kokumin no Tomo*, April 6, 1888 issue).

However, not all private higher education institutions were based on the ethos of rivalling governmental universities. Nagai Michio classified private institutions of those times into three categories—a "liberalist group" of schools such as Keio University, Tokyo Senmon Gakko, and Doshisha University that rivalled governmental schools; a "traditionalist group" represented by the Jingu-Kogakkan School; and an "adaptive group" that included Senshu College—and refers to the adaptive group majority as schools having "raison d'etre simply by being more nationalistic than governmental schools" (Nagai 1969, p.131). In the early national assembly, these private schools were believed to have channelled their rivalry against the Imperial University into an aspiration to join the Imperial University system rather than a demand for the legal acknowledgement of private universities.

On the other hand, as can be seen in the essay by Kato Hiroyuki (the first president of Tokyo University), "Why Should Higher Education Be Abandoned to the Hands of the People?" (*Tensoku*, 1-10, December 1889), there was strong approval for governmental monopolization of universities and denial of private universities on the side of policymakers. Professors of the Imperial University aimed to achieve independence of the university from political parties and the Imperial Diet and drafted the "Teikoku Daigaku Soshiki Shian" (Professorial Plan for Imperial University Organization) and "Daigaku Dokuritsuan Shikou" (Professorial Plan for University Independence) around April and May, 1889. The Ministry of Finance embraced this movement and enacted the law relating to the Special Financing for Governmental Schools and Library (March 1890). In effect, this established the legal

Takashi Hata

grounds for enabling the Imperial University to achieve independence through the accumulation of endowments (Hata 1996). Newspapers, which had advocated the independence of the Imperial University since the previous year, proclaimed "the establishment of a firm foundation shall greatly benefit governmental schools" (March 30, "Benefits of the Special Accounts Regulations for Governmental Schools", *Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun*). They also stated: "This is the beginning of independence. I heartily approve of it, especially the independence of the Imperial University"; and added "the speed of achieving independence depends solely on the will and efforts of university graduates" (April 10, "The Beginning of an Independent Imperial University," *Choya Shimbun*).

Yet, although a special account was established, there was no source of funds. The *Choya Shimbun* reported "Since the date of the university's independence is indefinite, university graduates have plans to contribute a certain amount of money each year to the fund upon due consultations" (April 9, "Funds for the Imperial University"), but this was merely an article that expressed hopes for the "Imperial University maintenance policy" (*Gakushikai Geppo*, 24, February 20, 1890 edition), a proposal presented by Kasahara Washitaro.

2. In 1890, immediately before the opening of the national assembly, the Ministry of Education had been preparing comprehensive reforms in legal format, such as the Five School Order Plan, which included legislation for private universities (Inoue 1969, Sato 1971). The "226 Gakkorei Shiritsu-Gakkoreian" (Draft Imperial Ordinance relating to Private Schools) in Makino Nobuaki Bunsho (Documents of Makino Nobuaki) (Modern Japanese Political History Materials Room, National Diet Library) contained various school system reform plans believed to have been drafted in the period between November 1890 to February 1894.² The contents of these draft school orders were more drastic than ever. For example, the "Confidential: Imperial Ordinance: School Order" prescribed a school philosophy that went beyond styles of establishment: "Article 1. Generally, schools are places that have special buildings where education is provided or academics are taught". It also comprehensively defined governmental, public, and private schools: "Article 2. Depending on the founder of a school, schools should be classified into the three categories of governmental, public, or private schools.....". Basically, they were plans for completely modifying the school orders of 1886. The clauses of the "Shiritsu Gakko Kantoku Joki" (Private School Supervision Regulations) were similar to the composition of clauses in the Imperial Ordinance Relating to Private Schools of 1899. In it, Article 7 provided that "those persons who wish to establish a private university must have qualified teachers for the courses it intends to establish, as well as school facilities, and must receive authorization from the Minister of Education" This clearly indicates that at the time of the early national assembly, the issue of legal acknowledgment of private schools existed within the Ministry of Education.

No newspaper articles have been found to date on the draft law mentioned in the *Makino Bunsho*. The legislation task seemed to have been carried out in complete secrecy, but matters concerning the Five Drafts for School Order were accurately leaked to the newspapers. Such articles implied that the government would continue its monopoly of universities: "All universities shall be established and maintained by the government" (Daigakurei-an, Draft University Order, Article 3). At the same time, by legally acknowledging private schools simply as special schools: "Special schools are... private schools if they are established by private individuals" (Semmongakkorei-an, Draft Special School Order, Article 3) and treating advanced special schools as quasi-universities: "Special schools that offer education comparable to that of university departments shall be called higher special schools" (*ibid*, Article 4: Draft University Order, Articles 30 and 39), even a hierarchical higher education structure was created for the legislation of private higher education institutions. The existence of the draft law began appearing in newspapers from the beginning of June ("School Laws, and the University Law in Particular," *Choya Shimbun*, June 3). Rejective attitudes toward private universities were mocked, as seen in the following article published in the *Kokumin Shimbun*.

"The Imperial University is not the only institution that provides higher education, and the Japanese people are not obligated to study at the Imperial University, but have the right to study at other schools.... Thus, what reason is there for not allowing schools other than the Imperial University to be called universities? Mr. Yoshikawa, do give serious thought to this issue, and don't add another episode to Japan's jokes." (June 28, "Universities, Only Sold Here").

The Five Drafts for School Order were also plans for expanding higher education by making specialized departments of higher middle schools independent and converting them to specialized schools: "The faculty of law in the Third Higher Middle School and the faculty of medicine in the First through Fifth Higher Middle Schools shall be national special schools, and the national medical specialized school shall have a pharmaceutical department" (Draft Special School Order, Article 6); and increasing the number of universities: "Besides the Imperial University, another university shall be established within five years from the date of enforcement of this law" (Draft University Order, Article 21) and special schools: "A national special school each for agriculture, commercial, industrial and technical subjects shall be established within seven years from the date of enforcement of this law" (Draft Special School Order, Article 8).

3. Based on this draft law, Minister of Education Yoshikawa presented plans for an increase of universities and expansion of higher middle schools at the Cabinet meeting.³

The Draft University Order was referred to the Imperial University Senate around May 1890. There were articles indicating that the University Senate "deliberated the Draft University Order" on May 27, 1890, as well as those that included the phrase "concerning the Draft University Order" on June 2, and "Draft University Order" on June 5.⁴

However, despite the fact that Article 8 of the Draft Special School Order prescribed that the "School of Agriculture and Forestry of Tokyo Higher Commercial School, and the Tokyo Technical School are national special schools," the School of Agriculture and Forestry of Tokyo was restructured as the College of Agriculture of the Imperial University on June 11, and the actual policy did not go

Takashi Hata

according to the draft order. Rather, the draft order was required to be amended. On account of a rumour that a graduate school would be required, there was even a commotion where graduate students "presently wrote and submitted a petition to the university president, and threatened to take it to the Minister of Education if the president does not accept it" (July 11, "Credibility of the University Order," *Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun*).

Furthermore, there were disputes within the Ministry of Education over whether the Imperial Diet would consent. An article observed that "it seems that nothing has been decided in regard to its intention of university independence, claiming that daring to revise the Draft University Order, which was initially announced in the first national assembly, right before the opening of the Diet, just when public voices are turning into an uproar, would only fuel further university theories, and may even influence the future of universities" (July 13, "The Course of the Revised Draft of the University Order," *Choya Shimbun*).

Thereafter, it was reported that Chief of the Bureau of Special School Affairs, Hamao, drew up a draft law and sent it to the Cabinet Legislation Bureau (October 8, "University School Order," *Kokumin Shimbun*), but no consensus was reached on the Draft University Order even within the Ministry of Education. It is believed that, with the Imperial Diet soon to begin, the Ministry shifted its attention to preparing strategies for the assembly. On November 4, it was reported that "Vice-minister Tsuji, Secretary Nagai, and Counselor Emoto yesterday met with University President Kato in a room of the Ministry of Education and conferred on matters related to the University Order" (November 5, *Jiyu Shimbun*). Beginning with the article on "Ministry of Education's High Official Holds Secret Conference" (*Choya Shimbun*) that appeared in the newspaper on November 13, matters related to the Ministry of Education's countermeasures for attending the assembly were reported day after day, including "Miscellaneous Report: Ministry of Education's Conference" (*Jiyu Shimbun*) on the 14th, "Ministry of Education's Defense Strategy" (*Choya Shimbun*) on the 15th, and "Miscellaneous Report: Ministry of Education's Conference" (*Jiyu Shimbun*) on the 19th.

It is not clear how much of these movements were related to policies for the next step toward university independence. The Draft Special School Order and Draft University Order were both stipulated under the Special Accounts Law, separate from the Law relating to the Special Finance for Governmental Schools and Library, but no historical data has been found that refer to the survey and planning activities of the draft law.

Rather, what actually occurred instead of granting independence through endowment was protection of the university budget by unconstitutional regulations. The Ministry of Education revised Imperial Ordinance No. 233 on the Official Regulations for Government Schools under Departmental Control (regulating the number of personnel) on October 15, 1890, deleted Article 14 through revisions to Imperial Ordinance No. 269 on the Imperial University Order relating to the Imperial University on November 7, annulled the decision of the Minister of Education on the fixed number of professors and associate professors, and on the same day decided to determine the capacity of

personnel through Imperial Ordinance 270 on the capacity of personnel at the Imperial University. There were attempts to clarify the remuneration of faculty members as an expenditure based on Imperial prerogative under Article 67 of the Imperial Constitution and to regulate any reductions thereof: "Those already fixed expenditures based by the Constitution upon the powers appertaining to the Emperor, and such expenditures as may have arisen by the effect of law, or that appertain to the legal obligations of the Government, shall be neither rejected nor reduced by the Imperial Diet, without the concurrence of the Government". In order to ensure that there were no ambiguities to the interpretation for the Article 67, the government enacted supplementary articles to the Accounts Law on August 2 (Law No. 57), and defined "the remuneration of Ministry of Education officials and the retirement pay of civil personnel" within the budget for 1890 as "fixed expenditures based upon the powers appertaining to the Emperor". This measure was regarded as a strategy against the assembly, and *Choya Shimbun* pointed out that "the fixed capacity of personnel was established in preparation for the Opening of the Diet, in relation to the paragraph concerning fixed expenditures in Article 67 of the Constitution" (October 16, "Revised Official Regulation Relating to Government Schools under Departmental Control").

Section 2 Formation of Higher Education Policies by Opposition Parties

1. This section will examine the policies of opposition parties, who joined the battle as critics of the Imperial University. Firstly, as a backdrop to their appearance, it is especially noteworthy that broad-ranging public opinion for the retrenchment of government expenses and improving people's financial resources (land tax reduction) already existed as a basic concept in opposition to the government in the early national assembly. Even the government-oriented *Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun* advocated administrative and financial reforms.

"What I fear most is the increase of new tax items.... (The tax burden) is approximately four yen per person, which is in no way a small amount considering the living standard of the people. We, the people, are already burdened with this heavy tax. We should not have to bear another penny more." (January 22, "What Will the Government Do About the Fiscal 1890 Yearly Account?")

One of the points of contention was reform of the educational system. This was not introduced simply as a cost control measure, nor was "the issue of the education budget raised simply because it was caught in the web of political issues, in a manner of speaking" (Takahashi 1986). *The Kokumin Shimbun* expressed its frank view when it wrote "additionally, the people prefer to save 230,000 yen by preserving the First Higher Middle School and abolishing the rest. This is not only for the sake of saving costs, but it is because those schools are unproductive and may impede the development of private schools" (December 15, "Evaluating the Yearly Account Budget Plan (part II of II)").

2. On the opposition side, the education policies of the factions that composed the Rikken Jiyu-to (Constitutional Liberal Party) were vague. The guidelines of the Oi Kentaro faction, "Daido

Takashi Hata

Kyowakai," advocated coexistence of liberalism with the Imperial family and the common people, and simply stated that "we shall improve the school system and make the effort to diffuse education" (February 26, "Liberalist Party Conference," Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun). The Aikoku Koto (Public Party of Patriots) declared "Article 1, the administration shall refrain from interfering as much as possible." However, when it came to specifics, it only defined the division of labour between the government and the private sector as a matter of extent, saying that "although the government is responsible for protecting the people's rights and seeing to it that they fulfil their obligations, there are matters concerning education, communication, agriculture, and commercial affairs that people must rely on the government to a certain degree for public convenience. However, those who wish to engage in political affairs under the principles of liberalism shall refrain from interfering as much as possible" (May 6, "Convention for the Establishment of Aikoku Koto," Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun). The principles of the Kono Hironaka faction, "Daido Kurabu," were "to streamline the government organization by reforming the bureaucratic system, regrouping ministries and reducing officials" and "to eliminate interferences and political strategies against private businesses as much as possible", but no clear mention of education was made (May 6, "Daido Kurabu Convention," Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun).

These factions combined to form Rikken Jiyu To (Constitutional Liberal Party) in August. After policy investigations were begun on August 3, reform demands gradually became apparent. In October, members were selected for the investigative committee for drafting the party resolution (Hoshi Toru, Oi Kentaro, Kono Hironaka, Kawashima Jun, Ueki Emori, Hayashi Yuzo, Suzuki Masashi, Oe Suguru, Sugita Sadaichi, Nakajima Nobuyuki, Arai Shogo); and on November 11, the committee submitted to the ad hoc council "Educational System Reforms (No. 4)" which contained the resolutions: "to grant independence to the Imperial University and governmental specialized schools; to abolish higher middle schools and incorporate higher school courses into ordinary middle schools; and to cease providing subsidy to private schools" (November 11, 1890, *Daido Shimbun*, and November 12, *Choya Shimbun*).

The draft party resolutions were examined and approved by the council between November 11 and 15. The debate indicated the level of the basic guidelines for higher education policies before the opening of the national assembly, as described below.⁵

3. What is the significance of "independence of the Imperial University" that is repeatedly mentioned here? Chairman Oi Kentaro explained that it is the intention to free the Imperial University from administrative supervision: "When Mr. Chida Gunnosuke asked whether independence in item 1 means breaking off from the supervision of the administration department, Chairman Oi promptly answered in the affirmative". Therefore, it meant financial independence, and Chairman Oi explained that its must be attained through consultations with the Ministry of Finance, but there were no specific policies as of yet: "Concerning the independence of the Imperial University, Mr. Koyama asked whether the school's basic fund is to be applied as the fund for independence or whether a yearly

government subsidy will be granted. Mr. Hoshi responded by saying that there are no specific plans as of yet, and must be decided upon consultations with the Ministry of Finance in the future".

In the actual discussions, there were opinions that placed emphasis on primary education and called for proposals that lean toward higher education to be abandoned altogether: "Mr. Koyama strongly stressed the need to abolish the policy about higher education, stating that the spirit of our party lies in expansion of common education. With the exception of item 1, those below it are insignificant reforms, and are unworthy of raising as issues for discussion". In addition there were those that voiced support for the original proposal from the standpoint of the Liberal Party's philosophy: "granting independence to the Imperial University, abolishing higher middle schools, and terminating subsidies for private schools are actions that meet with the philosophy of our party, and are deeply vital in terms of both economy and education"; while criticisms erupted over the lack of any specific plans: "in order to grant independence to the Imperial University, it is unacceptable that there are no specific plans regarding basic funds. Also, according to the comments made the day before yesterday by a committee member, breaking free from the supervision by the government is certainly the aim, but if the national treasury subsidizes the fund, we cannot let private schools run loose as religious schools do. Items 2 and 3 are not completely unreasonable, but there shouldn't be any problems in sidestepping them".

There were also disapprovals of reducing higher middle schools and placing emphasis on ordinary middle schools: "if higher school courses are added to the curriculum of ordinary middle schools, it would affect the economy of regional areas to no small extent. They would not be able to acquire expensive instruments and high-paid teachers or bear the costs of acquiring them. Therefore, the proposal should be discarded". As counterproposals, it was suggested that an amendment be made to allow Tokyo and Kyoto to continue in their present state: "it is alright for higher middle schools to incorporate a half of their regular courses into a university curriculum, and for Tokyo and Kyoto to maintain their higher middle schools, but they can't be maintained without preparatory courses. Also, since enrolment in higher middle schools in Miyagi, Kanazawa, and Kumamoto seems to be very small, these schools should be abolished", and instead establish preparatory courses: "leaving aside higher middle schools in Tokyo, most higher middle schools in no way prepare students to enter universities, so most students instead take university preparatory courses. We approve of the immediate establishment of preparatory courses that associate middle schools with universities, and higher primary schools with middle schools", or to abolish all higher middle schools outside of Tokyo: "Higher Middle School in Tokyo should remain, but all others should be abolished". However, they were minority opinions and simply disappeared.

Furthermore, regarding the termination of private school subsidies, the proposal was abandoned by majority opinion: "Mr. Kokubo himself withdrew his proposition of this morning and immediately moved on to the discussion of item 3 in proposal No. 4; Mr. Hayashi Homei advocated the abandonment theory, as did Mr. Koyama, who mentioned that fussing over a subsidy of a mere couple

Takashi Hata

thousand yen per school is below the dignity of the party and not worthy of debate. Mr. Kokubo then maintained that the original plan should prevail from the perspective of party philosophy, but opinions for abandoning the idea were raised one after another, so that item 3 was eventually abandoned by majority vote". It is only natural for pure liberalists to oppose private school subsidy and governance. In fact, around April, there was a rumour that the Ministry of Justice intended to grant the same special subsidy that it grants to the Doitsu Kyokai Gakko (School for the Association of German Studies), Tokyo Hougakko (Tokyo School of Law), and Wafutsu Hougakko (Tokyo School of Japanese-French Law), to Nihon Houritsu Gakko (Nihon Law School), in which Justice Minister Yamada Akiyoshi served as a member of the Council, and led to a major controversy.⁶

In addition, a suggestion was raised for providing education to everyone by eliminating primary school tuition charges, but "it was discarded, with only ten votes."

At the final assembly held on August 15, the proposition for the abolition of higher middle schools was passed. However, the specifics of the matter were diverse, and it was inevitable that differences of opinion would surface in the national assembly.

"...Next was the issue of Educational System Reforms No. 4. Mr. Takatsu offered a new proposition to item 2 which was rejected in the second assembly, and suggested that "the higher middle school system should be reformed." Mr. Takeishi also recommended "abolishing higher middle schools, establishing preparatory courses in the Imperial University, and placing higher courses in ordinary middle schools."

In the light of these opinions, the assembly eventually approved the proposition "to abolish higher middle schools" among the three propositions (November 19, "Constitutional Liberal Party Council Meeting (continuation of previous issue)," *Daido Shimbun*)

4. The Rikken Kaishsin To (Constitutional Progressive Party) decided to discuss school policy reforms at its February 3 council meeting along with issues concerning financial adjustment, law execution, and the party cabinet (*Yubin Hochi Shimbun*, February 9, 1890). Yet, its policies were vague, and were criticized on the grounds that "the party platform of the Progressive Party has greatly improved since its inauguration, but it is still vague, and does not provide details as does the party philosophy of the Liberal Party" ("Party Platforms of the Liberal and the Constitutional Progressive Parties," *Kokumin Shimbun*, February 16th). The Progressive Party itself was critical of the radical reforms of the Liberal Party, and the *Yubin Hochi Shimbun*, which basically served as the party publication, advocated progressive reforms. For example, it wrote: "For the time being these reforms should be set aside for future administrations. If the Progressive Party takes actions to prevent meddling in the affairs of various ministries and does not probe into project expenses this year but carries out appropriate reforms upon fully investigating the situation in the future, this would be a reasonable decision on the part of the Progressive Party, and the government would benefit as well, as it would prevent opposition parties from holding any unnecessary scepticism toward the government"

(November 24, "Hurry the Reforms of the Bureaucratic System and Remuneration System, but Relax Public Services Reforms").

To begin with the extent of school time spent from middle school to university is overly long, although this accords with the wastefulness of higher middle schools. Ozaki Yukio, a member of the Progressive Party, announced his ten political doctrines in the *Choya Shimbun*, and commented that "my ten political doctrines are basically the same substance as the 16 presentations by the Progressive Party, yet with different wording" ("Reading the Draft Doctrines of the Progressive Party," February 1890, Ozaki 1955).

5. The Daiseikai commenced policy investigations on August 23 (Satake Yoshikazu, Ishihara Hanzaemon, Amano Jakuen, Katsuki Jokei, Gondo Kanichi, Nishitake Hajime, Watanabe Osamu, Yamaguchi Chiyosaku), and advocated the merging of the Higher Normal School with the Imperial University and the abolition of higher middle schools in its "Education System Reform Proposal" (December 13, *Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun*).

(1) The objective of the Imperial University is to be the study of theories...

- (2) The Imperial University shall cease using foreign languages in its courses and dismiss foreign teachers. Instead, it shall dispatch students abroad...
- (3) The curriculum of the Higher Normal School shall be incorporated into the Imperial University
- (4) Existing higher middle schools shall be abolished and a certain type of middle school shall be established in each prefecture
- (5) As an aid to accomplish the above objective, the expenditures of higher middle schools shall be borne by prefectures. (abridged)

In these ways, criticisms were concentrated on higher middle schools. It almost seemed to be a standpoint shared by all the parties, but actually, there was no monolithic consensus even within the Liberal Party. The cost-saving proposal by Shiota Okuzo of the Liberal Party finance department involved savings of more than 500 thousand yen by abolishing the extraordinary subsidy for the remuneration of administrative officials in schools under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education, which amounted to a total saving of 7.9 million yen without cutting school expenses (November 20, "Cost Reduction Methods of the Constitutional Liberal Party," *Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun*). Hamano Noboru opposed the complete abolishment, and announced a proposal for preserving the First and Third Higher Middle School as preparatory schools (December 10, "Contribution: Opinions on Higher Middle Schools," *Jiyu Shimbun*).

Furthermore, "Independence of the Imperial University" was also advocated by parties other than the Liberal Party: "Article 11: The education system of ordinary specialized schools shall be reformed in anticipation of university independence" (September 25, "First Issue of the First Diet (cont.)," *Kokumin Shimbun*); but there were also voices that called for the increase of universities: "Schools that can be called type 1 specialized universities shall be established in Osaka and Tokyo and shall be perfectly maintained, and type 2 schools shall be established in regional locations that have a need for the courses such schools can offer," *Kokumin Shimbun*).

Strangely, however, although the Liberal Party demanded the development of private schools in place of the reduction and downsizing of governmental schools, it did not demand legislation for private schools. In effect, the problem was identified, but not even the general direction for resolution was clarified, and the priority levels of the policies were not determined. It was during the course of the budget debate in the national assembly that such disparities erupted and complications had to be untangled.

Part 2 The First National Assembly in relation to criticism of the Imperial University and the issue of abolishing Higher Middle Schools

Section 1 Budgetary cutback for Higher Middle Schools

1. The government's fiscal 1891 budget plan decreased by 5,720,000 yen for extraordinary items, and by 4,260,000 yen in the total budget (5% decrease), but marked a 2.1% increase for ordinary items. The budget request of the Imperial University was 4.4% greater than the previous year, which can be attributed to such factors as the increase in the number of teachers due to the merging of Tokyo Agriculture School (Table 1), additional instruments, machinery, and books for the establishment of a dermatology classroom in the College of Medicine, an anthropology classroom in the College of Science, and the rise in student fees for the establishment of the College of Agriculture.⁷

The House of Representatives selected 63 members for the budget committee on December 2, decided on members for the subcommittees on December 6, and elected Abe Okihito (Constitutional Progressive Party, elected from Tokushima), as chief examiner of the Ministry of Education.⁸ Minutes of the subcommittee have not been preserved, but according to a report of the budget committee general assembly held on December 23, the budget for the Imperial University was reduced by 18% mainly in the ordinary budgets section (Table 2).⁹ This proved to be a severe assessment compared to the ordinary budget reduction rate of 10.3%. In line with the policy of the Progressive Party, however, although the reduction was decided, at the same time higher middle schools and other governmental schools were to be preserved.

However, members of the Liberal Party suggested the total abolition of the higher middle school budget at the general meeting, and added fuel to the issue. Horiuchi Yoshiro (Nagano) initiated the debate. He disagreed with establishment of universities by the government *per se*, saying that "I am of an almost completely opposite opinion concerning the establishment of universities with national expenditure." Komabayashi Hiromichi (Yamagata) agreed, and stressed alternative possibilities by the private sector, saying "I think it is safe to assume that the private sector will establish what it deems necessary."

The Progressive Party and Taiseikai members opposed this view, giving as their reasons the potential of higher middle schools to develop into universities ("Higher middle schools often have the potential to become universities, a potential to exist as a foundation for universities," Nakamura Yaroku [Taiseikai, Nagano]) and resistance to such hasty reforms ("In any case, I think it would be best to carry out broad reforms after fully investigating them first," Amano Tameyuki [Progressive Party, Saga]). Even in the Liberal Party, Kudo Yukimoto (Aomori) opposed for the reason that an alternative measure would be necessary after the abolition. Yet, in the end, abolition of budgets for the schools was decided by a majority vote. Other governmental schools were also targeted for budgetary cutback, and budgets for the Joshi Koto Shihan Gakko (Women's Higher Normal School) and Tokyo Ongaku Gakko (Tokyo Music School) were cut at the suggestion of Uozumi Itsuji (Progressive Party, Hyogo) and Kudo Yukimoto, respectively. On the other hand, as suggested by Utsunomiya Heiichi (Liberal Party, Kagoshima), preservation of the Moa Gakko (School for the Blind and Dumb) was approved. Utsunomiya also proposed the merging of higher normal schools with the Imperial University but this was rejected. As can be seen from the above, the government school itself was not the object of criticism, and the cutbacks were based on a logic concerning the usefulness of the schools.

On January 9, the House of Representatives Committee of the Whole House accepted the plan submitted by the government as the original plan, and deliberated on it in conjunction with the assessment plan of the budget committee.¹⁰ As is well known, the budgetary cutback proposed in the assessment plan extended to the review and abolition of administrative organizations, and caused a tremendous controversy as an infringement to Article 67 of the Constitution. However, specifically, the problem lay in the reform and abolition of higher middle schools, and it was also the focus of the conflict between the opposition parties and the government.

2. As the higher middle school issue became the focus of controversy, heated opinions for and against the abolition of schools were heard outside the national assembly as well. When the budgetary cutback for governmental schools was approved by the budget committee general assembly on December 23 of the previous year, the *Yubin Hochi Shimbun* published an article by Kashiwaba Gakuto entitled "Thoughts on Preserving or Abolishing Higher Middle Schools in Each Region" (December 24, 25). In it, Kashiwaba wrote "Calling for the abolition of higher middle schools without clarifying their characteristics and examining the requirements of such regions is certainly a lamentable attitude of our government" and that the establishment of higher middle schools "would provide children and youths in the regions with the opportunity to study, as well as save their parents from the hardships of supporting their children's learning and the anxiety that they will abandon their study. So, why should these schools be abolished? Abolishing the schools will adversely affect the regions to no small extent. If the future welfare of the regions is truly considered, how can anyone call for the abolition of higher middle schools?" Kashiwaba essentially maintained that, as long as regional education opportunities have been expanded and a constitutional system established,

Budget Item	Fiscal 1890 Budget	Requested Amount	Fluctuation (percentage gain %)	Assessment Amount	Fluctuation (percentage gain %)							
Ordinary Accounts												
Remuneration and Salaries	304,755	308,621	3,866 (1.3)	258,032	-51,589 (16.7)							
Operating Expenses	131,800	143,598	11,798 (9.0)	110,688	-32,910 (22.9)							
Repairs Expenses	14,214	16,526	2,312 (16.3)	13,221	-3,305 (20.0)							
Travel Expenses	4,542	2,138	-2,404 (-52.9)	1,710	-428 (20.0)							
Miscellaneous Salaries	42,149	43,294	1,144 (2.7)	30,542	-12,752 (29.5)							
Student Expenses	5,738	9,848	4,111 (71.6)	7,879	-1,970 (20.0)							
Restricted Fund	3,888	7,301	3,413 (87.8)	7,301	0 (0.0)							
Salaries for Employed Foreigners	0	2,497	2,497 (-)	2,497	0 (0.0)							
Total	507,086	533,822	26,737 (5.3)	430,870	-102,952 (-19.3)							
Extraordinary account												
New Business Expenses	33,307	30,310	-2,997 (-9.0)	30,310	0 (0.0)							
Grand total	540,392	564,132	23,740 (4.4)	461,180	-102,952 (-18.2)							

Table 1 Fiscal 1891 Budget Appropriation Request of the Imperial University and Assessment Results

Remarks (1) Unit: yen (digits below sen (0.01 yen) have been rounded off).

(2) Prepared from "Fiscal 1891 budget appropriation for the Imperial University under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education" "Reprint: Assessment Table for fiscal 1891 special accounts" (*Goin Bunko*, B4141).

|--|

	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894
College of Law	No break- down available	No break- down available	No break- down available	No break- down available	19	21	19	20	23
College of Medicine					75	71	29	28	29
College of Engineering					35	34	33	30	33
College of Literature					19	24	21	23	25
College of Science					31	31	21	19	19
College of Agriculture					48	52	48	45	31
	92	123	128	181	227	233	171	165	160

Remarks (1) Prepared from annual data in *Monbusho Nenpo* (Ministry of Education Yearbook).
(2) The numbers for faculty members are the totals for professors, associate professors, contract faculty members, and foreign teachers.

manpower for national and public affairs should be placed in the hands of those people having a middle school education or above. In order to realize this, he claimed that higher general education is necessary as preparatory education for entering the Imperial University as well, and defended the higher middle schools. This was the most coherent defence that was presented immediately preceding the House of Representatives budget committee. While it criticized higher middle schools to a certain extent, it indicated the policy of the Progressive Party, which held firmly to the preservation of higher middle schools.

Meanwhile, on the Ministry of Education side, Toyama Masakazu (Dean of the College of Literature) most actively promoted the preservation argument. He wrote an article entitled "Opinions Concerning the Preservation of Higher Middle Schools" and sent it to various newspapers. The Rikken Jiyu Shimbun, Choya Shimbun, Yubin Hochi Shimbun, and Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun carried the article in their January 9 newspapers. On January 16, Toyama supplemented the opinions of his article and again presented it to the Rikken Jivu Shimbun, known as the stronghold of the abolition argument ("More Opinions Concerning the Preservation of Higher Middle Schools"). Toyama wrote, "I intend to propose to the Minister of Education the downsizing of the First Higher Middle School and use the surplus funds to expand regional higher middle schools," and called for the development of regional higher middle schools that were bearing the brunt of criticisms at this time. In regard to the remark that governmental higher middle schools were responsible for the decline of regional private schools, he gave Toka Gakko and Doshisha as examples, and stirred up national sentiment, saying, "Are we then to place education of our children entirely in the hands of schools supported by foreign churches?" The next day, on January 17, in his article, "More Opinions Concerning the Preservation of Higher Middle Schools (pre-approval)," Toyama wrote, "I think we should entrust the education of the people to schools that are genuinely concerned with education, regardless of whether they are governmental or private schools. This does not include political party-oriented schools and religious schools." He thereby stressed the significance of higher middle schools while indicating his wariness of Christianity.

There were also supporters of government schools in addition to the higher middle schools. Amautsu Gakushi advocated the Women's Higher Normal School, stating the necessity of teacher education and of raising women's education. In his article "What Reason Is There to Abolish the Women's Higher Normal School?" (January 13, 14, *Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun*), he wrote, "School teaching is a type of skill. Even if one is able to further one's studies, without the skill to teach, that person is not fitted to be a teacher. If women are encouraged to consider engaging in a teaching profession, they should not be kept from acquiring the necessary skill. Teacher's schools can provide such skills that cannot be provided by other schools." Nakamura Masanao also called for the preservation of governmental schools, saying "The Women's Higher Normal School is the primary source of women's education. For it to continue, the state's involvement is necessary. It is the government's obligation, and also the foundation of Japan's constitutional system.... The education of

women in Japan is a national issue, and should not be entrusted to foreigners" (January 14, "Women's Normal Schools Should Not Be Abolished," *Yubin Hochi Shimbun*).

Furthermore, in "Music School Argument" (January 14, *Rikken Jiyu Shimbun*) by Yatabe Ryokichi (member of the Senate of The Imperial University), he argued that the Tokyo Ongaku Gakko (Tokyo Music School) is necessary to teach children to sing songs in prayer for the prosperity of the Emperor's country, and should not be abolished for the sake of a mere 12,000 yen.

It is indeed impressive that the newspapers of the opposition parties published opinions that were against the argument of their own parties, but more importantly, as shown above, the issue concerning the preservation or abolition of government schools was certainly a major controversy both inside and outside the national assembly.

3. On January 13, the House of Representatives budget committee deliberated on the assessment plan. Members of the Progressive Party and Daisekai called for the plan to be abandoned. Even within the Liberal Party, Inoue Kakugoro (Hiroshima) opposed the assessment plan, saying that "if higher middle schools are to be abolished after education laws are revised and the outcome is good, education can continue to be provided, but if the higher middle schools and music school are abolished from April 1 without first revising the education laws, the order of education will crumble." As seen here, it is worthy of mention that the pattern of "opposition parties versus the government" did not necessarily hold true. In fact, the motion to abandon the assessment plan was rejected by 141 to 125 votes, and at this conference, the group for the abolition of higher middle schools achieved temporary victory.¹¹

Although the assessment plan passed the House of Representatives, the leaders of the Liberal Party felt a sense of crisis from the fact that there were differences of opinion within the party. On January 23, more than thirty Constitutional Liberal Party members gathered for a discussion, including Kono Hironaka, Misaki Kamenosuke, Komabayashi Hiromichi, Iwasaki Manjiro, Yamada Toji, Shiota Okuzo, Yuasa Jiro, Kato Heishiro, Horiuchi Yoshiro, Gamo Sen, Kudo Yukimoto, and Utsunomiya Heiichi. They examined treaty revisions, issues concerning changes in mercantile marine company orders, and the issue of the abolition of higher middle schools, and attempted to reach a consensus.¹²

Deliberations on the government plan for the Ministry of Education began on January 29, in the Committee of the Whole House for the budget plan. Kogure Mutao (Liberal Party, Gunma) and Kan Ryouhou (nonparty, Shimane) aired their doubts concerning the necessity of establishing specialized courses in higher middle schools. Tsuji Shinji (Vice-Minister for Education), responded to their inquiry, but Kogure and Kan were not convinced.¹³ By the Regulation for Private Schools under the Special Sanction of the Minister of Education, private schools were given the credentials to apply for the employment examination for the higher civil service and to appoint people as probationary civil officials, and higher middle school law departments were cautiously regarded as institutions that rivalled private schools.

In the deliberations conducted on that day, questions raised by Sugiura Shigetake (Taiseikai, Shiga) were especially interesting. The salaries of teachers at the Imperial University were to be determined by the hours of classes they taught (July 23, 1886 Cabinet Ordinance No. 26 "Teachers of the Imperial University and other schools under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education shall be provided with an amount shown below that is commensurate with the amount corresponding to their ranks in the remuneration system for those engaged in the job of higher administrator scaled according to rank, as prescribed in Imperial Ordinance No. 6, in relation to their teaching time and the level of difficulty of their courses"), but there were cases in which teachers received salaries in considerable amounts even when they taught only a few students. In regard to this issue, Sugiura asked, "Do teachers' research at a university enter into the determination of their salaries, besides the simple act of teaching students?"¹⁴ This was a question of whether the rule prescribing the remuneration of Imperial University professors should be based on teaching only or include research as well, and was also an issue concerning the functions of teachers in universities. It is interesting to note that in later years, the introduction of the koza (chair) -based salary by Kowashi Inoue, who was the Minister of Education, brought along with it the concept of salary based on the logic of research that the discussion presented by Sugiura had alluded to. However, in terms of the legislation of the time, no other regulation existed aside from Cabinet Ordinance No. 26. Moreover, since Sugiura was a deputy administrator in the specialized school department two years ago, Tsuji probably felt some awkwardness in confronting him, but Tsuji replied, "If it is true that there are teachers being paid considerable sums although their teaching time is short, I think you may assume that various other research activities were taken into consideration as well."

On January 31, the Committee of the Whole House on the budget plan was convened, and Amano Tameyuki first explained the Assessment Plan for Special Accounts of the Ministry of Education, which included the abolition of the First to Fifth Higher Middle Schools, the Women's Higher Normal School, and the Tokyo Music School. At this time, Amano made critical remarks concerning the special accounts. Although it is rather long, it is cited below.

"...Generally speaking, I think the refusal of the government to increase national treasury disbursements is one of its traditional rules.... The fact that schools have capital is proof that the budget has been determined in excess. This is based on the government's opinion that capital should be accumulated in schools. That is why, instead of calculating the school budget in detail and including only absolutely necessary costs, it is instead determined by establishing a fixed amount that is expected to be necessary, and paying for unestablished items from that fixed amount so that a surplus is generated. The yearly surplus is the result of the government's rough method of determining budgets.... If a separate expense item for property purchases is established so that funds from the special treasury allocation cannot be accumulated, and due to this implication, various uses for the fund are devised, thereby creating a surplus from the yearly budget, appropriating it to

the reserve fund simply because it was not used is, I think, a backhanded and improper accounting method."¹⁵

Indeed, residual revenue was due to the excessive estimate of expenses, and incorporating it into accumulated funds, not to mention carrying it over to the next fiscal year, was certain to become a problem under the principle of fiscal year limitation. The scheme for special accounts was easily paralyzed before the budget deliberative authority of the Diet.

Meanwhile, the Liberal Party notified its members, "Let us gather daily without delay so that we can bring victory to our 30,000 members. This we fervently wish with all our might," with the aim of passing the assessment plan containing the abolition of higher middle schools through the assembly. On February 12 it ordered, "Tomorrow, on the 12th (*sic.*: should be 13th?), we will hold a general conference here in this office after the assembly disperses. Your attendance is earnestly requested" (February 14, "Notification of the Constitutional Liberal Party," *Jiyu Shimbun*), in order to discuss the issues of the higher middle schools and Tokyo public water auxiliary fees, and reach a consensus.

Section 2 Reversal in the Committee of the Whole House: revival of Higher Middle Schools

1. On February 14, the Committee of the Whole House on the budget plan convened, and continued to deliberate on the budget for the Ministry of Education. The critical point of the committee was undoubtedly the episode where Amano Tameyuki, who originally reported the Ministry of Education's budget under the assessment plan, presented his own revised opinion for the preservation of higher middle schools.

The focus of the dispute was whether centralized higher middle schools or regular prefectural schools and private schools should be pre-university educational institutions, and whether such schools could be an alternative for pre-university educational institutions in the first place. This is an issue that appeared in later educational reform arguments, but at this time, at least, the issue was not so extensive as to be argued in relation to reducing the required number of years of attendance at the Imperial University. For this reason, Utsunomiya Heiichi, advocate of the assessment plan, stating that "excluding places where higher middle schools are located, there is still a tendency for people outside of Tokyo to gather in Tokyo," insisted on the abolition of higher middle schools and called for the development of regional ordinary middle schools. Okada Ryoichiro (Taiseikai, Shizuoka) countered that if higher middle schools are abolished, students will gather in private schools of Tokyo and Osaka, and cause a centralization of power. Okada also asked "With today's financial resources the ability to establish such schools in the regions is neither feasible nor desired. Therefore, abolishing higher middle schools and building schools in such regions sounds as if something that shouldn't be desired is being desired. What do you say to this situation?"¹⁶ None of the advocates of the higher middle school abolition were able to come up with a policy of controlling the centralization in Tokyo and promoting regional middle schools. If denunciations of the governmental school system were regarded as criticisms of centralization, then they would be faced with a dilemma of having to support prefectural ordinary middle schools and regional governmental higher middle schools, since private schools could not exist in Tokyo without financial aid. Takada Sanae (Progressive Party, Saitama) supported Amano, and stated, "It's alright to abolish higher middle schools. Yes, it's alright, as long as there are alternatives for them. As things stand, however, I see no alternatives whatsoever.... Therefore, we cannot agree to the urgent abolition of higher middle schools." This became the majority opinion. By vote, the assessment plan was adopted as the assessed budget for the Imperial University. However, concerning the budgetary cutback of the Women's Higher Normal School and higher middle schools, the Amano proposal (77 to 110), the assessment plan (89 to 96), and the original government plan were all rejected and the matter was sent to the special revision committee for re-examination.¹⁷

2. On February 19, the special committee reported the result of its examination. The committee comprised seven members from the Liberal Party (Ehashi Atsushi, Iwasaki Manjiro, Gamo Sen, Aratano Kozo, Utsunomiya Heiichi, Ito Daihachi), two members of the Progressive Party (Amano Tameyuki, Nita Korenori), and one member of Taiseikai (Satake Yoshikazu), with Iwasaki Manjiro acting as spokesperson. The "Report of the Special Investigation Committee for Expenses of Schools under the Jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education" (*Goin Bunko*, B4135) was a plan to pay 87,685 yen to the First Higher Middle School only, and to completely cut all expenses for the Women's Normal School, Tokyo Music School, and other higher middle schools.

"...The concept behind this plan is to install just one higher middle school and abolish the others that are scattered throughout the country, thereby eliminating the need to disburse expenses to them, and to gather regular students from across the country at the first middle school. Furthermore, in this policy, expenses for higher education are not to be defrayed by the national treasury. Rather, national consensus calls for their immediate independence. Another concept that forms today's national consensus is the retrenchment of government expenses and cultivation of people's resources. To respond to this national consensus, we must curtail government expenses, and for this reason, we have examined the issue and produced this result."¹⁸

However, even among the members of the special committee, Amano Tameyuki, Nita Korenori, and Satake Yoshikazu did not agree. They instead presented a proposal to reduce the budget within the range of between 15% and 30%, and to allow all the schools to continue.¹⁹ With respect to matters that were relegated to the special committee, they claimed that "completely abolishing at least one or two expense items is overriding the intention of the national assembly resolution," and argued that the decision to abolish the budgets for higher middle schools oversteps the authority of the report to begin with. As a result, the report of the special committee was rejected, and the Amano proposal was raised for discussion through a motion made by Inoue Kakugoro.

Takashi Hata

On the following day, February 20, the House of Representatives deliberated on the Ministry of Education's revised plan. It was at this stage that Hasegawa Yasushi (Niigata) made his presence known. Hasegawa who was member of Liberal Party was later exert his power in the national assembly as the chief examiner of budgets for the Ministry of Education. He took the platform at a little past 10:30, and relentlessly criticized the Ministry of Education in his speech that continued until the intermission at 11:56. In this speech, Hasegawa put forward his idea of establishing universities in both Tokyo and Kyoto to the assembly for the first time.

"...I think that the Ministry of Education should refrain from intervening in various school affairs, and that a higher education institution for the Empire, or in other words a university, should be established in both Tokyo and Kyoto. By establishing the two universities, I believe that we can further advance learning in Japan and discover the true meaning of academics. There is nothing besides these two points that will enable our country to stand out among foreign countries. Therefore, putting all our strength into the two universities is a far better policy than creating many small schools. That is why I propose to abolish all higher middle schools, from the First to the Fifth Schools." ("House of Representatives First Ordinary Assembly Proceedings in Shorthand No. 49")

Hasegawa's proposition that higher middle schools should be abolished for the benefit of private schools and regional education is logical, and can even be taken as rhetoric for realizing the abolition. The logic of abolishing characteristically vague higher middle schools and instead increasing the number of universities is not a renunciation of government schools, but a logical explanation for raising financial resources for the active development of school activities and to saving costs for improvement. It was also significant in the sense that it provided persuasive material against the criticism that no alternative was provided for higher middle schools after their abolition. However, in spite of Hasegawa's efforts, the House of Representatives passed the revised Amano proposal by majority vote, and the proposition to abolish higher middle schools was rejected.

3. Why was the decision reversed after the plan had passed the budget committee general assembly?

The first reason is disagreement within the Liberal Party. Murase (1986) and Ito (1996) depict the Liberal Party as a mixture of various organizations lacking consistent actions based on political policies. Of the 130 members of the Liberal Party, only 86 ultimately supported the assessment plan. Although a unified approach was decided at a party conference, it was predicted that "many members would refrain from attending, for the reasons that if they did attend, they would have to comply with the party decision, yet they felt it was unjust completely to abolish all middle schools" (February 15, *Yubin Hochi Shimbun*).

Another factor was the difference in opinions between the central government in Tokyo and regions regarding abolition of higher middle schools. In the case of the Miyagi region where the Second Higher Middle School was located, protest against land revaluation was at the same time the

foundation of the abolition of higher middle schools. Masuda Shigeyuki (Taiseikai, Miyagi district 1), Musha Denjiro (Liberal Party, Miygai district 2), Jumonji Nobusuke (Taiseikai, Miyagi district 3), and Atami Magojuro (Taiseikai, Miyagi district 4) persevered for the preservation of the school beyond the boundaries of their party factions. The following newspaper article is a valuable account of their efforts.

"...When the said issue was raised, Mr. Masuda Shigeyuki, in particular, spent 6 or 7 nights and days working tirelessly among assembly members for the reinstatement of the school. Owing to his dedicated efforts, the school was reinstated. Mr. Musha Denjiro also worked to gain approval for Amano Tameyuki's revised proposal notwithstanding his position as a member of the Constitutional Liberal Party and his complete neglect of his party's decision. In addition, Mr. Atami Magojuro and Mr. Jumonji Nobusuke put in enormous efforts as well. In the end, Amano Tameyuki's revised proposal received a majority decision as a result of endeavours by the four men. It would not be an exaggeration to say that their powers are simply formidable." (February 25, "The Fate of Higher Middle Schools," *Ou Nichinichi Shimbun*)

In the Miyagi region, the following second assembly also continued the movement, with the prefectural governor affixing an attachment to the proposal to be submitted to the Minster of Education.²⁰

However, not all regions that were targeted for abolition acted in the way that the Miyagi region did. The *Hokuriku Seiron* (Kokumin Jiyu-to (National Liberal Party) publication; headquartered in Toyama prefecture) carried articles for the abolition of higher middle schools. It reported that "The House of Representatives essentially adopted the revised proposal of the Progressive Party that was largely based on the assessment plan, and rejected the revised plan of the government in order to revive the political expenses and reserve funds of the Ministry of Education and other institutions that were cut in the budget committee as though to indulge students throughout the country, but all other opinions were in opposition of the assessment plan" (February 1, "Annual Budget Revision Results"). It was also written that "if an examination of students' academic skills is to be conducted when applying for university, students can also be solicited from private schools, and there is no special need to establish governmental schools. This is one reason that higher middle schools are unnecessary" (February 25, "Unbalanced Resolution").

In the Kyoto region, the Third Higher Middle School was in danger of being abolished, but the Taiseikai publication *Kyoto Hinode Shimbun* did not seem to publish any articles opposing the abolition. In the Kumamoto region, the people's focus was on the merger of private schools in Kumamoto, and the *Kyushu Nichinichi Shimbun* (Kumamoto-shi) carried no articles on discussions regarding the abolition issue. Since the founding of the fifth higher middle school in Kumamoto was October 10, 1890, it was probably not yet an interest of import to the regional community.

According to Takahisa (1976), cabinet parties in Kyoto were in a position to criticize the government at the regional level. The relationship between regional parties and national politics was not consistent, indicating also that the Imperial University system had not taken root in the regions. Ariizumi (1980, Chapter 4 Section 2 and below) points out that it was after the Sino-Japanese War that local potentates were practically incorporated into the national party and a relationship where the political party represents the interests of the region was formed as a result. The adversarial disputes of the early national assembly did not necessarily have a direct bearing on regional movements.

Section 3 Deliberation by the Kizokuin (House of Peers)

The debate was transferred to the House of Peers. On March 3, the limited discussion for the House of Peers budget assessment report was set for the morning of March 5.

During the short deliberation by the House of Peers, especially prominent was the lone battle waged by Kato Hiroyuki and other members of the Imperial University who harboured a sense of impending crisis in the university budget reduction. Kato protested against the short budget deliberation by distributing to the committee members his views concerning the budget (March 5, "Kato Hiroyuki Presents Views to Budget Committee," *Choya Shimbun*). The House of Peers budget committee held on the afternoon of March 4 reported on the examination of each section. The Ministry of Education budget was as stated in the revised proposal by the House of Representatives. The chief examiner explained that "There is no problem for the competent ministries to use the budget as necessary to perform their administrative duties. Since there were no inconveniences regarding the special accounts budget plan in either ministries, the revised proposal should be passed as it is," and Tsuji Shinji commented, "I would like to confirm that the proposal poses no problem in terms of education for the Imperial University as a whole." Tomita Tetsunosuke offered his revised opinion for compliance with the original government plan of the Imperial University budget and Kikuchi Dairoku (a professor of the Imperial University) agreed, but it was rejected by the majority.²¹

On the afternoon of March 5, the budget committee reported to the House of Peers plenary session. Kato again gave a speech opposing the budget reduction for the Imperial University, but he was in a disadvantageous position. There were opinions such as "I am one of many who desire the government to accurately assess the various situations of people's lives and to formulate policies for the cultivation of their power" (Shimauchi Takeshige), and "since it is quite a shame to see the proposal rejected, I would like to agree with this budget plan as an exception for the time being" (Watanabe Kankichi).²²

Even at the House of Peers plenary session held on March 6, Kato again explained that the University cannot afford a cutback and presented a revised proposal for reinstating the original government proposal. However, it was rejected by a vote of 46 to 102.²³

In this way, the Imperial University suffered a 9.6% cutback. In addition to the reduction in teachers' remuneration, the Minister of Education issued an internal regulation to reduce remunerations in the fiscal 1892 budget estimate. The Imperial University appealed its predicament,

saying, "if the budget is cut back as stated, faculty members would no longer be secure in their positions. A greatly adverse effect will gradually be brought about" (August 4, 1891, "Inquiries Concerning the Internal Instruction of Remuneration Reductions in the Fiscal 1892 Budget").²⁴ Measures to stabilize university finance by controlling the right of the assembly to determine the budget protocol by special accounts and Article 67 of the Constitution did not function effectively (Todai 1985, p. 30 et seq.).

Part 3 Second Assembly and the Budget Deliberations

Section 1 The beginning of policy changes in the Liberal Party

Under these circumstances, no changes were seen in the second assembly. The undertone of the opposition party policies remained focused on expense cutbacks. However, there was a significant change related to the independence of the Imperial University.

The Liberal Party had advocated the "independence of the Imperial University" in the first national assembly, but members of the former Aikoku Koto (Public Party of Patriots) withdrew from the party and created the Jiyu Kurabu (Liberal Club) in March. Noteworthy is the contrast in the university policies of the Liberal Club and Liberal Party.

On September 5, the Liberal Club convened a general assembly to examine policies to present to the second assembly. The most critical issue was the disposition of the surplus generated from the budget cutbacks of the first assembly. Applying the surplus to the revision of the tax collection term (Ueki), redemption of bonds (Misaki), fundamental town and village properties (Itakura), and other non-activist measures were raised, but there was no strong support for the university independence fund (September 8, "Fiscal 1891 Surplus Disbursement Methods," (*Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun*). Although no consensus was reached concerning the disposition of the surplus fund, it was decided that the matter would be addressed in continuation of the issues concerning the abolition of higher middle schools and the independence of the university (September 6, "Overview of the Liberal Club General Assembly," (*Jiyu Shimbun*).

However, after the Tosa faction withdrew from the Liberal Party, the Liberal Party called for the application of the surplus fund to the independence of the Imperial University through an editorial article (March 14 editorial, "Provide the Imperial University with Capital to Achieve Independence," *Rikken Jiyu Shimbun*), but overall, the focus of its policy shifted from the "independence of the Imperial University" to the establishment of universities in both Tokyo and Kyoto and reducing or abolishing higher middle schools to generate a source of fund for the universities. The Hasegawa Proposal which was presented at the end of the first assembly had been adopted as the party policy. In the "Declaration of the Liberal Party" (May 29, *Rikken Jiyu Shimbun*, May 30, 1891), the Liberal Party set forth, "Article 6: Education shall be based on the concept of freedom (part of the Ministry of Education)," and emphasized the independence of education and development of local public and

private schools, based on the view that "liberalism should not be forced upon children, but education itself should be made an independent entity regardless of whether schools have a regular or specialized curriculum. Also, education shall not be subject to control by political parties, but both local public and private schools should maintain institutional freedom as much as possible." However, at the Liberal Party representatives' forum held in August, the main focus of discussions was the establishment of universities rather than the independence of education or of university.

"...Yesterday's Liberal Party representative's forum moved to approve the following plan recently presented by the authorities that 'The Imperial University that is now only found in Tokyo should also be established in the Kansai area, in Kyoto or Fushimi, and five higher middle schools should be abolished. The first Higher Middle School in Tokyo shall be a preparatory school for the Kanto Imperial University, and the Third Higher Middle School in Kyoto be a preparatory school for the Kansai Imperial University. Students of regular middle schools, students from the private Kinjo School and English School shall enroll in these preparatory schools upon taking a uniform and fair examination.' Naturally, any proposals for allowing students of regular middle schools to enroll without taking the examination was met with much opposition."

(August 7, "The Imperial University Should be Installed in Both Eastern and Western Japan," *Yubin Hochi Shimbun*)

In the Liberal Party publication, Hasegawa Yasushi, the central ideologue, emphasized development by competition, and in that context advocated the establishment of the university "No competition can exist when there is only one university, and the lack of competition may cause a sense of stagnancy among faculty members...Therefore, one university should be divided into two and installed in both Tokyo and Kyoto...In other words, I suggest establishing two universities, the Tokyo University and Kyoto University"; and argued the necessity of abolishing higher middle schools to generate a source of funds: "For this purpose, I suggest preserving two schools, the First and Third higher Middle School, but abolishing three schools, the Second, Fourth, and Fifth Higher Middle School, that do not have good prospects of further developing, and spending what little amount of the national treasury that would have been spent on these abolished schools to other aspects of education that would benefit greatly from it."²⁵ The general significance of competition was emphasized, and criticisms of the Imperial University developed into the idea of competition as a means for reform. Thus, the issue was not the creation of competitive conditions in governmental and private schools, but the expansion of the Imperial University.

The necessity of competition was also mentioned in newspapers. The July 4 edition of the *Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun* commented that "there are more than a few points to be improved" in the Imperial University, and criticized the lack of competition, saying, "even in the same university, law school students cannot attend science lectures, and engineering school students cannot attend medical school lectures," and proposing the introduction of the chair-system. "Firstly, I strongly promote the

establishment of a system for open lectures...if the government carries out this system, the relative merits of the scholastic abilities of teachers can be judged by the public, and inferior scholars culled out so that academics can advance. Also, revenues from lectures can be partly applied to expenses, and the vast storage of knowledge in universities can be distributed to the peoples. This is what I greatly desire of our government" ("Views of the school system N.Y").

Gathering from the debates of both political parties, it is believed that the argument for university independence raised in the first assembly mainly involved the Liberal Club, and Ueki Emori in particular. Prior to the assembly, Ueki had prepared an outline, as follows: "Point 1: The Imperial University shall be given independence, and 5 million yen from Savings Fund for Emergency shall be allocated as its funds with the approval of the assembly and government. Point 2: Higher middle schools in five locations shall be abolished and their curriculum incorporated into prefectural middle schools so that students can go directly to university from prefectural middle schools. Point 3: The existence of normal schools and the level of schoolwork shall be left to the discretion of the regions. Point 4: The provision of subsidies to private schools shall be stopped. Point 5: The primary school order shall be revised so that intervention is kept to a minimum and schools can be based on a policy of freedom."²⁶ Ueki separated from the party and joined the Liberal Club, and furthermore passed away in January 1892, so the Liberal Party lost an advocate of the Imperial University independence argument. In his place, Hasegawa's argument for establishing universities in both Tokyo and Kyoto became the mainstream.²⁷

Section 2 Actions concerning the University Basic Fund and developments of determining the disposition of the Surplus Fund

In fact, the major focus of controversy in the second assembly was the utilization of the budget surplus generated by the cutbacks. The Law relating to the special finance of governmental schools and library treated the granting of basic funds as a way to accumulate capital, so the surplus fund was the perfect source of revenue. On March 23, president Kato submitted to the Ministry of Education a "request to apply the 6 million yen or so that was cut from governmental expenses for fiscal 1891 to the basic fund of the university,"²⁸ and in May, the Ministry of Education seemed to have submitted to the Cabinet a request to grant the basic fund.²⁹ The *Yubin Hochi Shimbun* reported: "Recently, another discussion by a different faction has emerged. That is, an argument to provide 6.5 million yen to the Imperial University as a basic fund for gaining independence, and to see to it that it is not bound by other matters. The necessity of university independence is already widely acknowledged by the public, but the matter was left in the situation as we see it today because there are no sources for the money needed to realize the independence. However, fortunately, a surplus has generated. The Ministry of Education is already putting in a request to the Cabinet to receive that money. However, since it is not clear whether the Cabinet will take up this issue, the imperial members of the University Association (members of the House of Peers who have been credited with a national achievement), thinking a

Takashi Hata

movement to appeal to the assembly is necessary, became the major advocators of the movement, and are actively gathering together other assenters." Presumably, there was some form of action centering on Kato and Imperial University members of the House of Peers (September 5, 1891, "Let the University Have the 6.5 Million Yen"). Granting of the basic fund became a common strategic issue among the Imperial University, Ministry of Education, and Imperial University members within the House of Peers through the coordination of the three parties.

The Ministry of Finance started examining the disposition proposal in August. One of the options it deliberated was disbursement as a basic fund for the Imperial University (Table 3). Included among those who examined this option were Tajiri Inajiro, director of the bureau of banking, Sakatani Yoshiro, supervisory chief in the accountant bureau, and Soeda Juichi, secretary to the Minister.

Tajiri stated that 2.5 million yen should be apportioned to industrial banks, 1.5 million yen to forestry flood control expenses, 2.5 million yen to Hokkaido railway facility expenses, and 4 million yen "shall be used as a basic fund for the Imperial University," and explained "Approximately 350,000 to 360,000 yen is needed for university costs. If this amount is considered the standard, it would not be difficult to obtain as revenue a 5% interest, or 200,000 yen, and the rest, 150,000 yen yearly as the budget. Although the university is fundamentally considered to be the source of manpower training, national consensus would not allow it to take all the necessary fees from the extraordinary surplus fund. Therefore, the surplus should be apportioned among costs that become necessary for various matters, and the rest be kept as basic funds for generating half of all expenses. This would seem to be the most appropriate measure."

Soeda proposed to appropriate 7 million yen to the Imperial University basic fund, well above the 1 million yen for industrial bank capital and 2.5 million yen for Hokkaido railway facility expenses. As his reason, he explained, "First, the foundation of the university is weakening and education is becoming precarious today. Second, if the interest for the 7 million yen is estimated to be 5%, it would leave 300,000 yen. Compared with the budget of 300,000 yen for this fiscal year, there is not much difference," and thus prepared a proposal to disburse a large part of the surplus to the university.

Sakatani came up with three plans: high, middle, and low. The first was a plan to expend the entire amount to the redemption of national bonds. The second plan was to disburse 5 million yen to industrial bank capital, 3.5 million yen to the university fund, and 2 million yen to railway construction. The third plan was to appropriate 7.5 million yen to national defence, and 3 million yen to the university fund. He aimed to reduce national bond expenses that have exceeded 19 million yen at the fiscal 1890 settlement by appropriating a part of the money to the redemption of national bonds. He placed primary importance on achieving a balanced budget. If an aggressive fiscal policy is to be taken, it would be of importance comparable to new industry encouragement policies. Sakatani's plan was clearly typical of his character as a member of the *Gakushi Kai* (Society of Bachelors) and as one who had been arguing for the financial independence of the Imperial University.

In these ways, the financial independence of the Imperial University was raised for discussion even at the Ministry of Finance level. Since the Liberal Party also advocated independence, both the Imperial University advocates and opposition parties were in accord concerning the granting of basic funds, and it seemed as though the conditions for the realization of university independence were satisfied. However, in reality, examinations stopped at the Ministry of Finance and lost ground at an early period. This point is examined in detail below.

Section 3 The logic of surplus disposition and university independence

From the logic of the Liberal Party's policy of retrenchment as cultivation of people's resources, the mainstream argument was that the surplus fund should serve as the financial resource for land tax relief. Indeed, Kawashima Jun voiced his opinion that land tax should be reformed and returned to the prefectural population (September 5, "6.5 Million Yen (arguments by Kawashima Jun)," *Yubin Hochi Shimbun*). However, in reality, no matter that it went against the policy of the party, the Liberal Party was rumoured to be examining disbursements to new businesses rather than the cultivation of people's resources. The following extract describes this situation.

"...In this way, targets for the surplus fund must ultimately benefit the country. The surplus must not be used for schemes that would only benefit some of the people (writer's note: land tax reform, expansion of marines, battery construction, protective policies)... At a time when the retrenchment of government costs is imperative, there are numerous activities to address besides land tax reform. In addition to these activities, what other activities are there that must be carried out for the benefit of our country with money from the national treasury? I sincerely desire the opportunity to contemplate, discuss, and clarify this issue together with learned individuals of society."

(March 14, "Utilization Methods of the Retrenched Amount," Jiyu Shimbun)

According to the newspaper article, 19 items, including industrial bank capital, were raised as the applications for the surplus (August 14, "Collection of Disposition Theories for the Surplus," *Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun*). There were reports that the surplus was most likely to be spent on industrial bank expenses and army and navy expenses (September 6, "Applications for the 10 Million Yen Surplus," *Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun*), but other observations included Interior Ministry prison expenses and flood control expenses, army battery construction, railway buy-out, establishment of new steel plants, industrial bank capital, and submarine telegraphy cable-laying. However, information on the university basic fund was absolutely lacking (September 16, "Monday's Cabinet Meeting," *Yubin Hochi Shimbun*).

Of course, the funding for the university was not necessarily an insignificant issue in the discussion of the Ministry of Finance. In the *Matsukata Bunsho*, there is a document written on Japanese paper containing a list of items and a number next to each item. The numbers are believed to be the number of supporters for each item. Items with the largest numbers were "Railway expenses and buy-out
expenses, including constructions in Hokkaido: 8," followed by "marine expenses, warship manufacturing: 7," "flood control" and "subsidy for industrial and agricultural banks" both with "6," and "redemption of bonds," "army expansion, increase of national defence farmer-soldiers," and "export tax exemption" all with "5." "University basic fund" came next with "4," surpassing "prison expenses: 3," "exemption of stamp tax and other taxes for ship and vehicle weights and measures, Hokkaido marine product, cow and horse trading license, snacks, etc.: 3," and "increase of reserve fund: 3."

The problem was the effectiveness of the basic fund in a situation where even the opposition parties were looking toward aggressive fiscal policies. Even opinions within the Ministry of Education were not unified for the basic fund, but rather, it was also examining the establishment of a new university. However, criticisms toward the Imperial University were becoming more apparent, and with no prospect for support from the assembly, the issue was reported to have reached an impasse (September 22, "The Uniform Discontent of Ministers," *Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun*, October 25, "Oki's New University Establishment Theory," *Yubin Hochi Shimbun*).

In examining the disposition of the surplus, the Ministry of Finance stressed the unification of foreign and domestic affairs. As Watanabe Kunitake, Vice Minister of Finance, wrote in his disposition proposal, "There are only two aspects: to look to the outside world and exercise our sovereign right, and to look inwardly and cultivate people's resources. When we consider our country's state of affairs, these two aspects are inseparable like the wheels of a car, or the wings of a bird. One should not be considered without the other" ("Fiscal 1890, 1891 Annual Surplus Disposition Proposal"). This proposal can be directly manifested by marine expansion expenses, but private development activities such as flood control, industrial bank capital, private railway buy-out, and development of Hokkaido were also raised in contraposition (Sakano 1972, p. 52–). Also, although land tax was not reduced, the concept of 'cultivation of people's resources,' was incorporated as the national treasury disbursement for prison expenses (alleviation of regional tax burden). Minister of the Interior Shinagawa Yajiro stated, "There is nothing else in place of land tax that can be passed onto the public except prison expenses" (Takahashi 1995, p 271).

Meanwhile, the surplus was, by its nature, divided into temporary surplus accumulated from 1890, type A; and surplus generated from the fiscal 1891 budget assessment, or the surplus that is to be permanently generated thereafter, type B; and their uses were examined according to this grouping. Type A, with a temporary nature, was applied to marine expansion and flood control, and other active financial policies, and type B was appropriated for reserve funds, prison expenses, and other expenses related to the cultivation of people's resources (Takahashi 1995).

In this disposition discussion, the Imperial University basic fund lacked enough 'publicness' to be adopted over other items as one of the active projects. When the *Choya Shimbun* wrote, in reference to flood control, project expenses, and Imperial University subsidy, that "benefit is benefit, but it must not be limited to certain areas only," (May 8, "The Stance of the House of Representatives and House of Peers on the 6.5 Million Yen") it probably pertained to the Imperial University basic fund.

There were also views to apply the surplus to education expenses (August 21, "Opinion of a Certain Representative Regarding the More Than 6 Million Yen Fiscal 1891 Surplus," *Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun*), but this was an argument that placed priority on the development of primary school education, and not the enhancement of the fundamental property of the Imperial University. In regard to the basic fund of the university, it was written in the *Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun*: "There is no need for sudden changes. What inconvenience is there for the university to maintain its affairs with the appropriation from the national treasury, as it has been doing until now? In fact, the annual expenditure of the national treasury for university expenses can be deducted, but that amount cannot be said to reduce the people's burden right away. Moreover, the university is in no danger of declining even if does not receive the said amount, but the development or degeneration of more than 20,000 regional primary schools depends on whether they can or cannot receive the money. The urgency should not be treated in the same way" (July 11, 12, "Views to Apply the National Treasury Surplus to the Fundamental Properties of Ordinary Education by Goto Kenjiro"). The university had no means to counter the above charge.

Furthermore, it has already been noted that the Liberal Party had changed its policy from university independence to a more active policy of establishing another university. The following observation illustrates the situation well.

"...The rekindling of this issue can be attributed to the fact that the public is showing great interest in the expansion of education. Moreover, the Liberal Party and Progressive Party are trending toward the establishment of a new university, even at the expense of a couple of higher middle schools. Concerned ministers of the Cabinet do not seem to have particular objections concerning this point, either. There are some who say that the university establishment policy is being examined simply because the government fortunately has a considerable surplus this fiscal year. Yet even so, if the policy of 'two universities, two higher middle schools' is adopted as pursued by the Liberal Party, the burden of the national treasury would increase more than 150,000 to 160,000 yen yearly. Without addressing this problem, how does the assembly plan to pass a resolution on this proposal?" (September 15, "Rekindling of the New University Establishment Proposal," *Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun*)

However, even among the opposition parties, the issue of whether to opt for the Imperial University basic fund or the establishment of another university did not have high priority. There were some who observed that they were unified only in their views of military expansion (September 6, "Views of Representative Mr. Amano Saburo (Liberal Club) on the Disposition of the Surplus (Military Expansion)," *Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun*). Specifically, from the perspectives of both repose and development of people's resources, the decreasing urgency of the university basic fund was inevitable.

Takashi Hata

Soeda Juichi commented, "At any rate, if we are to simply consider passing the proposal through the Imperial Diet, then it would perhaps be most appropriate to apply type A surplus to the redemption of national bonds, and type B surplus to prison and flood control expenses." The Cabinet seemed to have decided on the disposition policy in a cabinet meeting held in the middle of September (September 13, "The Cabinet Meeting of the 11th and the Surplus Money," *Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun*; September 17, "Disposition of Surplus," *Choya Shimbun*; September 18, "Information on the Disposition of Surplus," *Yubin Hochi Shimbun*), but the resolution was mainly for the new budgets of military arms expenses, warship manufacture expenses, and prison expenses. Neither university basic fund nor new university establishment was adopted.

Summary

As examined above, the higher education policy of the opposition party in the first national assembly entailed the abolition or downsizing of higher middle schools that competed with private middle school institutions and the development of private schools, as well as the independence of the Imperial University from the government. The financial independence of the university by retaining basic funds was even given as one of their party principles. The Constitutional Liberal Party, in particular, called for budgetary cutbacks of higher middle schools in the course of fiscal 1891 budget debates, but it could not achieve a majority in the assembly regarding the development of private schools to take the place of higher middle schools. Hasegawa Yasushi, who was at the forefront of the argument for abolishing higher middle schools, emphasized at the final stages of the assembly the downsizing of higher middle schools as a financial resource for the establishment of another Imperial University. He thus began a motion to adopt the establishment of the university as the Liberal Party's policy instead of the independence of the Imperial University.

Although the intentions were different, the Ministry of Education frequently appealed to the Cabinet concerning the basic fund provision in order to realize the financial independence of the Imperial University under the Law for Governmental School and Library Accounts. The disposition of surplus raised in the first assembly was also examined in the Ministry of Finance, and gained a fairly stable foundation.

However, under a situation where the majority of the assembly agreed to the 'retrenchment as cultivation of people's power' resources, the necessity of granting independence to the Imperial University could not be emphasized, and was not incorporated into the fiscal 1892 budget plan. Moreover, even within the Constitutional Liberal Party, the withdrawal of Ueki Emori and others, and the formation of the Liberal Club caused the university independence argument to lose steam.

Furthermore, as the opposition parties and the government came closer together after the second assembly, even the necessity of realizing independence for the Imperial University diminished along with the stance against the assembly. This was indeed a part of the process by which the Imperial University came to be acknowledged by Meiji society.

Notes

- 1. An accumulation of studies regarding the impacts of these various guidelines on Inoue Kowashi's higher education reforms already exist, as well as analyses of the opposition parties' education arguments in the early national assembly (Kaigo 1968, Uchida 1968, Terasaki 1971, Motoyama 1981). However, there are no means for studying the mutual connections and changes in the higher education policies of the dominant party. The clan oligarchy government and opposition parties came closer together in compromise and caused a shift in the adversarial relationship, but there are no examinations of the changes that occurred on the side of the dominant party. Even Motoyama (1981), who most thoroughly analyzed the education discussions of the Imperial Diet, depends too much on the minutes of the assembly, and does not delve into the educational policies themselves.
- 2. Kaigo (1968) introduces an overview as presented by Horiuchi Mamoru. Specifically, it includes the following notable proposals: (1) "Confidential: Imperial Ordinance: Proposition on Various School Orders (Specialized School Affairs Bureau revised draft)"; (2) "Confidential: Imperial Ordinance on General Principles of Various School Orders (rubric correction of resolution)"; (3) Confidential: Imperial Ordinance on the School Order" (also written Draft School Order Private School Order); (4) "Private School Management Regulations"; (5) "Draft of Private School Ordinance (draft A)," and (6) "Draft of Private School Ordinance (draft B)."

The preparation dates of these draft school orders have not been established, but the "Private School Management Regulations" indicate that "this order is to be enforced from April 1, 1894," so it is estimated to have been compiled before that date. Traditional research has explained the formulation of the Private School Order and Middle School Order of 1899 and the Specialized School Order of 1903 in relation to the policy trends after the Sino-Japanese War (Hisagi 1976, Yoneda 1985, Saeki 1986), but it is necessary to gain an understanding of the legislation within the course of school education reforms of 1890 that includes the Draft Five School Order of 1890.

- 3. History of Nihon University Editorial Division, "Views on Higher Education," Yamada Hakushakuke Bunsho I (Documents in the Family of Sir Yamada). A similar description can be found in "Arguments for Additional Establishments of Specialized Science Education Institutions" (Makino Nobuaki Bunsho (Documents of Makino Nobuaki), stored at the National Diet Library Modern Japanese Political History Materials Room, and in Meiji Bunka Shiryou Sousho (Meiji Cultural Reference Collection), Book 8. In this document is written: "In 1890, Minister of Education Yoshikawa presented two propositions to the Cabinet. One proposition was to create several universities, or if not, one university, in a regional location. The second was to expand the existing five higher middle schools and to establish a specialized curriculum as urgently required by these schools. However, for reasons of retrenchment, this request was ultimately abandoned without receiving official approval." Later, in the "Higher Education Order Statement of Reason" (Goin Bunko, B2649, many additions and revisions were made to the document, and the title had changed to "Higher School Order Statement of Reason") also contained a similar account. These points are introduced by Nakano (1992).
- 4. Tokyo University collection, Hyogikai Kiroku (Senate Records).

- The following proceedings are from the November 11-16, 18, and 19 editions of *Daido Shimbun*. Also, details of the Constitutional Liberal Party organization process and internal problems are found in Murase Shinichi (1986) and Ito Yukio (1991a, 1991b).
- 6. April 7, "Special Subsidy," *Choya Shimbun*. The following articles contain related accounts: April 13, "The Association of Five Major Law Schools Against Sir Yamada," *Choya Shimbun*; April 18, "Contribution: Protection of Nihon Law School by Reigansei," *Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun*; April 19, "Exchanges between Concerned Members of the Five Law Schools and Secretary Kuritsuka," *Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun*; April 20, "Nihon Law School," *Choya Shimbun*; April 27, "30,000 Yen Subsidy," *Choya Shimbun*; August 12, "Fiscal 1891 Subsidies," *Choya Shimbun*, etc.
- "Fiscal 1891 Statement of Scheduled Annual Expenditure of the Imperial University under the Direct Jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education."
- "House of Representatives Budget Committee Minutes in Shorthand No. 1," Imperial Diet House of Representatives Budget Committee Minutes, Meiji edition 1, Todai Shuppankai.
- "House of Representatives Budget Committee Minutes in Shorthand No. 11 (general assembly)," see note 8, p. 87–.
- "House of Representatives First Ordinary Assembly Minutes in Shorthand No. 21," *Imperial Diet House of Representatives Budget Committee Minutes*, 1, Today Shuppankai, p. 295.
- "House of Representatives First Ordinary Assembly Minutes in Shorthand No. 26," in book see note 10, p. 365.
- 12. January 24, "Meeting of the Yayoi Club," Rikken Jiyu Shimbun.
- "House of Representatives First Ordinary Assembly Minutes in Shorthand No. 32," Imperial Diet House of Representatives Budget Committee Minutes, 1, pp. 474–.
- 14. see note 13, p. 475.
- 15. "House of Representatives First Ordinary Assembly Minutes in Shorthand No. 32," *Imperial Diet House of Representatives Budget Committee Minutes*, 1, pp. 484–485.
- 16. "House of Representatives First Ordinary Assembly Minutes in Shorthand No. 44," see note 15, pp. 700-701.
- 17. "House of Representatives First Ordinary Assembly Minutes in Shorthand No. 44," see note 15, p. 709.
- 18. "House of Representatives First Ordinary Assembly Minutes in Shorthand No. 48," see note 15, p. 768.
- "Views on the fiscal 1891 annual revenue and expenditure total budget and special accounts budget for Ministry of Education annual expenditure submitted by Amano Tameyuki and two others" (*Goin Bunko*, B4137).
- 20. "In Sendai, Mr. Hayakawa Tomohiro and fifty others drafted a proposal concerning the preservation and abolition of the Second Higher Middle School and presented it to the prefectural governor, requesting it to be submitted to the Minister of Education. With respect to this request, the governor stated that he attached a letter to the proposal and forwarded it to the said Minister on the December 22," (December 26, 1891, "Campaign by the People of Sendai for the Preservation and Abolition of the Second Higher Middle School," *Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun*).
- "House of Peers Budget Committee Minutes in Shorthand No. 2," *Imperial Diet House of Peers Budget Committee Minutes in Shorthand*, Meiji edition 1, p. 38.

- 22. "House of Peers First Ordinary Assembly Minutes in Shorthand No. 43," *Imperial Diet House of Peers Budget Committee Minutes in Shorthand*, 2, p. 661.
- 23. "House of Peers First Ordinary Assembly Minutes in Shorthand No. 44," see note 22.
- 24. Collection of Important Documents: 1887 to 1891 (Tokyo University collection).
- 25. December 9, "Fiscal 1892 Government-requisitioned Education Expenses," Liberal Party *Toho* (Party Publication), No. 4.
- 26. "Bureaucratic System Reform Proposal Memorandum (excerpt)" (Tonosaki Katsuhiro ed., Ueki Emori, *Education, Morality, and Anti-Prostitution Arguments on the Degradation of Morality after the Restoration*, Hosei University Press, 1982) p. 110. According to Tosaki, this document was clearly drafted by Emori, but he cannot ascertain whether all that is written in it are the views of Emori himself, or whether the policies of the organization to which he belonged were included.
- 27. Hasegawa Yasushi also vehemently opposed the repression policy for private schools after the second assembly. After the first assembly, the Ministry of Education convened a higher middle school principals' meeting, and commenced deliberations on the coordination between ordinary middle schools and higher middle schools (June 11, "Higher Middle School Principals' Meeting," Choya Shimbun, June 25, "Higher Middle School Principals' Meeting," Kvoiku Jiron, No. 223). However, since the linking of ordinary and higher middle schools would affect the future of private schools, concerned parties of private schools cast a wary eye on the movement as a measure to abolish private schools. The Yubin Hochi Shimbun reported that students of private schools, Kinjo Gakko, Tokyo Eigo Gakko, and Kyoritsu Gakko that all have a higher middle school preparatory curriculum are excellent students aiming to enter higher middle schools, and are causing ordinary middle schools in Tokyo to become sluggish. It criticized the reform of ordinary middle schools by commenting that "the flourishing of private schools should certainly be considered a good occurrence for our country" (June 17, "Conditions for the Rise and Fall of Private Schools"). At the end of July, Masujima Rokuichiro and Hasegawa Yasushi held a meeting to counter private school abolition measures by gathering together Matsuno Teiichiro and Yamada Yoshinosuke from Hogakuin, Sugiura Shigetake from Eigo Gakko, Tokutomi CShoichiro from Doshisha, Masuda Eiji from Keio Gijuku, Sakamoto Morinori from Kinjo Gakko, Tatsumi Kojiro from Kyoritsu Gakusha, Nakahara Sadashichi from Seiritsu Gakusha, and Tanahashi Ichiro from Ikubunkan (July 31, "Gathering of Private Schools in Tokyo: Stopping Mr. Yoshikawa Akimasa's Private School Abolition Measures," Yubin Hochi Shimbun), and forming an allied association (August 2, "New Movements in the Education World," Kokumin Shimbun, "Movement Against Private School Abolition Measures," Yubin Hochi Shimbun). The organization they formed was named Nihon Kyoiku Chosakai (Japan Education Study Committee) (August 9, "Establishment of Nihon Kyoiku Chosakai," Choya Shimbun), and appointed Masujima Rokuichiro, Hasegawa Yasushi, and Sugiura Shigetake as members. Sugiura Shigetake drafted the prospectus of the organization, which criticized the emphasis placed on governmental schools, and stressed the significance of private schools (August 25, "Prospectus and Abbreviated Regulations of Nihon Kyoiku Chosakai," Choya Shimbun, August 27, "Prospectus of Nihon Kyoiku Chosakai," Yubin Hochi Shimbun and Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun). In this way, Hasegawa actively worked to represent the interest of private schools at this time. His actions seemed radical at first glance, but he eventually lost the basis for claiming the uniqueness of private schools. For details on

Takashi Hata

the development of the private school abolition issue, refer to "Private School Abolition Dispute," *Nihon Kyoiku Ronsoshiroku* (Accounts of the History of Japan Education Disputes), Book 1, (Daiichi Hoki, 1980).

- 28. Tokyo Daigaku Juyou Shorui Ishu: Meiji 24 nen (Tokyo University Collection of Important Documents 1891) (Tokyo University collection).
- 29. "Proposal to allot a part of the Qing Dynasty reparation to basic funds of the Imperial Universities in Tokyo and Kyoto," (*Makino Nobuaki Bunsho* (Documents of Makino Nobuaki), stored at the National Diet Library Statutes and Parliamentary Documents Room, and in *Meiji Bunka Shiryou Sousho* (Meiji Cultural Reference Collection), Book 8). Most western universities have a considerable basic fund and are financially independent. Although the Imperial government enacted the Law for Governmental Schools and Library Account in 1890 in an attempt to accumulate capital and enable universities to become financially independent, the amount transferred to the fund each year is extremely small and since schools do not necessarily receive a large basic fund from it, the complete implementation of this law is difficult. As the former Minister submitted to the Cabinet regarding the distribution of basic funds in May 1891 and July 1892, its necessity has been acknowledged...
- "House of Representatives Second Budget Committee Minutes in Shorthand," No. 5 (Imperial Diet House of Representatives Budget Committee Minutes, Meiji edition 1, Todai Shuppankai), p. 201.

References

Ariizumi Sadao, 1980, Meiji Seijishi no Kiso Katei (Fundamental History of Meiji Politics, Yoshikawa Kobunkan.

Ishii Kanji, 1997, Nihon no Sangyo Kakumei (Japan's Industrial Revolution), Asahi Sensho.

Ito Yukio, 1991a, "The Constitutional Liberal Party during the First Assembly Period: Formation of its Organization and Policies," *Nagoya Daigaku Bungakubu Kenkyu Ronshu: Shigaku* (Nagoya University Faculty of Literature Research Paper Collection: History), 37.

Ito Yukio, 1991b, "The Liberal Party during the Early Assembly Period," Yamamoto Shiro ed., *Kindai Nihon no Seito to Kanryo* (Political Parties and Bureaucrats in Modern Japan), Tokyo Sogensha.

Inoue Mitsusada, Nagahara Keiji, Kodama Kouta, Okugo Toshiaki, 1995, *Nihon Rekishi Taikei 14 Fukyuban: Meiji Kenpo Taisei no Tenkai (Jo)* (Structure of Japanese History 14 Popular Edition: The Development of the Meiji Constitution System (I)), Yamakawa Shuppan.

Inoue Hisao, 1969, Kindai Nihon Kyoikuhou no Seiritsu (Formulation of Education Laws in Modern Japan), Kazama Shobou.

Uchida Tadashi, 1968, *Meijiki Gakusei Kaikaku no Kenkyu* (Study of School System Reforms in the Meiji Period), Chuo Koransha.

Ozaki Yukio, 1955, Ozaki Gakudo Zenshu (Ozaki Gakudo Collection), Book 4.

Kaigo Muneomi, ed., 1968, Inoue Takeshi no Kyoiku Seisaku (Inoue Takeshi's Education Policies), Todai Shuppankai.

Keio Gijuku, 1960, Keio Gijuku Hyakunenshi (Keio Gijuku: History of the First 100 Years), Part II (of III) (first half).

Sato Hideo, 1971, "Observations of the 1890 School System Reform Proposals," *Nihon no Kyoikushigaku* (Research in the Educational History of Japan), Book 14.

Saeki Tomohiro, 1985, "Establishment Process of the Private School Order," *Nihon no Kyoikushigaku* (Study of the Educational History of Japan), Book 28.

Takahisa Minenosuke, 1976, "Cabinet Parties during the Establishment of the Meiji Constitution System," *Shakai Kagaku* (Social Science), Book 6 No. 3, Doshisha University Faculty of Humanities Research Center.

Takahashi Samon, 1986, *Kyusei Koto Gakko Zenshi* (Complete History of Higher Schools under the Old System), Jichousha.

Takahashi Hidenao, 1985, Nisshin Senso he no Michi (The Road to the Sino-Japanese War), Tokyo Sogensha.

Chuo University, 1955, Chuo Daigaku Nanajunenshi (Chuo University: History of the First 70 Years).

Tachi Akira, 1981, "Discrepencies in the Imperial University Order and the Imperial University," *Daigakushi Kenkyu* (Research in University History), No. 2.

Terasaki Masao, 1965, "Formation of Autonomous Practices in Japan's Universities," *Kyoikugaku Kenkyu* (Research in Education), Book 32 No. 2 & No.3 combined.

Terasaki Masao, 1974, "The Meiji Government and Japan's Universities," *Sekai Kyoikushi Taikei 26: Daigakushi I* (Structure of World Education History 26: University History I), Kodansha.

Terasaki Masao, 1979, Nihon ni Okeru Daigaku Jichiseido no Seiritsu (The Formation of an Autonomous University System in Japan), Hyoronsha.

Tokyo University Hundred-year History Editorial Committee, 1985, *Tokyo Daigaku Hyakunenshi* (Tokyo University: History of the First 100 Years), Comprehensive history 2.

Doshisa, 1979, *Doshisha Hyakunenshi* (Doshisha: History of the First 100 Years), Comprehensive history edition 1.

Nagaoka Shinkichi, 1971, Meiji Kyoukoushi Josetsu (Prologue to the History of the Meiji Depression), Todai Shuppankai.

Nagaoka Shinkichi, 1973, "Financial Policies and Reparations after the Sino-Japanese War: Determining "Post-War Management" Policies," *Nihon Keizai Seisakushiron* (Thoughts on the History of Japan's Economic Policies), Part I, Todai Shuppankai.

Nakano Minoru, 1993, "The Formation of the Imperial University System and Trends for its Revision," *Kindai Nihon ni Okeru Chi no Haibun to Kokumin Tougou* (The Distribution of Knowledge and Unification of the People in Modern Japan), (Terasaki Masao and Editorial Committee ed.), Daiichi Hoki.

Nakano Minoru, 1995, "Observations on the Establishment of the Imperial University: an Analysis of Documents Related to Professor Yatabe Ryokichi, College of Science, Imperial University," *Tokyo Daigakushi Kiyou* (Tokyo University Bulletin), No. 13.

Nakano Minoru, 1997, "Historical Study on the Formation of the Imperial University System: With a Focus on the Era of First President Watanabe Koki," *Tokyo Daigakushi Kiyou* (Tokyo University Bulletin), No. 15.

Nakayama Shigeru, 1978, Teikoku Daigaku no Tanjou (The Birth of the Imperial University), Chuo Koronsha.

Hata Takashi, 1996, "University Financial Policy in the Establishment Period of the Meiji Constitution," *Daigaku Ronshu* (Research in Higher Education), No. 25, Hiroshima University RIHE.

Sakano Junji, 1971, Meiji Kenpo Taisei no Seiritsu (Establishment of the Meiji Constitution System), Todai Shuppankai.

Hisagi Yukio, 1976, "Order No. 12 on Thoughts and Reality (1)," *Yokohama Kokuritsu Daigaku Kyoiku Gakubu Kiyou* (Yokohama National University Faculty of Education Bulletin), No. 16.

Murase Shinichi, 1986, "The First Assembly and the Liberal Party: Analysis of the 'Betrayal of the Tosa Faction'," *Shigaku Zasshi* (History Journal), Book 95 No. 2.

Motoyama Yukihiko, 1981, *Teikoku Gikai to Kyoiku Seisaku* (The Imperial Diet and Educational Policies), Shibunkaku Shuppan.

Yoneda Toshihiko, 1985, "Conflicts on Developing a "Middle Class Society": The Enactment Process of the 1899 Revised Middle School Order and its Significance," Nihon no Kyoikushigaku (Research in the Educational History of Japan), Book 28.

Economics of Education. Part 5. Equity, Earnings and Education of Women in Japan

Keith J.Morgan*

Revolutions have characterised the twentieth century. Those marked with irreversibility appear to be revolutions reshaping social and economic structures. One of them will be the global impact of education; another will be the empowerment of women. The effects of both of these revolutions are evident in Japan. Expansion of education in the second half of the century has been explosive. Over the past 40 years, participation rates for attendance at senior high schools to the age of 18 have doubled, and quintupled for universities and colleges.¹ For women over the same period increases in participation rates have been even higher (Table 1).

Demographic changes, with the population increasing from 80 million in 1950 to 126 million in 1996, have amplified the effects of educational change. The labour force has increased by 60% to 68 million, of which 27 million (40%) are women, an increase of 10 million women since 1950.² Moreover the pattern of employment as well as educational attainment of women in the labour force demonstrates dramatic change. It seems appropriate, as the century ends, to review the situation with regard to the employment and remuneration of women in Japan and to seek to identify factors that are contributing to change.

	Senior Hig	gh School	Junior	College	Univ	ersity
	1956 1996		1956	1956 1996		1996
All Students	51%	96%	2%	13%	8%	33%
Woman	48%	97%	3%	24%	2%	25%
Men	55%	95%	2%	2%	13%	42%

Table 1. Participation in Post-Compulsory Education (Japan)

Average Earnings of Women and Men

The increase in the labour force since 1950 has added 10 million women. Of the 12.3 million nettotal of new jobs created since 1975, more than half (6.6 million) have been filled by women. Most of these have been filled by women employees. The number of women employees has risen from less than 10 million in 1965 to over 20 million now with the consequence that about 80% of both women

^{*} COE Research Fellow, Reserch Institute of Higher Education, Hiroshima University

The article was originally published in "Daigaku Ronshu" (English), No. 30, 2000.

and men in the labour force are now employees. Previously, substantial numbers of women were employed as family workers. In 1965 they amounted to 37% of the women's labour force and their number (6.9 million) approached the number who worked as employees (9.1 million); now the number of family workers has fallen to less than 3 million and their proportion to less than 12%.

Complementary change can be seen in the type of employment.³ In the 1950's, primary, secondary and tertiary industry each accommodated roughly one-third of the labour force. By 1995, employment in primary industry had shrunk to about 5% of the labour force and employment in tertiary industry - which now accounts for two-thirds of GDP - had grown to over 60 %. In agriculture there have been reductions of about 3 million jobs for women and for men. And in the manufacturing, finance, and services sectors the growth in employment of 15 million jobs has been shared equally by men and women; while in the wholesale and retail trades there has been creation of more jobs for women than men (Table 2). Within this growth, women and men appear to have shared employment in those areas that offer high rewards. Large increases in the number of sales jobs have provided more employment for men than for women; but in the growth of professional and technical employment, women match men numerically - and consequently exceed them proportionately; and women dominate the growth in clerical appointments.

	Total	Women	Men
(a) By Nature of Employment			-
Self-Employed	-16	-0.4	-12
Family Worker	-5.2	-3.7	-1.5
Employee	24.4	11.4	13
(b) By Sector			
Agriculture	-7.1	-3.9	-3.2
Construction	3.3	0.6	2.7
Manufacture	3.1	1.2	1.9
Wholesale	4.4	2.8	1.6
Services	9.1	4.8	4.3
Finance	2.6	1.3	1.3
Government	0.6	0.2	0.4
(c) By Type of Employment			
Professional & Technical	5.6	2.5	3.1
Managerial	1.1	0.2	0.9
Clerical	6.1	4.9	1.2
Sales	3.3	0.9	2.4
Protective Services	2.6	1.4	1.2

Table 2. Number of Additional Jobs Created, 1965-1995 (Japan)

Given these substantial changes in the structure of the labour force and in society generally, it is perhaps surprising that many of the overall statistics of women's employment have changed little.² The increased number of women in the labour force has been provided not by extension of the labour

Keith J. Morgan

force but by demographic growth. The rate of participation by women in the labour force is unchanged since 1965 at 50%; and the proportion of the labour force provided by women remains at 40% (a proportion achieved in 1965 and actually lower than the 42% reported in 1955). The proportion of women excluded from labour force statistics because they are engaged in housekeeping has fallen from a high of 37% in 1975 but still remains at 30%, the same proportion it was in 1955.

The changes in structure of employment have been accompanied by increases in earnings.⁴ After allowing for the effects of inflation, over the past 30 years the value of average earnings has risen by about 2.5 times, equivalent to an apparent real annual rate of increase of 3%. Moreover, the average increase for women (2.9 times, corresponding to an annual rate of 3.6%) has been significantly greater than that for men (2.4 times, 3% p.a.).

In consequence, average earnings for women relative to men have increased by 20% over this period. Even so, the increase has been only from 49% of men's average earnings in 1966 to 59% in 1996. A large part of these increases is attributable to higher productivity, itself derived from a combination of growth of new industry and a better educated labour force. But superimposed on these are statistical variations originating in social, demographic, and political decisions. In effect these render comparison of the overall averages equivalent to comparing oranges and apples. In 1966, the average age of all employees was 32 years, their normal working week was about 47 hours including about 6 hours overtime, and over half (55%) had completed formal education at junior high school. By 1996, the average age had increased to 39 years, the working week had shrunk to 41 hours, of which 3 were overtime, and 87% had completed senior high school, college or university education. Entirely similar problems afflict comparisons of the overall average age (3 years), experience (5 years), and hours worked (3 hours per week) are further complicated by differences in the education mix and in the sectors of employment.

Comparison of earnings, either for women over time or between the earnings of women and men, becomes informative only if it can be done on the basis of equal or equivalent work. At the same time the extent of any corrections necessary to achieve this can also indicate the scale of existing differentials. While the process does not necessarily identify differences arising from discrimination, it can indicate where and to what extent discrimination may be occurring. Some indications of the size of the contributions due to inequalities in gender, age, experience, hours worked and education in Japan are shown in Table 3. The corrections needed to provide these comparisons are discussed below.

Conventional figures corresponding to the ratio of 59% for the average earnings of women in Japan are recorded in both national⁵ and international⁶ publications. The prime virtues of these figures are that they are numerically correct. To become useful, corrections are needed to allow for the variations due to differences in average age, education mix, experience and hours worked. When this is done it allows comparison to be made between the average earnings for a woman and a man of the same age, experience and educational attainment working for the same length of time. The corrections

		Adjusted for difference between Women and Men					
	Ratio of Average Earnings	in average hours of work	in average age ^b and experience	in educational mix			
Women's Earnings as Percentage of Men's	59%	62%	68%	72%			

Table 3. Relative Average Earnings^a of Women with Respect to Men (f-t Employees, Japan, 1996)

^a annual earnings are estimated from monthly contract earnings plus annual bonus payments

^b average age, 39.5 years calculated for employees over the age-range 20-59.

are not trivial. Annual survey data are available relating average earnings at each age for both men and women employed in industry.⁴ Recalculation of average earnings for women using the age distribution for men automatically yields the same average age. It also corrects for the dissymmetry in age distribution: the women's labour force is heavily biased towards younger, lower earning women. And because experience and hours of work are also age-related, it corrects in part for the differences in experience and hours worked.⁷ Completion of the corrections - for the residual differences in experience (4 years) and scheduled time (0.5 hours per week) and overtime (2 hours per week) worked - by using average values, further increases the proportion of an average man's earnings that a woman would receive to 68%. The largest single component of these changes is provided by the difference in length of experience (5 years) which accounts for about three-quarters of the increase at the average age.

The remaining factor is that of education. The survey data provide figures for earnings categorised according to four levels of educational attainment: junior high school (JHS), senior high school (SHS), 2-year colleges and universities. The proportions of the educational levels in the women's labour force differ greatly from those for men: JHS, women 12%, men, 14%; SHS, women 55%, men 51%; College, women, 24%, men, 7%; University, women 8%, men 28%. It is a familiar observation that, on average, achievement of higher levels of education yields higher earnings.⁸ In this instance, the low proportion of high-earning women university graduates provides a negative bias. The survey data allow appropriate adjustments to be made to the earnings averages to remove this bias. By combining the survey data for the populations of men of different educational level at each age with women's levels of earnings, there is obtained an estimate of the average earnings which a woman would have achieved if she had the same age distribution and educational mix as the average man. The effect of incorporating this change to the education-mix is to improve the earnings ratio to 72% (Table 3).

Even more informatively, availability of the wage structure survey data, categorised according to educational attainment, allows similar comparisons to be made between the earnings of women and men of the same average age, experience and hours of work separately for each level of education (Table 4). It is apparent that the adjustments to the contributory factors produce substantial changes in the earnings ratios. This is particularly so for college and university graduates (UC graduates) where the average earnings approach parity.

Education Level	Junior High School	Senior High School	College	University
Average Age (Years)	47.8	39.5	33.4	37.5
Unadjusted Ratio	52%	60%	73%	64%
Adjustment for Age	1%	1%	2%	3%
Adjustment for Experience	9%	10%	12%	21%
Adjustment for Hours Worked	1%	1%	5%	2%
Adjusted Ratio	63%	72%	92%	90%

Table 4.	Levels of Earnings for Women Relative to Men by Levels of Education ^a
	(f-t Employees, Japan, 1996)

^a Women's age, experience, hours worked adjusted to average values for men in the corresponding education category. Adjustment of average age for JHS women to that of JHS men reduces the average age; elsewhere all adjustments are increases.

Although it may be expected that earnings differentials will be smaller for graduates than for high school leavers (HS leavers), caution is needed in comparing average earnings between the educational levels. Not merely do the average ages of those in the labour force from each level of education differ, but the average ages of UC graduates in the labour force-and especially of women graduates - are below those of HS leavers. While this does not affect the results qualitatively, it would be expected that age might have a large effect on the earnings ratios.⁹ It is also necessary to be cautious in identifying experience as the major factor accounting for differences in women's and men's earnings. For the averages this is clearly true but, as experience is inevitably a function of age, this could be coincidental. Confirmation of the general significance of both of these points is provided by the more detailed analysis given below.

Changes in Relative Earnings, 1976-1996

It has already been noted that over the past half century, changes in earnings have accompanied the growth in employment and education. Increased earnings reflect both the increased general affluence due to increased productivity, which is shared generally, and also the changes in relativities accompanying changes in economic structure. It might be expected that the effects on women's

earnings will have been large. Comparison across the full period since 1955 is difficult as labour statistics for women in their current form are available only for the past 25-years. However, appearance of change in labour force averages lags well behind introduction of educational change. Results of wider access to extended education for women in the 1950's and 1960's would only be expected to have become apparent in the last quarter of a century. Indeed, it is over the period 1970-96 that the number of women university graduates in the population has increased from 0.5 million to 2.5 million, and of college graduates from 1.5 million to 4 million.

From 1976 to 1996, apparent average earnings for women increased by 42% in real terms (i.e. after allowing for inflation and applying the appropriate adjustments for changes in average age, experience and hours worked). This increase is substantially bigger than that achieved by men (34%). Moreover almost all of this increase occurred¹⁰ during the decade, 1986-96. It can be linked to the growth in number of skilled technical, professional and managerial jobs (120%) filled by women. Opportunities for women to be appointed to these jobs flow directly from expansion of educational access. Over this same period, the proportions of women UC graduates employed in industry rose from 9% to 33%. But one consequence of this is that when average earnings are adjusted to allow for the effect of this enrichment of the educational mix, the increase in earnings for the average woman is reduced to 25%.

This effect is confirmed by consideration of average earnings for each educational level. Over the period 1976-96, average earnings increased for women of all educational levels but both relatively and absolutely, larger increases were achieved by UC graduates (Table 5).

Education Level	Average Age	verage Age Scheduled Pay Scheduled Pay Monthly, 1976 as % of 1976 Pay		iled Pay 1976 Pay	Change in Women's Pay as %Men's Pay
	years	Y million	1986	1996	1976-1996
Junior High School	49.5	0.163	91%	110%	90%
Senior High School	37.5	0.171	102%	119%	104%
College	30	0.178	104%	124%	110%
University	31	0.208	105%	128%	114%

 Table 5. Average Earnings ^a for Women 1976-96 by Level of Education

 (f-t Employees, Japan, 1996)

^a Scheduled earnings (1996 yen) adjusted for inflation and for variations in age, experience, and hours worked between men and women and for changes between 1976, 1986 and 1996.

compulsory education (JHS leavers) suffered a relative decrease of 10% in their earnings. Moreover, with the exception of JHS leavers, while men's earnings decreased in real terms in the first half of the period (1976-86), women's earnings increased relatively and in real terms over the whole of the period.¹¹

Part-time Employment The combination of duties undertaken by women has established parttime (p-t) employment as an accepted feature of their work. In the past this was largely seen in the pattern of employment in family businesses (mainly in agriculture) but now it has become a significant element in the wider labour force.¹² The number of women p-t employees in industry has grown from 7% of all women employees in 1976 to 26% in 1996. The proportion of men p-t employees remains small (<3%).

The amount of labour provided by p-t employees is also substantial. On average, p-t employees work for about two-thirds of the time of full-time (f-t) employees, so in total their numbers represent about 3 million f-t equivalent workers, or 17% of the f-t equivalent of all women employees. Even so, their earnings are low. If it can be assumed that the majority of p-t employees are HS leavers, then after adjusting for differences in average ages, experience, and hours worked, rates of pay can be compared. On this basis, p-t workers are paid 70% of the hourly rate paid to women f-t SHS employees; and are on average paid less than half (47%) of the hourly rate paid to men SHS employees.

Part-time employment is concentrated in 3 major sectors: manufacturing, services, and wholesale and retail trades.¹³ Moreover, in response to domestic demand - and in accord with international experience - it is likely that the proportion of p-t workers in these sectors will continue to rise. For women, p-t employment proves convenient and compatible with social needs; for employers it provides a flexible and cheap work force with minimal training requirements.⁹ The combination of a growing pool of labour and large numbers of p-t employees working for relatively low pay must affect the labour market. In practice, it must be expected that one consequence will be a persistence of the earnings gap between men and women for HS leavers in those sectors of industry able to offer extensive p-t employment to women.

Effects of Age and Experience on Earnings

Although comparison of average earnings of workers across all age-groups is informative, it does not provide material useful for more detailed analysis. Apart from obscuring actual levels and spreads of earnings, use of such averages is inadequate for dealing with a number of specific problems. Three such problems can be recognised:

(a) average earnings for each educational category correspond to different average ages and

associated conditions so no direct comparisons are possible; in particular, the apparent influence of educational levels on earnings relativities could arise from differences in average ages;

- (b) the apparent approach to equality of earnings for women UC graduates could be a consequence of the low average ages of UC graduates in employment: the statistical bias towards younger women would weight the averages towards equality whatever the earnings of older graduates; and
- (c) average earnings provide no information about the mechanisms by which increase in age affects the levels and relativities of earnings.

Cross-sectional comparisons made at specific ages can provide useful information on these matters.

A comparison was made of the earnings for women in employment in industry according to each of the 4 levels of educational attainment for 3 age-ranges: 20-24 years, 30-34 years, and 40-44 years. These cover the ages of initial employment when a high proportion of women is in the labour force; a middle period when a large number has withdrawn from employment; and a steady state period when many women return to work. To show the changes that have occurred over time, data for 1976 and 1996 were used. The results are given in Table 6.

Educational Level	Average R Ye	Average Range 20-24 Years		ange 30-34 ars	Average Range 40-44 Years		
	1976	1996	1976 1996		1976	1996	
Junior High School	79%	76%	63%	67%	59%	63%	
Senior High School	89%	89%	70% 78%		69%	70%	
College	98%	100%	75%	87%	76%	77%	
University	99%	97%	83%	91%	79%	80%	

 Table 6. Earnings for Women (1976, 1996) Relative to Men by Age and Level of Education^a

 (f-t Employees, Japan)

^a Scheduled earnings adjusted to levels of experience and hours of work for men

It is immediately apparent that the effects of educational levels on earnings are fully confirmed. At all ages, more education does correspond to more equality of earnings between women and men. But it is also evident that age and time play substantial parts in determining the closeness of approach to equality. On initial employment in 1996, women UC graduates effectively achieved equal pay but for those in the age-range 30-34 years significant differences between women and men are apparent; and these differences are wider for those aged 40-44. In this there has been surprisingly little change over

Keith J. Morgan

the past 20-years: a similar description applied equally to the situation in 1976. Since then it is only for women UC graduates aged 30-34 that there has been any real change in their earnings relative to men; for initial employees and those in the age-range 40-44, the ratio of earnings remains unchanged. A similar description also applies to HS leavers, though for them earnings are less equal, even for those in the 20-24 age range. It follows that, after having started employment with similar levels of earnings, the decreases in ratios derive from differences in the annual increases received by women and men. In particular, for those with post-compulsory education, most of the widening gap in earnings is attributable to these differential increases.

Increase in earnings over time is a common experience. The increases are frequently identified with increase in age but they are more properly attributed to increased productivity. As a result of the acquisition of skill and experience, the value of individual workers increases over time and this raises the level of their earnings. The ability to obtain new or additional skills by training is related to educational attainment. At a basic level, literacy and numeracy are the fundamental attributes needed to acquire additional skills; for complex systems and advanced technology, higher levels of knowledge are required. Initial competence in work is related to an achieved level of education but in addition, a capacity for learning is important in obtaining new skills. It follows that levels of earnings and increases in earnings are both greater for those with higher educational attainments.

Training, both explicit and implicit, is provided in employment in order to increase productivity. Two general categories of provision for training can be characterised. One is job-specific training, provided and paid for by the employer. This form of training is designed to meet the needs of the employer and in general may be of little value in other employment: it can be classified as "non-portable". To recover the cost of training, the employer needs to retain staff and so rewards "length of service" or "experience". The reward, in the form of higher earnings, provides an inducement for the worker to remain with the company. An alternative type of training provides access to more general skills. It remains advantageous to the employer to provide such training as a means of increasing productivity but the benefits may be "portable" and so also be of value to the employee and to other employers. In principle, the costs of this training will be carried, at least in part, by the employee will expect to recover these costs over time through enhanced earnings, not necessarily from the same employer. To achieve this, the employee will expect to receive earnings that increase with age.¹⁴

Both categories of training provision lead to patterns of earnings that become institutionalised within employment and social structures. And because they both lead to earnings that increase over time, it is not always simple to identify those reflecting experience and those reflecting age. For earnings of women and men in Japan, the published data provide a matrix of earnings by age and by experience which lends itself to analysis. It is possible to extract estimates of the two components; they differ for women and men and for the different levels of education. For men, the rate of yearly increase due to experience for all levels of education is about 1%; rates attributable to age vary from

0.5 and 0.6%pa for JHS and SHS leavers to 1.1 and 2.0%pa for college and university graduates. In contrast, for women, experience provides the larger component, at a yearly rate of about 1.7%. Only for women university graduates does age provide a comparable rate of growth of 1.4%pa; for women college graduates the component due to age is 0.4%pa and for HS leavers it becomes negative: JHS, -0.1%; SHS, -0.2%pa. These figures provide insights into two separate aspects of gender distinctions in employment.¹⁵

In terms of training provision, low age-based increases are expected for all HS leavers but zero or negative increases for women suggest strongly that the training provided for them is restricted to job-specific, non-portable training. At the other extreme, the higher age-related increases for university graduates are in accord with expectation but again the results suggest that women receive less general, portable training than men graduates.¹⁶ Such training is frequently associated with programmes of career development.

In terms of earnings, the distinction between age-related and experience-related increases accounts for most of the differences which accrue over time. While both age and experience are time dependent, the rate of increase of experience cannot exceed the rate of increase of age. The belief in life-time employment in Japan would suggest that the two might be similar. This is not so. Even for men, experience (i.e. service with their current employer) grows at about two-thirds of the rate of age: on average, after 25-years in employment, men achieve about 18-years of experience. Women employees have less experience, although those university graduates who remain in employment approach the level for men. So the percentage increases in earnings achieved by women and men based on experience become roughly equal, the greater extent of men's experience balancing the greater rate of increase found for women. In contrast, the age-related increases for men are substantially greater than those for women. It is these increases that appear to constitute a major factor in causing the gap between women's and men's earnings to widen with age.

Earnings Coefficients

The average earnings of women approach those of men most closely at the start of their employment. It is the differences in the increases they receive subsequently that generate the wider disparities in earnings. The previous discussion identified improvements in productivity due to age, experience and training as central components determining average increases. The average increases do though contain - and conceal - wide variations between the increases paid to individuals and to specific groups of employees. A number of universal factors are identifiable as contributing to these variations: gender, education, industry, and within industry, sector, size, and location. The general effects of gender and education have already been demonstrated explicitly in the previous sections (men earn more than women; more education is good for your earnings). To establish their quantitative significance across the full diversity of employment it is necessary to establish estimates of the contributions attributable to each of them and to the industry-based factors.¹⁷

A variety of methods is available for analysing earnings data to estimate the relative contributions of such factors.¹⁸ In Japan, regularities in the structure of earnings of full-time employees permits the use of an earnings coefficient as a simple and direct measure of the increases.¹⁹ The earnings coefficient measures the relative increase in earnings of a specified group (e.g. women) with respect to a reference group (e.g. all employees). A special feature of earnings in Japan is that, to a high level of precision (regression coefficient > 0.9) the increases obtained by the full range of groups identified in the Basic Survey of Wage Structure⁴ are proportional to the average increases for all f-t employees.²⁰ This is illustrated in Figure 1.





The point A marks the earnings obtained at the start of employment (i.e. in the age-range 20-24 years) by those in the reference group (All Employees) and for each specified group (e.g. All Men; All Women). The increased earnings obtained at each age are plotted against those for the reference group: these define good straight lines (AW, AE, AM). If AE is the line obtained for the reference group (All Employees, slope, BE/AB =1.0), then the lines for the specified groups (e.g. All men, AM and All Women, AW) give the earnings coefficients as the ratios BM/BE and BW/BE. Earnings coefficients are accessible both for broad classifications (e.g. all men, 1.26; all women, 0.44: all employees, 1.0) and for discrete groupings (e.g. senior high school women employed in medium sized companies in the construction industry, 0.33) simply by correlating earnings data for the specified group against the reference group. Over 500 coefficients are in principle directly available in this way. But more immediately useful is the ability to identify coefficients corresponding to the increases due to the effects of gender, level of education, size of company and sector of employment. Values of the coefficients obtained directly from the reported data for these factors are shown in Table 7. These factors may be combined with each other to give estimates for specific employment groupings (the product of the factors for "women", "senior high school", "medium", and "construction industry" gives

the value 0.35 in good agreement with that obtained directly from the reported data). In general the correlation is found to be fairly good (r, 0.84) between coefficients obtained directly from the available data and those calculated from the 16 basic parameters (Table 7).

	Values Obtain from Earni	Corrected Values					
	All Emp	loyees	High So	chool l	_eavers	University a Gradu	& College ates
Gender Factors	Women	Men	Women	1	Men	Women	Men
	0.45	1.25	0.26		0.93	0.76	1.86
Size of Company							
Large (>)	1.6	1		1.6		1.2	6
Medium (100 - 999)	0.9	5		0.92		0.9	2
Small (<)	0.5	8		0.67		0.67	
Level of Education							
Junior High School	0.5	5		0.71		-	
Senior High School	0.8	8		1.07		-	
College	1			-		0.7	8
University	2.1	3		-		1.52	1.07
Sector							
Construction	0.9	4		1.12		0.8	8
Manufacturing	0.9	9	0.54		1.12	0.8	8
Manufacturing (Supervision)	1.5	6		1.4		0.8	8
Wholesale & Retail	1.1	6		1.12		0.8	8
Finance & Insurance	1.6	9	2.72		1.70	1.1	2
Services	0.9	4		1.12		1.1	2
Transport & Communications	0.8	7	1.4		0.67	0.8	8

Table 7. Earnings Coefficients for Employment in Japanese Industry, 1996

In this form, the correlation establishes both the significance and the scale of the contributions of the 4 factors in determining increases in earnings. Quantitative expression is given to the familiar benefits obtained from education, employment in large companies, in selected sectors, and from being born a man. The factors are seen to be of similar magnitude. The range of benefits from education (3.8, accounting for approximately one-third of the total range of differences in increases in earnings) appear to be slightly larger than those from gender and size (2.8, approx. one-quarter) and about twice as large as from variation of the sector of employment (1.9 approximately one-sixth).

As they stand, the precision of these "empirical" coefficients" is affected by statistical distortions. These limit their use in analysing the earnings of individual groups of employees. Three causes of distortion can be identified:

(a) the high proportion of men employees (70% overall) and their dominance in some segments of the labour force (e.g. university graduates, 88%, construction, 85%, and transport, 88%, industries) may obscure effects arising from women employees: in particular, the initial observation that gender-neutral factors can be used for education, size and sector may be flawed;

- (b) the change with age in the proportions of HS leavers and UC graduates in the women's labour force affects the linearity of some earnings data and the values of the derived coefficients;²¹
- (c) variation in the composition of the labour force between industries modifies relative increases of earnings without necessarily affecting the increases for individual groups of employees.²²

The distortions are conveniently removed by recalculating the basic earnings coefficients from those for fourth-order groups (gender-education-size-industry) which are essentially free from these distortions. By combining them in the appropriately weighted overall average proportions, separate factors for women and men employees are generated. This procedure also allows the parameters to be expressed for the categories of HS-leavers and UC graduates. The results are shown in Table 7.

The precision with which coefficients can be estimated from the corrected and extended set of parameters is high (r = 0.94 for 400 coefficients). While it is to be expected that precision will be improved by an increase in the number of parameters from 16 to 52 ($4x \ 11 + 4x2$), in this instance the much larger cause of improved precision lies in separating the parameters for women and men between UC graduates and HS leavers. The results confirm the utility of this division, already identified as a major factor in discussion of the origins of earnings increases. Immediately it allows about two-thirds of the additional parameters to be seen as redundant (i.e. they do not differ significantly), indicating an absence of gender-related parameters for most education, size and industry factors. The exceptions are for university graduates and for HS leavers in the manufacturing, finance and transport sectors of industry. The effective residual set of 20 parameters (Table 7) retains the precision of the extended set (r = 0.94), confirming that they accommodate almost all (90%) of earnings diversity.

The basic gender and education parameters emphasise the importance to be attached to these two factors. Increases in earnings for UC men graduates are twice those for HS leavers; and for women the ratio is 3. For men, education beyond the completion of compulsory schooling yields approximately equal increases in earnings for each extra year spent in senior high school, college and university, giving the ratios JHS: SHS: College: University: 2: 3: 4.5: 6. In contrast, for women the benefits derived from time spent at college is greater than that from senior high school; and from university, greater than that from college leading to the ratios 2: 3: 6: 12. Amongst UC graduates, it is only for university education that there is an additional gender-related parameter. It seems likely that this should be seen as a relatively high value for women rather than a low value for men. Even so, and despite its size, it still leaves increases for university women graduates at less than 60% of those for men.

In general there is less variation due to the effects of size or sector of industry for UC graduates

than for HS leavers. Such selectivity as occurs appears to favour women. While over half of men UC employees are in the manufacturing (29%) and wholesale (24%) sectors, a majority of UC women is employed in the higher earnings sectors of services (46%) and finance (12%), with only one-third in the manufacturing and wholesale sectors. For HS leavers, the parameters for size and sector cover a wider range but also indicate a number of gender-dependent sectors. Relatively high increases are indicated for HS women in both finance and transport sectors, though the proportion of HS women employed in them is not large (8.2%, 3.9%). The transport sector is an important area of employment for men HS leavers (18%, second only to manufacturing) but provides notably low increases; the finance sector provides high earnings but offers relatively few jobs to men HS leavers (1.8%). Untypically²³ it is manufacturing industry that appears to contain a large number of "women's jobs": increases are very low for women, in contrast to men who obtain increases close to the average. In manufacturing industry there is a high proportion of the women JHS leavers (55% of those in employment) and they constitute a much higher proportion (29%) of the women HS leavers employed than is found in any other sector of industry. This - and a large number of part-time women employees - may well account for the relatively low earnings obtained by women HS leavers in manufacturing industry: for men the proportion of JHS leavers in manufacturing industry does not differ significantly from that for all industry.

Rates of Return

In previous sections it has been shown that benefits in earnings arise from education and in particular that more benefits accrue to women university and college graduates. The benefits are not cost-free. The process of education carries costs: direct costs - notably tuition fees; and indirect costs-notably the earnings foregone by students during periods of full-time education. Despite the perception of those who pay tuition charges -usually parents - it is the indirect costs that constitute the larger component (about 70-80% of total costs in Japan). If the costs are regarded as investment, it is possible to estimate a return in terms of the additional earnings attributable to them.²⁴ Conventionally this is done by considering the additional earnings obtained by those who undertake different levels of post-compulsory education in relation to the educational costs incurred. As almost all students in Japan complete senior high school at the age of 18, the comparison is effectively restricted to assessment of the costs and financial benefits associated with higher education in universities and two-year colleges relative to completion of senior high school.

Rates of return are obtained by equating the net present value of costs and benefits according to the standard relation:

$$\sum W_n(1+r)^{-n} = \sum c_n(1+r)^{-n}$$

where w_n and c_n are the additional earnings and costs incurred in year n. When the costs are those incurred by those receiving education and the benefits are the extra earnings they subsequently obtain, iterative solution for r gives the rate of private return. Rates of private return for women from higher

education relative to senior high school are given in Table 8; the rates are similar to those that have been reported previously.²⁵

	Unive	Colleges	
Women Graduates	National	Private	Private
All Employment	11.1%	9.6%	9.5%
Large Companies	12.7%	11.1%	14.0%
Small Companies	7.7%	6.3%	3.5%
Men Graduates	7.7%	6.8%	3.2%

 Table 8. Rates of Private Return from Investment in Higher Education for Women

 (Japan, 1996)^{a, b}

^a Net costs for women put at: National Universities, Y2.1 million (18, 19 years old),

Y2.7 million (20, 21 years old); Private universities, Y2.7 million (18, 19 years old),

Y3.3 million (20, 21 years old); [References 1, 4]

^b Assumes full employment over the period 22-60 years

While it is generally accepted that investment in human capital through higher education offers good returns.²⁶ some argument remains about the appropriate values to be used for both costs and benefits. The rates shown in Table 8 are obtained on the standard basis of identifying investment with the costs of tuition and other educational charges and the net earnings foregone; and return on this investment is identified with the differences in earnings at each age between UC graduates and SHS leavers. However, some of the costs of higher education could be assigned to consumption rather than investment.⁸ Participation in university and college life is regarded as an immediate benefit of higher education; and an improved quality of life enjoyed by UC graduates is generally accepted as a durable consumption benefit.²⁷ To the extent that part of the expenses purchases these benefits, the amount invested is reduced. Conversely, it is regularly noted that there are additional non-educational direct costs associated with participation in higher education. Living expenses for attendance at university and college are high: an average of Y 0.8 million is reported.¹ Half of this arises from the normal costs of living, incurred irrespective of participation in higher education: this is implicitly included in the indirect cost of earnings foregone. There are though additional costs of living for those who choose to live away from home in dormitories or private accommodation. Such extra costs might well be identified as consumption but, to the extent that they enable a graduate to obtain a better paid job, they could be characterised as investment.

It is also possible to argue that the financial benefits from higher education are less than the additional earnings obtained. Indeed, it has already been indicated above that post-employment

training and experience are major factors in generating higher earnings. In this regard, higher education provides graduates, through a combination of credentials, specialised knowledge, and learning skills, with access to subsequent advancement. A number of studies has suggested that not less than two-thirds of the additional earnings are properly attributable directly to higher education.²⁶

No similar estimates exist to identify the proportion of total costs attributable to consumption. A common assumption by parents is that all the direct costs (tuition fees, living expenses) - which they provide - constitute consumption. If so, investment is limited to the indirect costs - provided by the student - and rates of private return for women UC graduates would rise to 12.1% (university) and 12.6% (college). Conversely, if the direct costs are increased to include the extra costs of living away from home as well as tuition fees, the private rate would fall to 10.5% (dormitories) and 9.3% (private apartments) for women graduates of national universities; and to 8.7% (dormitories) and 8.2% for women graduates of similar risk suggests that they are more than satisfactory even if only two-thirds is directly attributable to UC graduation. Moreover, these returns are estimated from the average earnings currently obtained at each age (1996 cross-sectional data) and consequently they provide conservative estimates of future earnings. Quasi-longitudinal data indicate that over the past 30 years general economic growth has generated additional real increases in rates of return will need to be added to those shown in Table 8 and discussed above.

Despite their lower earnings, the relative rates of return for women are higher than those achieved by men.¹⁹ A part of this arises from the lower indirect costs incurred by women as a result of the slightly lower level of earnings they forego as students; but the larger part is due to the greater advantage in the earnings of women UC graduates relative to women SHS leavers. This reflects the closer approach to pay-equality with men achieved by women UC graduates than by women SHS leavers. It is perhaps ironic that as women HS leavers approach pay-equality with men, the relative rate of return advantage enjoyed by women UC graduates will be eroded.

 Table 9. Effects of Early Retirement on Rates of Private Return from Higher Education

 for Women (Japan, 1996)

Age of Retirement	Unive	Junior Colleges		
(years)	National	Private	Private	
60	11.1%	9.6%	9.5%	
55	10.8%	9.2%	9.2%	
50	10.3%	8.7%	8.7%	
45	9.4%	7.7%	8.0%	
40	7.9%	6.0%	6.5%	
35	4.6%	2.4%	3.5%	

Unlike other investments, the capital invested in education cannot be realised by selling the asset other than in the labour market; and the yield is only achieved over a prolonged period of time. The number of women UC graduates who achieve the high rates of return shown in Table 8 is small. A large majority of both college and university graduates leaves full-time employment well before the age of 60. This diminishes the rates of private return that they can achieve (Table 9) but, even for those women who withdraw from the labour force at ages down to 40-years, the rates of return remain better than those for men. Less satisfactory are the rates of social return for women university graduates. Social return measures the yield obtained from investment by the community in provision of facilities. For this purpose, the costs of providing higher education include the direct capital costs of buildings and equipment and the recurrent costs of labour and consumables; indirect costs are the loss of wealth that would have been generated by those removed from the labour force by virtue of extended education. For university graduates at their current levels of participation in the labour force, previous study²⁸ has shown that rates of social return for women are restricted to about 5.4%, below the value for men (5.9%). In contrast, social return for women college graduates is higher (6.2%) and substantially larger than that achieved by men, suggesting a continuing social advantage in provision of resources for women in junior colleges.

Until recently, this advantage appeared to be reflected in student preferences. In the past, substantially more women entered junior colleges than universities. Since 1993, numbers of women in junior colleges have declined while enrolment in universities has increased.¹ By 1996 more women entered universities than junior colleges and the number of women enrolled in universities (4-year) is now more than twice the number in junior colleges (2-year). Significantly more parents²⁷ now also wish their daughters to attend university (40%) than junior college (29%). Evidence for a perception of direct economic advantage for this trend is slender and appears to be limited to a better opportunity for women university graduates to obtain employment in popular sectors. Rates of return for women graduating from private universities are similar to those from junior colleges; and cumulative average earnings for women university graduates only exceed those for junior college graduates after the age of 33-years. This suggests that aspiration, opportunity and equality exercise considerable influence in the preferential selection of university education. These factors may also be important in subsequent patterns of employment. Professionally and technically qualified women are more readily assimilated into existing career structures, encouraging employment for extended periods. Moreover, the established social assumption that married women seek employment only from economic necessity has diminishing relevance.²⁷ Already amongst women married to salaried workers, over half of those currently in employment indicate that they choose to work for reasons of personal satisfaction or professional achievement rather than financial need.

Future Trends

Three aspects of the changes that have affected women during the past half century might be

characterised as: participation, parity and opportunity. Progress in all three has been substantial and will undoubtedly continue. Coupled with growth, increased social, economic and legislative pressure over the next 20-years will support extension of equality of opportunity and of participation in the labour force; demography may well ensure delivery of the benefits. The accompanying progress towards parity of earnings is likely to be slower. At one level it will be facilitated by structural change towards merit-based systems and wider differentials for expertise; but extension of full-time and part-time women's jobs and continuation of social payments to men are likely to impose upper limits.²³

Average earnings for women will inevitably increase over the next 20 years by virtue of an increase in the proportions of UC graduates and retirement of low-paid JHS leavers from the labour force. By the year 2016, those now in the labour force of ages 20-39 years will have become 40-59 years old. With only a conservative assumption that rates of participation in the labour force will remain as stable as they have over the past 20-years, that segment of the labour force is already established. It implies that the proportion of women UC graduates in this age-range in the labour force will increase to 39%; and the proportion of those from JHS will decrease to 5%. The numbers of women who will be of ages 20 - 39 years in the population of 2016 is also already known;² the composition of this segment of the labour force is uncertain only to the extent that participation rates and education policies change. Two models were used to simulate possible changes in educational provision. One represents a highly conservative model in which the overall proportion of women receiving higher education is held at the present level¹ (about 40%) but allows the number of university women to increase, and of junior college students to decrease, at about 2% p.a.; the second model allows the participation rate for higher education for women to rise to 50% by means of growth in university numbers by about 4% p.a. and a decrease in junior college numbers by 2% p.a.. For both models, the rate of decrease of those entering the labour force at the end of compulsory education (JHS) was set at -2% p.a. Then, even on the unlikely assumption that labour force participation does not increase, by 2016, the proportion of UC women graduates in this segment of the labour force will rise to 37% (model 1) or 46% (model 2). Results for the whole population are in Table 10.

Over the 20-year time span, divergence between the two models is small. Statistically, JHS leavers are replaced by UC graduates in the labour force. This change in education-mix will raise average earnings for women by 12%-14%. As JHS leavers constitute a smaller proportion of men in the labour force, and the numbers of men university graduates are likely to increase less than those of women, the average earnings of women will increase relative to those of men. On the assumption that the existing differentials in hours of work, age and experience persist, and at 1996 levels of earnings, these changes would raise the conventional figure for international comparisons of the average earnings of women relative to men to about 70%. Increases above this level will indicate progress towards equality of opportunity, participation and earnings.

It is unlikely that changes in earnings will be restricted to these levels even if no more substantial educational innovations occur. Other fundamental changes will have important effects during the next

Labour Force	Junior High School	Senior High School	College	University
1990 Employed Women Women Employees	23% 20%	53% 53%	17% 19%	7% 8%
1996 Women Employees	19%	57%	19%	6%
2016 Employed Women Model 1 Model 2	5% 4%	58% 54%	22% 23%	15% 20%
Women Employees Model 1 Model 2	4% 4%	57% 52%	23% 23%	16% 21%

Table 10. Composition of the Labour Force. Women in Japan, 1990-2016^{a, b}

- ^a Composition of the labour force calculated from rates of age-participation in employment and as employees from the 1990 Census and aggregated over the age-range 20-59 years. Figures for employees in 1996 are taken from the Basic Survey on Wage Structure [Reference 4].
- ^b Average Scheduled earnings calculated for each educational level at each age by using average earnings for 1996 uncorrected for hours worked and experience. Earnings were aggregated over the age-range 20-59 and combined in the proportions indicated for employees and employed women. The results showed little variation: employed women, model 1, Y (000), 238 (increase 13%); model 2, 242 (15%); employees, model 1, 236.4 (12%); model 2, 240.7 (14%).

20 years. Contraction of the labour force² by about 8 million (14%) will more than absorb any reduction in employment from industrial and commercial restructuring; and even with devices such as delayed retirement a shortfall in the labour force will occur. Recurrence of increased demand for women employees, which accompanied economic growth in the 1960's, will inevitably again create additional opportunities for extended participation by women in the labour force.

Structural change due to loss of JHS leavers from the labour force seems unlikely to aggravate this situation as it is already being discounted in industry.⁴ The largest employer of women JHS leavers has been manufacturing industry. Thirty years ago almost all women employed as production workers were JHS leavers (88%); by 1976, the proportion had fallen to three-quarters; by 1996 the proportion was less than half and, in the larger companies, less than a quarter. This has accompanied major technological change: a general decline in the economic dominance of manufacturing industry,³ and a reduction in the proportion of the labour force it employs (women, 1976, 41%; 1996, 30%). Conversely, growth of employment for women in services (1976, 19%; 1996, 33%) is almost entirely due to the increased proportion of UC graduates (1976, 19%; 1996, 45%).

Of much greater concern is the apparently irreconcilable immediate need for greater participation

by women in the labour force and the long-term requirement to raise the birth-rate. These two imperatives are closely connected. Marriage and commencement of a family is seen to be in direct conflict with the immediate advantage of remaining single and in full-time employment. Even though marriage remains the social norm, it occurs at increasingly later ages.⁹ Extensive evidence of the economic benefits from marriage²⁹ do not outweigh a widespread perception that marriage imposes financial and personal constraints,²⁷ especially on women. Moreover, a preference²⁷ for later and smaller families on grounds of cost appears to reflect economic realities. Direct costs of child rearing have increased in nuclear families⁹ as have the opportunity costs imposed on women. While men's earnings increase on average after marriage, earnings for women decrease; and for women with children they decrease further.³⁰ The most promising legislative compromise may lie in a massive injection of funding for child-care facilities. Although in the short-term this might tend to extend persistence of low pay for part-time workers, overall it might be expected to provide an effective means of resolving the conflict and actually accelerate implementation of policies on equal pay.

References and Notes

- Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture (MESSC), Statistical Abstract of Education, Science, Sports and Culture, MESSC, Japan (1997 and other years).
- Population Census of Japan 1995, Statistics Bureau, Management and Co-ordination Agency, Tokyo (1997 and earlier years).
- 3. Economic Planning Agency (EPA), Annual Report on the National Accounts 1997, EPA, Tokyo (1998).
- 4. Ministry of Labour, Basic Survey on Wage Structure, 1996, Ministry of Labour, Japan (1997 and other years).
- e.g. Statistics Bureau, Management and Co-ordination Agency, Japan Statistical Yearbook 1998, Statistical Handbook of Japan, 1998, Japan Statistical Association (1998) Tokyo.
- e.g. Statistical Yearbook, 42nd Issue, United Nations (1997) New York; Yearbook of Labour Statistics, International Labour Office (1996) Geneva; OECD, Economic Survey of Japan, 1996, OECD (1996) Paris.
- 7. The alternative of correcting average earnings of men to the average age for women gives an earnings ratio which is closely similar but differs slightly because it corresponds to a different average age. The apparently simple procedure of using women's average earnings at men's average age would introduce an error of averages: the average earnings of men at men's average age (Y 6.28 M) differ from the average earnings of men (Y 5.67 M).
- 8. M.Blaug, An Introduction to the Economics of Education, Penguin Books (1970).
- 9. EPA, Annual Report on the National Life for Fiscal 1992, EPA, Tokyo (1993).
- 10. It is tempting to attribute this growth to the first legislation for equal opportunities in the workplace in Japan (1986); but it seems more likely that it reflects the impact of the oil crises in the period 1976-85.
- 11. Ratio of women's to men's earnings 1976, JHS, 63%; SHS, 77%; College, 86%; University, 85%.

Average ages in 1976 differ from those in 1996 used in Table 2, and the results are not directly comparable.

- 12. In 1960 p-t work was identified as entailing up to 34 hours per week; at that time an accepted full working week in industry comprised 35 59 hours. With these criteria, about 7% of women employees in industry worked part-time; and about 25% of all family workers worked part-time. About half of all women family workers worked between 35 and 59 hours per week at this time and the remaining quarter worked 60 hours or more per week which may suggest one reason for the relative attraction of work in industry (Population Census of Japan, 1960).
- 13. In the manufacturing and service sectors, p-t employees constitute about one-quarter of all women employees and about one-third of those women employees who are SHS leavers. In the wholesale and retail trades employment is dominated by p-t employees: 47% of all women employees are part-time; and they constitute 60% of women employees in this sector who are SHS leavers.
- 14. At initial employment, educational attainment produces no substantial differences in earnings for either women or men in Japan (Y 3.0 +/- 0.3 million). This may well be a measure of the minimal differences in productivity achieved by employees initially, irrespective of educational background. But as formal education can be regarded as portable pre-employment training for which students, their parents and taxpayers carry the costs, it is more reasonable to relate this to differences in training provisions. In particular, university graduates, receiving training which in part at least will prove portable, obtain earnings similar to those of high school leavers of the same age. It is though perhaps significant that while the average annual earnings of men university graduates in the age range 20-24 years are lower than those of high school leavers, those of women graduates are higher.
- 15. Cross-sectional data for 1996 were used in this analysis. Generally similar results are shown by using data for 1976 cross-sectionally. It is possible to make quasi-longitudinal comparisons across the period 1976-1996. This does though require substantial correction for conditions of employment as well as for the effects of productivity change and inflation to permit proper comparison. A limited number of trial comparisons were made to establish that the effects appeared to be valid over time as well as cross-sectionally.
- Earnings for p-t women employees show rates of change with age -0.3% per annum, and with experience,
 1.9% per year.
- 17. The survey (reference 4) does not provide data in a form useful for analysis with respect to location. No attempt was made to assess this effect explicitly. It may be expected that the effects of location will be contained mainly in factors for industry and size of company.
- e.g. R.L.Oaxaca, International Economic Review, 14, 693 (1973); R.L.Oaxaca and M.R. Ransom, J.Econometrics, 61, 5 (1994); A.S.Blinder, J.Human Resources, 8, 436 (1973).
- 19. K.J.Morgan, Bulletin of the University of Electro-Communications, 8, 221 (1995).
- 20. The equation corresponding to linear increases in earnings is $(En Eo) = m(En Eo)_{ref}$. In practice it is convenient to plot $En = En_{ref} + d$, where En are earnings at age n. The earnings coefficient, m, and the intercept, d, are related by d = 2.84(1 m). This allows the equation for increases in earnings to be rewritten with $Eo = Eo_{ref} = 2.84$, i.e. intersecting at the point A corresponding to a common level shared by

all employees at an age of about 22 years. The fit is good (r = 0.97) for a high proportion of the data with the notable exceptions of anomalies discussed in note 21.

- 21. The coefficient obtained directly from the earnings data for "all women" employees has a value of 0.20well removed from the value of 0.44 indicated by other data; it also demonstrates poor linearity (r = 0.73). The cause of the anomaly lies in the change in the education-mix: from a majority in the age range 20-29 being UC-graduates (52%) to a large majority being HS-leavers (89%) by the ages 45-59 years. From the results in Table 7 it would be expected that this change in population mix would alter the apparent coefficient from 0.53 (20-29 years) to 0.32 (45-59 years) but the line of best fit would have a lower gradient by virtue of the curvature. Similarly reduced linearity is found in data for "all women" employees in a number of industries and in the category of company size; better estimates of these coefficients are available by means of the parameters in Table 7. No similar problem occurs with men's earnings as their education-mix remains effectively constant throughout working life. Splitting the data for women into the two categories, HS and UC removes the anomaly and increases the precision of linearity in the earnings data (r > 0.9 - for education parameters and most composite coefficients, correlations for women employees lie in the range 0.94 -0.99 and are similar to those for men).
- 22. High relative increases in average earnings may be due to an inherent advantage of gender, education, size of company, or industry: this is reflected in higher increases for individual employees and higher probability of employment for those in the advantaged groups. It also arises from the presence of more employees in higher-earning categories in particular sectors but this does not raise the increases in earnings of individual employees. In manufacturing industry, employment of a high proportion of women high-school leavers by small companies reduces the average level of earnings' increases; conversely, high increases in average earnings in the finance sector of industry are due in part to the high proportion of men university graduates employed in large companies. These variations in populations alter the apparent relative increases of earnings but do not affect the increases for individual employees.
- 23. F.Core, OECD Observer, 186, 5 (1994)
- T.W.Schultz, The Economic Value of Education, Columbia University Press, New York (1963);
 G.S.Becker, Human Capital, Princeton University Press, Princeton (1964).
- 25. K.J.Morgan, J.Tsuda College, 27, 197 (1995).
- G. Psacharopoulos, Earnings and Education in OECD Countries, OECD, Paris (1975); Comparative Education, 17, 321 (1981); Returns to Investment in Education, Policy Research Working Paper, WPS1067, World Bank (1993).
- 27. EPA. National Survey on Lifestyle Preferences, FY 1997, EPA, Tokyo (1999).
- 28. K.J.Morgan, Research in Higher Education, 26, 219 (1997).
- 29. G.S.Becker, A Treatise on the Family, Harvard University Press, Cambridge (1991).
- J.Waldfogel, Women Working for Less, Discussion Paper, WSP/93, Suntory-Toyota International Centre for Economics, London School of Economics (1993); C.Greenhalgh, Economic Journal, 90, 751 (1980).

Structures of Undergraduate Curriculums in Chinese Universities in the Latter Half of the 1990's – a Comparative Study between Japan and China –

Fu-tao Huang*

Introduction

Japan has been implementing university reforms since 1991 in the form of restructuring undergraduate education, placing emphasis on general education and on the basics of specialized education. In the People's Republic of China also, major changes have been made in higher education since the 1980's, accompanying reforms of its economic system. Especially since 1994 when the State Education Commission promulgated the "Plan for Reforming the Teaching Contents and Curriculum System of Higher Education for the 21st Century", considerable changes have taken place mainly concerning the curriculum. The undergraduate curriculum reforms currently taking place in both Japan and China are deemed to have a large impact on the structure of 21^{st} century higher education in Therefore, focusing on undergraduate curriculum reforms and analyzing the both countries. similarities and differences of the basic philosophy of reforms, specific reform policies, and especially the structure of undergraduate curriculums from a comparative viewpoint would offer an effective means of gaining a clear understanding of the progress, approaches, and problems of university reforms in both countries. From this standpoint, this paper will mainly examine the structure of the undergraduate curriculum in China. Specifically, it will first summarize the characteristics of undergraduate curriculums in China up to the beginning of the 1990's. Then, it will analyze reform policies and structures of undergraduate curriculums in China with a focus on the classification of subjects, contents, unit distribution and educational structures related to the undergraduate curriculums in universities. Finally, the paper will provide an evaluation of undergraduate curriculums in China from a comparative viewpoint.

China's higher education institutions fall into two main categories, namely regular, full-time higher education institutions and adult higher education institutions. They are further divided into junior colleges or short-cycle programs, universities, and graduate schools. Moreover, the scope of curriculum reform includes extremely diverse areas. In this paper, the term "undergraduate curriculum" refers to the curriculum of universities providing regular, full-time higher education.

^{*} Associate Professor, Research Institute for Higher Education, Hiroshima University

The article was originally published in "Daigaku Ronshu" (Japanese), No. 31, 2001.

Basic Characteristics of the Undergraduate Curriculum in Chinese Universities in the First Half of the 1990's

Until the first half of the 1990's, the following four main features characterized China's higher education system.

First, ordinances of central education departments and central ministries and agencies exercised strict control over all aspects of higher education institutions, from students' requirements for graduation to the establishment of fields of specialization, formulation of syllabuses, time schedules for each subject, and selection of teaching materials. Special fields and disciplines related to higher education institutions were essentially based on the "Criteria for the Establishment of Disciplines in Regular Higher Education Institutions", which were promulgated by the Central Education Commission. Until July 1993, such criteria for the establishment of disciplines had been set forth mainly according to academic areas linked to professional and occupational fields, and the register of established disciplines comprised academic fields and disciplines. Table 1 shows the number of specializations recognized in 1993.

Disciplines	Total	Engineering	Agriculture	Forestry	Medicine & Pharmacy	Teaching	Literature	Science	Finance/Economics	Politics/Law	Physical education	Arts
No. of	86	379	55	17	28	46	72	131	46	12	9	67
Special-	2											
izations												
No. of	16	571	765	167	616	325	140	102	233	255	62	583
Educational	17	7				8	1	4	0			
Programs	8											

Table 1 – Number of Specializations Established in Regular Higher Education Institutions in 1993

1. Source: "Zhong guo jiao yu shi ye nian jian1993" ("Yearbook of China's Education, 1993"), edited by Zhong guo jiao yu wei yuan hui ji hua jian she si (The Construction Planning Department of the National Education Commission), Ren min jiao yu chu ban she (The People's Education Press), 1994, page 17.

Each higher education institution established and reorganized their undergraduate curriculum in accordance with such national criteria for the establishment of disciplines. Also, based on the nationwide syllabus for each specialized subject, they formulated an even more detailed syllabus for each subject in consideration of the standards and number of people required for training by the education departments and ministries holding jurisdiction over them.

Second, in relation to the structure of the undergraduate curriculum within higher education institutions, until the mid 1990's many institutions offered courses in numerous segmented fields. This applied particularly to science and engineering-related higher education institutions as well as other single-department colleges. Chart 1 shows the evolution of the number of specializations in China's higher education institutions and that of the number of specializations related to science/engineering and to liberal arts between 1955 and 1980.

Chart 1 – Evolution of the Total Numbers of Specializations and of Specializations Related to Science/Engineering and Liberal Arts between 1955 and 1980



2. Source: "Zhong guo jiao yu cheng jiu tong ji zi liao1949-1983" ("China's Education Achievements: Statistical Data, 1949-1983"), edited by Guo jia jiao yu wei yuan hui ji hua cai wu si (The Financial Planning Department of the National Education Commission), Ren min jiao yu chu ban she (The People's Education Press), 1984, page 53.

Third, until the beginning of the 1990's, the subjects of the undergraduate curriculum basically belonged to one of two types. In one type, subjects were divided into university-wide required subjects, departmental required subjects, and selective subjects (see Table 2). The other type divided courses into university-wide, fundamental, and departmental required subjects, and selective subjects (see Table 3).

It is necessary first to understand the status of selective subjects. During this period, the number of units required for graduation included few selective subjects and not merely were they few in number but even those few were mostly selective prerequisites of specialized courses or specializations. University-wide courses consisted of the revolutionary history of China, principles of Marxism, world politics and international relations, English, physical education, and computer studies.

Туре	Subject classification		Distribution of total units (Tsinghua University)	
	University-wide required subjects Department-required subjects			30%
			74%	44%
Three-part		Required		210/
System	Selective	selective	26%	21/0
	subjects	Optional		5%
		selective		570

Table 2 – Classification of Subjects in Undergraduate Curriculums until the Beginning of the 1990's (three-part system)

3. Source: "Qing hua da xue ben ke jiao xue ji hua" ("Plan for Undergraduate Teaching in Tsinghua University"), edited by the Tsinghua University Department of Teaching Affairs, (edition revised in 1992), June 1993, pages 140-141.

Table 3 – Classification of Subjects in Undergraduate Curriculums until the Beginning of the 1990's (four-part system)

Туре	Subject Classification		Distribution of Total Units (Fudan University)	
Four part	University-wide Required Subjects			30%
	Basic Required Subjects		76%	32%
	Required Specialized Subjects			14%
System		Required		20%
System	Selective	Selective		2076
	Subjects	Optional	24%	40/
		Selective		4%

4. Source: *"Jiao xue yi lan"* ("A Survey on Education"), edited by the Fudan University Department of Teaching Affairs, (1990), December 1990, page 181

Moreover, in terms of the distribution of units between different years, university-wide required subjects were offered from the first year to the first half or the end of the second year, and basic and departmental required subjects from the latter half of the second year or the third year to the fourth year.

Fourth, organizations implementing undergraduate education were basically two-tiered organizations comprised of departments and teaching and research units. Schools were established

Fu-tao Huang

based on the Register for the Establishment of Common National Specialties, and "education research departments" were formed for each type of specialization. University-wide required subjects were provided by education organizations placed in charge of each university-wide required subject, such as the Marxism education and research department, the physical education and research department, the basic English department, etc. Basic required subjects were offered by each department, and departmental subjects were provided by each teaching and research unit in the respective departments.

In any country, it is inevitable that the types of specialization in higher education institutions gradually diversify along with an increase in the number of academic fields and fragmentation of occupations. However, in the case of China, the number of specialized higher education institutions, especially the number of science/engineering universities, was increasing and the government established many highly specialized subjects in order to cultivate practical training and expand specialized human resources. This was influenced by the education model of the former Soviet Union, and can be said fundamentally to reflect the characteristics of a higher education system under the planned economy system which took root in the early 1950's.

Basic Philosophy and Policies of the Undergraduate Curriculum in Chinese Universities since the 1990's

In 1993, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council enacted a policy entitled "General Outline of Chinese Education Reform and Development". This indicated the fundamental directions for reform of the higher education system. Based on this outline, the (then) State Education Commission defined education reform and especially reform of its teaching content and curriculum as priority, albeit difficult, issues. It stated that addressing these issues was the key to success in reforming China's higher education system and structure for the 21st century.¹ Subsequently, at the beginning of 1994, the State Education Commission promulgated its "Plan for Reforming the Teaching Contents and Curriculum System of Higher Education for the 21st Century". Although the name of this plan apparently restricted the plan to teaching contents and the curriculum, in fact it addressed almost all aspects of education reform in higher education. The major targets and scope of the reform were as follows: (1) to reform the views and philosophy of education by examining what knowledge, abilities and potentials are required of people in the 21st century; (2) to reform the model for cultivation of talent and to review and arrange the structure, register, and establishment of specializations; (3) similarly, to review and reform the goals and standards for cultivating talent in each specialized subject or group of specializations; (4) to examine the syllabuses used in teaching the basic curriculum and other major areas of the curriculum and, at the same time, to reform teaching methods and mechanisms so as to develop syllabuses, curriculum and teaching methods appropriate to the needs and skills of current education.

Along with the formulation of these reform policies, the Register for the Establishment of Common National Specializations was revised twice, once in July 1993 and once in December 1997.
For the undergraduate curriculum, revision of the Register involved two aspects. First of all, traditional specializations in higher education institutions were based on the concept of academic areas related to technical professions and professional education, but they had come to be established according to areas of scientific and academic specialization (see Table 4). Then, the register was structured around academic areas—sub-group or first-level discipline—and specializations. Based on this, it became possible, through the revision of the specialized education contents to merge and adjust a number of the specialized fields that had become narrowly segmented or antiquated, and to create more broadly based specialized subjects. Consequently, in quantitative terms, the number and type of specializations decreased considerably, especially those related to science and engineering, and, at the same time, the scope of each of them expanded.

Table 4 – Specializations Established in Regular Higher Education Institutions in 1999

Academic Area	Philosophy	Economics	Law	Education	Literature	History	Science	Engineering	Agriculture	Medicine	Management	Total
Sub-Group	1	1	5	2	4	1	16	21	7	8	5	71
Specialization	3	4	12	9	66	5	30	70	16	16	18	249

1、 Source: "Gao deng jiao yu jiao xue gai ge-1998" ("Teaching Reform in Higher Education- 1998"), edited by Jiao yu bu gao deng jiao yu si (Higher Education Department of the Ministry of Education), Gao deng jiao yu chu ban she (Higher Education Press), May 1999, page 19.

Structure of the Undergraduate Curriculum in China

Through the above-mentioned policies for curriculum reform and a review of the criteria for establishment of specializations, each institution, especially science and engineering related institutions, established and experimented with various undergraduate curriculum models to replace traditional teaching schemes. This has allowed them to develop models designed to cultivate highly professional talent in areas of specialization, notably by providing classes able to be focused on many small specializations. The following paragraphs, after analyzing several aspects of the undergraduate curriculum structure, seek to summarize the different types of undergraduate curriculums.

Classification of Subjects in Undergraduate Education Since 1994, many universities have begun to adopt a classification of subjects into basic and specialized subjects in place of the traditional classification that divides subjects into required and selective subjects. However, since each university conducted its own review, there emerged a wide variety of classifications. When the new

classifications are grouped according to their most important features, we find the following four major types emerge.

- (a) Two-part type. The undergraduate curriculum comprises common and basic education, and specialized education.² Common and basic subjects can themselves be further divided into several parts. For example, some universities provide the following three components: subjects in Marxism theory, education and thoughts and ethics education; general education subjects; and some basic specialized subjects.³
- (b) Three-part type. This type can be further divided into three subsidiary categories. The first category includes two groups: (i) subjects are divided into university-wide common subjects and subjects provided by colleges as well as subjects at departmental level;⁴ (ii) the second group divides subjects into general, basic and specialized subjects.⁵ The second category consists of specialized subjects, subjects related to general education, and subjects related to professional teacher education.⁶ The third category classifies curriculums into types according to students' academic abilities and skills: basic, expanded, and research-type.⁷
- (c) Four-part type. Undergraduate education subjects include basic common subjects, basic specialized subjects, specialized subjects, and specialist-oriented subjects. For example, in the Department of Electric Equipment of the South China University of Technology, undergraduate education subjects comprise four sections: "mandatory curriculum for engineering students," "basic technical curriculum common to students in the Electric Equipment Department," "basic specialized field."⁸ There are also universities that classify subjects into basic subjects, general subjects, general education subjects, and research subjects according to the performance and ability of undergraduate students.⁹
- (d) Five-part type. Undergraduate teaching contents are defined according to university-wide basic subjects, basic specialized subjects or common specialized subjects, and departmental specialized subjects, and are structured around subjects that must be studied in all the specialized fields of the same discipline, special subjects, specialized knowledge and function, selective subjects, and practical activities. For example, the syllabus of the specialized materials field at the University of Science and Technology Beijing is formed from the following five categories in the basic curriculum: (1) foreign languages, humanities, social science education, (2) mathematics, computers, and basic education in natural sciences, (3) basic process theories, (4) experiments and process training, and (5) specialization basics.¹⁰

Structure of Subject Contents As shown above, each university divides its subjects into several categories. However, the undergraduate curriculum in each university is fundamentally divided into university-wide common subjects, basic special subjects, and special subjects or specialization.

The basic content of university-wide education is general education designed to enhance individual potential and is especially related to cultural traits. Specifically, this refers, in the case of science and engineering students, to humanities and social science education such as literature, history, philosophy and the arts; and in the case of liberal arts students, to natural science education. It is provided for the purpose of enhancing a general intellectual capacity in university students. The actual contents may vary according to university, but generally speaking, they usually consist of such subjects as political theory and ethical education, military affairs and physical education, foreign languages and computer related subjects, and humanities, sociology, and natural sciences. As the actual practice of capacity-building education at Huazhong University of Science and Engineering (renamed in May 2000 as Huazhong University of Science and Technology) is receiving particular attention, let us use it as an example (Table 5).

Basic specialized subjects were originally intended directly or indirectly to provide a foundation and preparation for specialized education at the basic education level. However, they came to be offered as basic subjects for specialization or professional subjects to be completed by students belonging to different disciplines or special sections. For example, at Sichuan Agricultural University, based on the Register for the Establishment of Common National Specialties issued in 1998 by the State Education Commission, the original 18 special subjects were reduced to four basic subjects for specialization or professional subjects by modifying the old and redundant special areas.¹¹

Along with the revision of the register of disciplines in undergraduate curriculums, many old and limited disciplines were merged and reorganized in order to create broader disciplines and courses. At the same time, the conventional method of dividing subjects into numerous segmentations with narrow perspectives was abandoned and the scope of each discipline made wider than before. This greatly reduced the number of specializations for undergraduate curriculums in higher education institutions, especially those disciplines related to science and engineering. For example, at the University of Science and Technology Beijing, the specialty areas of metallurgy, metallic materials and heat treatment, inorganic non-metallic materials, powder metallurgy processing, pressurized processing, metal corrosion and corrosion prevention, etc., which were traditionally offered in five departments in three colleges, were merged in 1997 into the single special subject of materials.¹² The structure of the specialized education subjects related to engineering at Huazhong University of Science and Technology is indicated in Table 6.

Total Units, Distribution of Total Units and the Ratio of Each Subject to the Units Required for Graduation In China, there is no nationally unified standard for the total number of units required for graduation; it varies for each department, course, and discipline of universities. This section will first present the maximum, minimum, and total units for a number of universities and of specializations. Then, it will analyze the distribution of total units and the ratio of each subject to the total number of units.

Subject Classification		Number	Number Completion Term				
54	ojeet Chassification	of Units		compiet	ion rerm		Туре
	Theories of Deng Xiao Ping	4	1 st term				
	Thoughts of Mao Tse-tung	2		2 nd term			
Subjects	Marxist Politics and				ard .		
Balatad to	Economics	2			3 term		University-
Politics and	International Economics and	2			2rd to ma		wide
Fthics	Politics	2			3 rd term		requirement
Lunes	Marxist Philosophy	3				4 th term	
	Ideals and Morals Training	3	1 st term				
	Law Basics	2		2 nd term			
							University-
Physical Educa	tion	8		All t	erms		wide
							requirement
							University-
Military Theori	es	1.5	1 st term				wide
							requirement
							University-
	Cultural basics	32	1 st term				wide
							requirement
Computer							Required in
I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I	Technical basics	o 50		2 nd term	2 rd term		Science &
	Technical basies	c . 50		2 term	5 term		Engineering
							Dept
	Practical basics	c. 56	Decided by	Decided by each college and department			
Social Survey N	Methods	1		2 nd term			
	Basic English	14	1 st term	2 nd term	3 rd term	4 th term	Required
English	Advanced English	6	After the 3	Selective			
	-						requirement
	Literary						
Subjects	History						
related to	related to Philosophy Humanities, Natural sciences		Decided	independent	ly by col	lleges and	0.1 <i>/</i>
Humanities,			departmen	ts, but bas	ically, they	are often	Selective
Sociology, General I			required to	be complete	d in the 1 st o	or 2 nd year.	requirement
and Natural	Social science						
Science	Arts						
	General II				1	r	
Subjects relate	d to Economics, Environment	1.5			3 rd term		Required
and Law							_

Table 5 – Syllabus of University-wide Subjects at Huazhong University of Science and Technology in 1999

5. Source: "Zhu jian 21 shi ji chu ren cai pei yang xin mo shi—hua zhong li gong da xue 99 ji ben ke ren cai pei yang ji hua" ("Building a New Mode for Talent Cultivation in Early 21st Century: '99 Undergraduate Talent Cultivation in Huazhong University of Science and Technology"), edited by the Department of Teaching Affairs of the Huazhong University of Science and Technology, made out of the information of pages 18-21.

Table 6 – New Structure for the Undergraduate Curriculum in Huazhong University of Science and Technology

	lized lized lized t t t	Disciplinary Package Subjects			
Specialized Education	Special Subject	Special Subject	Special Subject	Special Subject	Disciplinary Selective Subjects
Education					Basic Primary Course Subjects
	Basic Cour	rse Subjects			Major Secondary Course Subjects
					Interdisciplinary Subjects

6. Source: "Zhu jian 21 shi ji chu ren cai pei yang xin mo shi—hua zhong li gong da xue 99 ji ben ke ren cai pei yang ji hua" ("Building a New Mode for Talent Cultivation in Early 21st Century: '99 Undergraduate Talent Cultivation in Huazhong University of Science and Technology"), edited by the Department of Teaching Affairs of the Huazhong University of Science and Technology, page 18.

From the viewpoint of universities, the smallest number of units required for graduation in the two general universities of Peking University and Fudan University was, on average, approximately 150 units and 170 units, respectively.¹³ Meanwhile, at Huazhong University of Science and Technology, which specializes in science and engineering, the total number of units for each department averages roughly 200. From the viewpoint of specializations, large differences can be seen in the number of units even in the same university. For example, at Huazhong University of Science and Technology, the number of units ranges from 186.5 to 231 units. Specifically, in 1999, the number of units required for graduation from electronics and information processing specializations was 186.5, while the number required by the journalism specialization in the journalism and information media college was 231 units.¹⁴ On the other hand, at Fudan University, the number ranged from 158 to 172 units depending on the area of specialization.¹⁵ Nevertheless, compared to the situation before the reforms, the total number of units remained essentially the same in most universities. For example, in 1990, the number of units required for graduation from Fudan University ranged between 150 and 170 units for liberal arts related subjects and between 160 and 170 units for science and engineering related subjects, indicating the wide variations, and even by 1999 the total number of units had not changed fundamentally.¹⁶

As indicated previously, the distribution of units varies depending on the classification of subjects, but when the distribution is seen in terms of the three categories of university-wide subjects, basic

Fu-tao Huang

special subjects and specialized subjects, there is no significant difference among the majority of universities. The ratio of the number of units in each of the subject categories to the total number of units is a little under 30%, a little over 30%, and roughly 30%, respectively. At Fudan University, for example, the ratios are 30%, 41%, and 29%.¹⁷

When the reforms were implemented, most universities, especially science and engineeringrelated institutions, which account for a large share of universities, began to establish many more humanities and social science subjects. As observed above, along with the adjustments for the establishment of specializations, almost all universities established wide-ranging humanities and social science subjects. At the same time, the ratio of these subjects to all subjects and the number of units gradually increased as well. For example, after the revision of its syllabus in 1994, the number of units for all types of humanities and social science subjects at Tsinghua University increased to 14% of the total number of units.¹⁸

Moreover, when focusing on the distribution between required and selective subjects, the reduction in the number of required subjects as part of the structural reform of the curriculum in each university enabled students more easily to take a wider range of selective subjects and have more time for individual study than before. For example, Huazhong University of Science and Technology has been making sweeping adjustments to its syllabus since 1996. A comparison of the syllabus established in 1996 with one formed in 1995 indicates a reduction in the total number of lecture hours from approximately 3,000 hours to 2,600 hours and a decrease in the ratio of lecture hours in required subjects to total lecture hours down to 81.5%. Along with this change, the share of selective prerequisite subjects and optional selective subjects increased to 15.4% and 3.1%, respectively.¹⁹ Furthermore, in the new syllabus of Huazhong Agricultural University implemented in 1997, the proportion of selective subjects increased to account for more than 20% of the total subjects, total lecture time decreased by about 300 hours, and students' extra-curricular private study hours also increased.²⁰

Structure of Education Organizations Along with the implementation of revision relating to the establishment of specializations, many universities combined specializations and departments whose contents overlapped and promoted the departments to the level of colleges. They also merged and modified restricted and antiquated disciplines to create broader disciplines and courses. As a result, instead of the conventional structure comprising the university, departments, and teaching and research units, a new educational organization was established in some universities that was structured around the university, colleges mainly responsible for university-wide, fundamental, and basic specialty education, and departments. Based on this organization, students in different specializations were able to take common and basic courses offered by departments throughout the university or by colleges to which they belonged. Also, because specialized education was provided not only by departments and teaching and research units in fragmented disciplines but also at the level of colleges or schools, students were able to acquire an even more broad-ranging knowledge in their special areas. While science and engineering universities often provided university-wide education with a focus on the humanities college, comprehensive universities established university-wide education by colleges and schools, in a similar manner to implementation of general education in Japan, encompassing the entire university.

Typology of Undergraduate Curriculum As described above, a variety of undergraduate curriculum models is being experienced in different universities, study fields, and specializations. From them, the curriculum structures can be categorized according to four models: (1) a horizontal model, (2) a wedge-shaped model, (3) a compound model and (4) a pyramid model.

<u>Horizontal Model</u> As indicated in Table 7, most universities, and especially highly specialized science and engineering and medical institutions, have a four-year undergraduate curriculum that is clearly divided into two stages. When they enter the university, students first complete university-wide or college-specific common subjects and basic subjects in a first stage. It is only in the second stage that they embark on their selected academic fields such as literature, science, or engineering-related subjects. Depending on the institution, this model can be further divided into a type where both stages are treated equally or another type where emphasis is placed on the basic stage.

- a. Equal-stage type. During the first and second years, common and basic education are provided intensively at the university department level or college level; in the third and fourth year, specialized education is offered by each specialized professional college or department. In most universities, the units for such common and basic courses make up more than one-third of the total units required for graduation (see Table 7).
- b. Basics-emphasized type. The entire undergraduate education system is horizontally divided into common and basic education and specialized education, but in contrast to the equal type mentioned above, common and basic education subjects are provided up to higher grade levels and they occupy a relatively large share of the units required for graduation (see Table 8).

Table 7 – "Equal-type"	Curriculum	Models at Huazh	ong University	of Science and	Technology
1 1					

Grade	Undergra	aduate Education Subjects	Implementation Organization	Unit Distribution	
4	Each specialized	1. specialized subjects	1. each department	Up to 70%	
3	subject	2. selective specialized subjects	2. college / department	op 10 / 0/0	
2	Common and	1. some basic specialized subjects	1 college / department		
1	basic subjects	2. university-wide common subjects	2. college / every department	More than 30%	

7. Source: "Shen hua jiao xue gai ge Pei yang shi ying 21 shi ji xu yao de gao zhi liang ren cai—di 1 ci quan guo gao deng xue xiao jiao xue gong zuo hui yi wen jian he zi liao hui bian" ("Deepening Education Reform: Training People for the 21st Century: Documents and Collection of Materials on the First National Meeting on Higher Education"), edited by Jiao yu bu gao deng jiao yu si (Higher Education Department of the Ministry of Education), Gao deng jiao yu chu ban she (Higher Education Press), October 1998, pages 164-165.

Table 8 – Talent Cultivation Model and Syllabus for Materials Disciplines at the University of Science and Technology Beijing

Grade	Term	Stage	Structure of Teaching Contents	Implementation Organization	Unit Distribution
4	8	Specialized Education	Specialized subjects (specialized materials subjects, specialized experiments, graduation planning)	Departments	20% or less
	7		Four types of basic curriculum		
3	6		models:		
5	5		1. Chinese language, humanities,		
2	4		and social science subjects and		
2	3		social science experiments		
	2	Basic	2. Mathematics, computer, and	Colleges,	80% or more
		Education	natural sciences basics	Departments	0070 01 more
1			3. Processing basics (materials, energy, information, etc.)		
	1		4. Experiment and processing		
			training (experiment methods,		
			processing planning)		

2、 Source: "Gao deng jiao yu mian xiang 21 shi ji jiao xue nei rong he ke cheng ti xi gai ge jing yan hui bian (II)" ("A Collection of Experiences in the Reform of Teaching Contents and Curriculum for the 21st Century (II)"), edited by Guo jia jiao yu wei yuan hui gao deng jiao yu si (Higher Education Department of the National Education Commission), Gao deng jiao yu chu ban she (Higher Education Press), October 1997, pages 55-57 and "Shen hua jiao xue gai ge Pei yang shi ying 21 shi ji xu yao de gao zhi liang ren cai—di 1 ci quan guo gao deng xue xiao jiao xue gong zuo hui yi wen jian he zi liao hui bian" ("Deepening Education Reform: Training People for the 21st Century: Documents and Collection of Materials on the First National Meeting on Higher Education"), edited by Guo jia jiao yu wei yuan hui gao deng jiao yu si (Higher Education Department of the National Education Commission), Gao deng jiao yu si (Bigher Education Department of the National Education Commission), Gao deng jiao yu si (Higher Education Press), October 1998, pages 292-293.

Wedge-shaped Model Some universities take into consideration the four-year undergraduate curriculum and aim to link organically common and basic education with specialized education, and common education with basic specialized education and specialized education, with respect to the subject classification. In other words, a system is established in which basic specialized subjects and some part of the specialized subjects are offered at lower levels, and common subjects and basic specialized subjects are offered either as required or as selective subjects at the higher levels. Academic and specialized subject areas such as philosophy, advertising studies or languages in general universities often adopt this type of curricular structure. For example, the syllabus for the advertising specialization at Fudan University shows that general knowledge is provided up to the seventh term as part of common education, advanced mathematics and general newspaper journalism among the basic education subjects are completed in the first term, and such specialized education subjects as general advertising studies, basic market studies, and public relations studies are also offered from the first term.²¹

<u>Compound Model</u> Aiming at cultivating highly competent talent, some universities are implementing a "double major" system or introducing a system of acquiring second academic degrees at the undergraduate level and within the normal 4-year time-frame. For example, since 1995, Beijing Institute of Technology has been experimenting with a "double major" system in its applied natural science field. By linking the applied mathematics specialization with the computer application software specialization, and the applied physics specialization with the electronic engineering specialization, it is aiming to foster composite talent in both science and engineering specializations. The university has also established syllabuses for 13 "double majors" and 21 "double major" subject groups. In conducting these "double major" schemes, classes are scheduled to include weekends.²² Table 9 gives a specific example.

 Table 9 – Curriculum Structure of Double Academic Degrees in the Machinery College of Beijing Institute of Technology

Grade	Term	Undergraduate Ed	Education Organization	
Grade	First Degree Subjects		Second Degree Subjects	Education Organization
4	8			
-	7	Specialized machinery processing	Specialized management subjects	Management College
3	6	subjects	Spoolainieu management suojoota	
5	5			Machinery College
2	4			indennery conege
-	3			
1	2	Common / hos	in advantion	Humanities College, etc.
1		Common / bas		

3. Source: "Shen hua jiao xue gai ge Pei yang shi ying 21 shi ji xu yao de gao zhi liang ren cai—di 1 ci quan guo gao deng xue xiao jiao xue gong zuo hui yi wen jian he zi liao hui bian" ("Deepening Education Reform: Training People for the 21st Century: Documents and Collection of Materials on the First National Meeting on Higher Education"), edited by Guo jia jiao yu wei yuan hui gao deng jiao yu si (Higher Education Department of the National Education Commission), Gao deng jiao yu chu ban she (Higher Education Press), October 1998, page 165.

<u>"Pyramid" Model</u> In this model, students are selected on the basis of their achieved grades and capabilities to follow different curriculums within an area of specialization. There are two types of model demonstrating these characteristics as are shown in the following examples.

- a. At the university level, undergraduate education is divided into three levels of ability and attainment (see Table 10).
- b. Alternatively, specialized education at an undergraduate level is conducted in three levels (see Chart 2). For example, in a curriculum for dynamics-related areas, basic subjects are geared toward 100% of the students, and based on the guideline for graduation requirements, related subjects are provided to all undergraduate students; for about 50% of the students, extended subjects focused on theories and specific issues related to dynamics are provided; while for 10-20% of the students research subjects are included in the curriculum dealing with the latest trends in the dynamics field. Both extended and research subjects are selective subjects, so undergraduate students can freely select subjects that match their capacity and grades.

Table 10 – "Pyramid"	Model Syllabus for Cu	ltivating Talent at Sou	1th China University of
Technology	y		

Target	Policy	Characteristics			
Exceptional students 10%-15%	"3+2" international trade class,	Classes are conducted in accordance			
	analysis training by a	with the characteristics of the			
	mathematical model	individual student to foster students'			
		creative abilities while implementing			
		courses comprehensively			
Students for composite fostering	Double major, "double degree"	Composite training			
30%-40%					
Accepted students – all students	The scope of specializations is	Basics are emphasized in			
	widened and the syllabus	strengthening abilities and conducting			
	improved to strengthen students'	capacity-building education			
	basic, foreign language, and				
	computer abilities				

4、 Source: *"Gao deng jiao yu jiao xue gai ge-1998"* ("Teaching Reform in Higher Education-1998"), edited by Jiao yu bu gao deng jiao yu si (Higher Education Department of the Ministry of Education), Gao deng jiao yu chu ban she (Higher Education Press), May 1999, page 247.





5, Source: *"Gao deng jiao yu jiao xue gai ge-1997"* ("Teaching Reform in Higher Education-1997"), edited by Jiao yu bu gao deng jiao yu si (Higher Education Department of the Ministry of Education), Gao deng jiao yu chu ban she (Higher Education Press), September 1997, page 141.

Conclusion: Structure and Evaluation of the Undergraduate Curriculum in Chinese Universities

In conclusion, from a Japan-China comparative viewpoint, characteristics of the undergraduate curriculum in Chinese universities can be summarized as follows.

- (1) In terms of the fundamental objectives of the curriculum, both countries emphasize liberal arts education, and implement a policy of expanding basic education with priorities placed on cultivating various abilities and potentials. Reforms in educational content, structure, and organization accompany these policies.
- (2) In amplification of these principles and at least in form, common and basic education subjects in both countries are significant not only as a direct foundation for specialized education, but as subjects that enable students to acquire personal fulfillment and enhance their potential and broad-based knowledge through cultural understanding. In other words, the curriculum for undergraduate education is not limited to the transmission of limited specialized knowledge, but also includes the process of developing students' abilities and cultivating their minds. In a more specific sense, some apparently shared characteristics are: the flexibility of unit distribution; diversity and comprehensiveness as well as interdisciplinary common and basic education contents; improvements concerning the distribution of required and selective subjects; and the ratio of lecture time for required subjects to the total amount of lecture time.²³ While on the one hand education reform in both countries and in each higher education institution is influenced by reform policies of the central government and by society and industry, a variety of approaches is being made according to the characteristics of individual institutions. Thus it can be said that each institution is seeking to implement a distinctly unique university education.

116

- (3) However, differences can also be seen between the two countries concerning the focus of reforms, of the structures for undergraduate education, and of the organizations for implementing the processes of education. In Japan, reforms are not limited to the reorganization of undergraduate education, but also extend to such aspects as the relationship between undergraduate education and secondary schools, graduate schools, and lifelong education, to creation of a flexible structure for education and research systems, to development of an organizational management system in universities, and to establishment of a pluralistic evaluation system. The major focus of reforms has had more to do with the abolition of the fixed classification of subjects into subjects for specialized education and general subjects as part of the improvement of general education rather than by expansion of the scope of disciplines in specialized education. In China, the reduction of numbers of specializations and expansion of the specialized education curriculum were measures that were regarded as effective ways to reform the ideals of higher education, the models of training manpower and the structure of undergraduate education. Moreover, with regard to the organizational structure, in Japan almost all faculty members are involved in teaching general education: a large majority (80%) of the teaching of general education is provided by academic staff from faculties different from that providing specialized education.²⁴ In contrast, in China organizational implementation can be roughly divided into two types. In comprehensive universities each department or relevant basic education department provides university-wide common education; but in science and engineering universities it is provided by colleges of humanities and social science colleges or by basic education departments.
- (4) Concerning the principles and criteria established in relation to reform of the undergraduate curriculum, universities in Japan basically implement curriculum reforms independently within a framework of the total number of units defined by the Ministry of Education as necessary for graduation. In China, various approaches are being implemented mainly by the Ministry of Education based on the Category of National Unified Establishment of Specializations and Teaching Plans for Major Specializations.

Acknowledgements:

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Professor Akira Arimoto, Research Associate Hirotaka Nanbu, and all the other faculty members at the Research Institute for Higher Education, Hiroshima University for the generous advice and guidance they have given me for completing this paper. This report is a part of the fruits of the research made possible by the fiscal 2000 Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (Post-doctoral Fellowship Program) (Invitation Fellowship Program).

References and Notes

- 1. Zhou Yuanqing "Zai di yi ci quan guo pu tong gao deng xue xiao jiao xue gong zuo hui yi shang de jiang hua "("Presentation Made at the First National Meeting for Teaching in Regular Higher Education Schools"), edited by Jiao yu bu gao deng jiao yu si (Higher Education Department of the Ministry of Education), "Shen hua jiao xue gai ge Pei yang shi ying 21 shi ji xu yao de gao zhi liang ren cai—di 1 ci quan guo gao deng xue xiao jiao xue gong zuo hui yi wen jian he zi liao hui bian", ("Deepening Education Reform: Training People for the 21st Century: Documents and Collection of Materials on the First National Meeting on Higher Education"), Gao deng jiao yu chu ban she(Higher Education Press), October 1998, pp. 14 and 51.
- Edited by Jiao yu bu gao deng jiao yu si (Higher Education Department of the Ministry of Education), abovementioned reference, October 1998, p. 322.
- 3. Gao deng jiao yu mian xiang 21 shi ji jiao xue nei rong he ke cheng ti xi gai ge jing yan hui bian (II) ", ("A Collection of Experiences in the Reform of Teaching Contents and Curriculum for the 21st Century (II)"), edited by Guo jia jiao yu wei yuan hui gao deng jiao yu si (Higher Education Department of the National Education Commission), Gao deng jiao yu chu ban she (Higher Education Press), October 1997, p. 146.
- 4. Edited by Jiao yu bu gao deng jiao yu si (Higher Education Department of the Ministry of Education), reference 2, October 1998, p. 148.
- 5. "Ge zhuan ye zhi dao xing xiu du ji hua" ("Teaching Plan for Various Majors"), edited by the Fudan University Department of Education, (using 99 grades), July 1999.
- 6. Edited by Jiao yu bu gao deng jiao yu si (Higher Education Department of the Ministry of Education), reference 2, October 1998, p. 364.
- "Gao deng jiao yu jiao xue gai ge-1997", ("Teaching Reform in Higher Education- 1997"), edited by Guo jia jiao wei gao deng jiao yu si (Higher Education Department of the National Education Commission), Gao deng jiao yu chu ban she (Higher Education Press), September 1997, p. 141.
- 8. Edited by Jiao yu bu gao deng jiao yu si (Higher Education Department of the Ministry of Education), reference 2, October 1998, p. 512.
- "Gao deng jiao yu gai ge-1998", ("Higher Education Reform- 1998"), edited by Jiao yu bu gao deng jiao yu si (Higher Education Department of the Ministry of Education), Gao deng jiao yu chu ban she (Higher Education Press), May 1999, pp. 159-160.
- 10. Edited by Jiao yu bu gao deng jiao yu si (Higher Education Department of the Ministry of Education), reference 2, October 1998, p. 293.
- Edited by Guo jia jiao wei gao deng jiao yu si (Higher Education Department of the National Education Commission), reference 3, October 1997, p. 225.
- Edited by Guo jia jiao wei gao deng jiao yu si (Higher Education Department of the National Education Commission), reference 3, October 1997, p. 321.
- 13. Peking University Department of Affairs, "Bei jing da xue mian xiang 21 shi ji jiao xue nei rong he ke cheng ti xi gai ge jing yan hui bian", ("A Collection of Experiences in the Reform of Teaching Contents and

Curriculum in Beijing University for the 21st Century"), 1998, p. 26; and reference 15, edited by Fudan University Department of Affairs, December 1990.

- 14. "Zhu jian 21 shi ji chu ren cai pei yang xin mo shi—hua zhong li gong da xue 99 ji ben ke ren cai pei yang ji hua", ("Building a New Mode for Talent Cultivation in Early 21st Century: '99 Undergraduate Talent Cultivation in Huazhong University of Science and Technology"), edited by the Huazhong University of Science and Technology Department of Affairs, pp. 119 and 177.
- 15. "*Jiao xue yi lan*", ("A Survey on Education"), edited by the Fudan University Department of Affairs, (1990), December 1990, p. 7 and 29.
- 16. Edited by the Fudan University Department of Affairs, reference 15, December 1990.
- Edited by Guo jia jiao wei gao deng jiao yu si (Higher Education Department of the National Education Commission reference 7, September 1997, p. 333.
- 18. Edited by Jiao yu bu gao deng jiao yu si (Higher Education Department of the Ministry of Education), reference 2, October 1998, p. 142.
- 19. Edited by Jiao yu bu gao deng jiao yu si (Higher Education Department of the Ministry of Education), reference 2, October 1998, p. 228.
- 20. Fu-tao Huang, Hirotaka Nanbu, "Chūgoku niokeru Gakushi Katei Karikyuramu Kaikaku–1990 Nendai no Hentō wo Chushin ni–" ("Undergraduate Curriculum Reform in the People's Republic of China – Around Changes and Solutions in the 1990's"); and "Gakubu Kyōyō Kaikaku no Tenkai", ("Development of Undergraduate Education Reform"), Koto Kyouiku Kenkyu Sousho 60 (Higher Education Research Documents 60), edited by Akira Arimoto, Research Institute of Higher Education, Hiroshima University, January 2000, pp. 86-87.
- 21. Edited by the Huazhong University of Science and Technology Department of Affairs, reference 14, p. 15.
- Edited by Guo jia jiao yu wei yuan hui gao deng jiao yu si (Higher Education Department of the National Education Commission), reference 3, October 1997, pp. 289-290.
- 23. "Kyōyō Kyōiku no Kaizen nikansuru Jittai Chōsa Hōkokusho Anke-to Chōsa no Matome Oyobi Shiryō", (Report about the Investigation on Actual Conditions of University General Education – Documents and Conclusions of the Enquete Survey"), edited by the Special Committee about National University Association Education for Liberal Arts, March 1995, p. 69.
- 24. "Daigaku no Kyōyō Kyōiku nikansuru Jittai Chōsa Hōkokusho", ("Report about the Investigation on Actual Conditions of University General Education"), edited by the Kurashiki Arts University Department for Liberal Arts, "Daigaku no Kyōyō Kyōiku nikansuru Jittai Chōsa Iinkai", (Committee for the Investigation on Actual Conditions of University General Education"), June 1999, p. 35, pp. 65-66; and reference 23, edited by the Special Committee about National University Association Education and Training, March 1995, pp. 75-76.

Higher Education Examination System for Self-taught Learners in China —an Analysis of Programs Offered—

Hirotaka Nanbu^{*}

Introduction

The objective of this paper is to clarify the characteristics of the higher education examination system for self-taught learners that is implemented in China, by analyzing programs offered in the system.

China's higher education examination system for self-taught learners is open to everyone, regardless of gender, age, or level of education completed prior to taking the examination.¹ Anyone who passes the examination can receive a diploma equivalent to a college diploma. The system began in 1981 in Beijing, and expanded to other provinces, cities, and autonomous regions (for convenience hereinafter referred to as provinces) throughout the country after 1983, so that by 1985, all provinces had conducted the examination at least once. The examination conducted in the first half of 1998 drew 4.902 million applicants, and demonstrated widespread interest.² In 1998, the Higher Education Law of the People's Republic of China was enacted, in which Article 21 states that "the country shall establish a higher education examination system for self-taught learners, and offer to those who pass the examination a commensurate diploma or other scholastic certificate."³ The higher education in China both in name and reality.

As is evident from its name, the system is based fundamentally on the examination of self-taught applicants.⁴ In other words, the knowledge and skills acquired by individuals through self-teaching are accredited by the government by means of an examination. As far as self-teaching goes, an individual is free to study what he or she chooses. However, an individual who participates in the higher education examination for self-taught learners and studies independently or takes some form of academic action with the intention of earning a higher education diploma, studies with a specific program in mind. In effect, examination applicants' learning, based on self-teaching, is linked to the programs that are offered; and conversely, institutions that implement the examination indicate through the types of programs they offer what they want applicants to study.⁵ Therefore, an analysis of the types of programs offered can help to identify the characteristics of the higher education examination for self-taught learners.

^{*} Assistant Professor, Admission Center, Nagasaki University • former Research Associate, Research Institute of Higher Education, Hiroshima University

The article was originally published in "Daigaku Ronshu" (Japanese), No. 30, 2000.

Based on the above, this paper first examines the criteria for the establishment of programs. Then, it clarifies the features of programs offered by the higher education examination for self-taught learners in reference to specific data, and finally takes a look at changes in the situation surrounding program establishment.

Criteria for the Establishment of Programs

The "Report on the experimental ways for higher education examination for self-taught learners" submitted to the State Council by the Ministry of Education in 1980 and the experimental ways contained therein are the earliest regulations on the higher education examination system for selftaught learners. The report states that "each province, city, or autonomous region may, under the premise of uniform criteria, adopt a form of examination suited to its own situation." In regard to establishment of programs, it provides that "the steering committee of the higher education examination for self-taught learners in each province, city, or autonomous region shall determine the programs for which examinations will be held according to the demand for talented manpower in the region."6 It is particularly noteworthy that even before the first examination was conducted, provinces were specified as the unit for implementing examinations and establishing programs, and that programs were to be determined in conjunction with the demand for manpower in the region. It was also decided that regular higher education institutions would play an active role in the higher education examination system for self-taught learners.⁷ In sum, it is evident that the fundamental principles of establishing programs-namely, responding to the demand for manpower in the region, designating the province as the unit for establishment, and involving regular higher education institutions to control the examinations-were already determined from the time that the higher education examination system for self-taught learners was first introduced.

Based on these principles, three municipalities were specified as model regions. Each of them offered programs at the time of implementation of the first examination.⁸ Beijing offered eight programs: Chinese, mathematics, law, industrial economy, commercial economy, finance, document management, and English⁹ (1981). Shanghai offered four programs consisting of Chinese, law, accounting, and English (1981), and Tianjin the two programs of accounting and textile engineering (1982). Liaoning province, which was included as a model region in 1982, initially offered nine programs: Chinese, English, political education, mathematics, industrial economy, commercial economy, accounting, statistics, and financial administration. The range of programs illustrates how the criteria allow the demand and capabilities of each city or province to give rise to a diversity of programs.

From 1983, higher education examinations for self-taught learners were implemented in provinces that were not initially selected as model regions. Programs were basically established provincially, but by this time, there were trends for establishing nationwide programs. For example, in 1984, in response to a request from the National Bureau of Statistics, a notification was issued calling for the

Hirotaka Nanbu

establishment of a statistics program uniformly throughout the country; this was implemented from 1985. Similarly, in 1986, the National Price Bureau and the State Family Planning Commission called on the National Supervision Committee of Higher Education Examination for Self-taught Learners to establish respectively, nationwide pricing and demography programs. As a result, a pricing program was started in 1986, and a demographic program in 1987.¹⁰

In line with the above experience, the "Provisional ordinance for higher education examination for self-taught learners" enacted in 1988 prescribed the following points concerning the establishment of programs,¹¹ First of all, it explicitly required programs to be established "based on the demand for economic construction and social development, scientific projection of manpower needs, and potential to meet the conditions for their establishment" (Article 4). On that premise, it called on the Committee of Higher Education Examination for Self-taught Learners in each province to contemplate establishment of programs (Article 11) and confirmed the principles formulated at the beginning of the implementation. It also gave the following four items as conditions for establishing a new program (Article 13): (1) a sound administrative organization, expert staff, and expenditure; (2) a regular higher education institution having an outstanding faculty whose members are proficient in the relevant field of expertise to control the program; (3) an examination plan for the program; and (4) conditions necessary for guaranteeing the assessment of practical aspects. To establish a new program, an application must furthermore be submitted to and approved by the National Supervision Committee of Higher Education Examination for Self-taught Learners (Article 11). Meanwhile, provinces were encouraged to cooperate with each other in establishing new programs (Article 12), and when a request for a new program was made by an administrative sector or military organization, the request was either to be delegated to the Committee of Higher Education Examination for Self-taught Learners of each province or handled by the National Supervision Committee of Higher Education Examination for Self-taught Learners (Article 15). These points are also incorporated in the "Regulation on management of establishing programs of higher education examination for self-taught learners" issued in 1996.12

In response to these regulations, the establishment of programs today can be classified into one of three types.¹³ The first type is the independent establishment of programs by each province in line with the identified criteria. In this type, as previously noted, a province first assesses its manpower needs and the capacity of the regular higher education institution that would manage the examination after the program is established. The province then explains the necessity and potential of establishing the program to the National Supervision Committee of Higher Education Examination for Self-taught Learners. Only after receiving the approval of the committee is the program established. The majority of programs is established in this way. A second type is the establishment of one program with the concerted efforts of several provinces. This method is used either to save labor through the cooperation of the provinces that are seeking to establish the same program; or to establish a program that is necessary yet for which the conditions are difficult to meet without the help of other provinces.

A third type is nationwide establishment. The National Supervision Committee of Higher Education Examination for Self-taught Learners conducts nationally uniform examinations on behalf of certain designated administrative sectors. This is said to be effective in maintaining the quality of examinations and in saving labor.

In summary, establishment of programs for the higher education examination system for self-taught learners is today based on the following principles. Firstly, provinces establish programs essentially in line with the demand for manpower in their respective regions and their capabilities but the approval of the National Supervision Committee of Higher Education Examination for Self-taught Learners is ultimately required. Secondly, depending on the program, it can be established through the cooperation of more than one province or as a nationwide undertaking. Finally, for provinces to establish programs, an administrative organization and examination plan are needed, as well as involvement of a regular higher education institution for controlling the examination, and conditions that guarantee experimental work and practical training.

Changes in the Types of Programs Offered

Data Utilized Data utilized in this paper were taken from charts of programs provided in December 1987 (Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian bianji bu ed., *Zhongguo Jiaoyu Nianjian 1988* (China education yearbook 1998), People's Education Press, 1989, pp. 284-287) and in 1996 (The National Education Examinations Authority ed., *Zhongguo jiaoyu kaoshi nianjian 1997* (Chinese educational examination yearbook 1997), Higher Education Press, 1998, pp. 528-547). The reference material for 1996 does not contain data for Beijing, however, so data was taken instead from "1997 brief summary of Beijing higher education examination for self-taught learners" (*Beijing zixue kaoshi bao* (Beijing examination for self-taught learners weekly), February 23, 1997). Further, although there are three types of programs offered today—those comprised of undergraduate courses only, short-cycle courses only, or both undergraduate and short-cycle courses—the 1987 material makes no such distinctions. Therefore, in regard to the 1996 data, programs offered at the short-cycle level and at higher level were treated the same.

The year 1987 marked the sixth year since the higher education examination for self-taught learners was first conducted in Beijing, and a mere two years after programs had been established in all the then 29 provinces in the country. Accordingly, it can be said to be the year in which higher education examination for self-taught learners basically spread throughout the country. Differences and similarities between the establishment of programs at the outset of the examinations and subsequently can be expected to be revealed by comparing the programs established in 1987 with those in 1996.

General Situation The total number of programs offered in 1987 was 412, but it increased 2.49-fold to 1,024 in 1996. The average number of programs offered in a province per year was 14.2 in

1987 (29 provinces), but 34.0 programs (30 provinces) in 1996, excluding the four programs¹⁴ offered only to people belonging to the People's Liberation Army.

The following two points must be noted. Firstly, after a period of merely two years since the higher education examination for self-taught learners was implemented in all provinces throughout the country, an average of 14.2 programs were already being offered in each province. The number of programs differed widely among provinces, as will be described in more detail below, but it nonetheless indicates that programs were actively established during this initial period. The other point is that although some programs were discontinued after the initial period, new programs continued to be established. In other words, diffusion of the higher education examination system for self-taught learners can be observed from the perspective of program establishment as well.

Program Establishment by Province Examinations for self-taught learners are implemented by each province. In 1987, Beijing (30 programs) offered the largest number followed by the provinces of Heilongjiang and Shanghai (23 programs each), Hubei (22 programs), and Liaoning and Tianjin (19 programs each). Meanwhile, included among provinces offering the least number of programs were Tibet (2 programs), Ningxia (4 programs), Qinghai (8 programs), Anhui (9 programs), and Inner Mongolia, Hunan, Jiangxi, and Zhejiang (10 programs each). The average number of programs offered in each province at this time was 14.2. Hubei province implemented the examination for the first time in the first half of 1984, and is certainly not one of the earliest provinces that implemented it. The three municipalities and one province of Beijing, Shanghai, Liaoning, and Tianjin were specified as model regions as early as 1982, and with Heilongjiang province they had begun to conduct examinations by the latter half of 1983. On the other hand, among provinces offering the fewest programs, Jiangxi province conducted its first examination in the first half of 1984, Anhui, Hunan, and Zhejiang provinces in the latter half of the same year, and the other four provinces in 1985. Therefore, the number of programs available during this period can be considered to be related to the timing in which the higher education examinations for self-taught learners were introduced.

In contrast, the average number of programs¹⁵ offered in provinces in 1996 had risen to 34.0. Heilongjiang (53 programs) offered the most followed by Jilin (52 programs), Guangdong (49 programs), Shandong (47 programs), and Shanxi (46 programs). The provinces of Hainan (3 programs), Tibet (9 programs), Fujian (20 programs), Zhejiang (22 programs), and Anhui (23 programs) offered the least number of programs. Whereas in 1987, Beijing offered the most (30 programs) ten years ago, in 1996, Jiangsu and Shanghai both with 30 programs ranked only 19th. Not only had the total number of programs increased, but the number of programs offered in each province had increased as well.

A study of the rate of increase between 1987 and 1996¹⁶ revealed the largest increase in the Ningxia autonomous region with an eleven-fold increase (4 programs in 1987 \rightarrow 44 programs in 1996). This was followed by Tibet (4.50-fold), Inner Mongolia (4.10-fold), and Hunan (3.90-fold).

Conversely, provinces with low increase rates were Fujian (1.11-fold), Beijing (1.70-fold), Shanghai (1.30-fold), Tianjin (1.68-fold), and Hebei (1.75-fold). Roughly speaking, provinces that offered the least number of programs in 1987 seemed to have a larger rate of increase.¹⁷

Of the 70 types of programs offered in 1987, Chinese linguistics and literature, pricing, statistics, law, basic training for cadres working in the Party and government, English, and accounting were offered in more than 20 provinces, but 27 programs were offered in only one province. Among the 246 types of programs offered in 1996, excluding the program restricted to members of the People's Liberation Army,¹⁸ the following 15 programs were offered in more than 20 provinces: law, Chinese linguistics and literature, integrated mechanical and electrical engineering, accounting, administrative management, English, Chinese medicine, computer information management, security control, finance, nursing, computer utilization, counsel at law, industrial and private architecture, and market management and merchandising. However, 138 programs, which account for more than half the total, were offered in only one province.

In 1996, provinces with the largest number of programs offered exclusively in one province were Xinjiang (17 programs),¹⁹ Beijing, Jilin, and Guangdong (10 programs each), and Shandong, Shanxi, and Gansu (9 programs each). Meanwhile, Shanxi and Zhejiang had no programs exclusively offered in their respective provinces, and Shanghai, Anhui, Guangxi, Guizhou, and Tibet had each only one such program. On the whole, there was a tendency for provinces with large numbers of programs in 1996 to also have more exclusive programs.

Underlying the difference in the type and number of programs offered in provinces is perhaps the differences in demand for manpower due to the distinct social and economic circumstances of each province and in the status of higher education as measured by the establishment of higher education institutions and programs offered therein. Further empirical analyses are needed regarding this point.

Program Establishment by Discipline Classifying programs for higher education examination for self-taught learners into several disciplinary areas is no easy task. First of all, the classification of disciplines differs between Japan and China; second, the classification of disciplines in China has been modified several times in the past;²⁰ and third, the classification of some programs cannot be ascertained from their names alone. Consequently, the analysis presented in this paper was based on the discipline classification believed to have been used in 1996.²¹ The disciplinary areas of programs that could not be classified using this classification were identified according to the "Comparative chart of Japanese and Chinese discipline names I, II" (pp. 36-82) contained in the *Chugoku Daigaku Soran* (Comprehensive List of Chinese Universities) (translated by Homare Endo, Daiichi Hoki Shuppan, 1991).²² Then, in order to enable comparisons to be made between 1987 and 1996, the disciplines were re-grouped into the six categories of humanities, social science, natural science, engineering, agriculture, and medicine.²³

When programs were classified according to this disciplinary classification, the total number of programs by discipline in 1987 was 234 for social science, 99 for humanities, 39 for engineering, 17 for agriculture, 16 for natural science, and 7 for medicine. Their ratios to the aggregate number of programs, 412, turned out to be 56.8% for social science, 24.0% for humanities, 9.5% for engineering, 4.1% for agriculture, 3.9% for natural science, and 1.7% for medicine. Approximately 80% of the programs were in the liberal arts field. This phenomenon can be attributed to two factors. The first pertains to the inability of regular higher education institutions to cultivate sufficient necessary talent despite the large social demand for qualified manpower in the legal and economic fields generated by the social environment after the Great Cultural Revolution. After the revolution, the number of students studying law and economics in regular higher education institutions rapidly increased.²⁴ In 1985, the demand for economic construction, social development, and scientific advancement called for an adjustment to the ratios of disciplines in higher education institutions, and an increase of programs in finance, economics, politics and law in particular were urgently sought.²⁵ This means that talent cultivated in regular higher education institutions was insufficient to satisfy social demand. Even before that, for example, a national round-table discussion on higher legal education that was held in 1983 adopted as its fundamental policy for the future the realization of various forms of higher legal education in order to respond to the demands for the "four modernization" constructions and a socialist legal structure. It advised a prompt establishment of legal programs by the Committee of Higher Education Examination for Self-taught Learners in each region as one way to realize this policy.²⁶ The other factor is the situation that surrounded establishment of the programs. That is, it was easier to establish liberal arts-related programs than science-related programs that required facilities for experiments and practical training. In addition to these two factors, however, a notification issued at this time calling for the nationwide establishment of programs in the social science field, such as statistics²⁷ and pricing, also had an effect on the outcome.²⁸

By 1996, the total number of programs by discipline had changed; there were 458 programs for social science, 206 for humanities, 201 for engineering, 100 for medicine, 51 for agriculture, and 6 for natural science.²⁹ In real numbers, the number of programs grew in all disciplines except natural science. In terms of the ratios to the aggregate number of programs, social science accounted for 44.8%, humanities 20.2%, engineering 19.7%, medicine 9.8%, agriculture 5.0%, and natural science 0.6%. So while the ratios of such liberal arts programs as social science and humanities decreased, the ratios for programs in engineering and medicine greatly expanded. Meanwhile, both the total number of natural science programs and their ratio to the aggregate number of programs both decreased: e.g. mathematics programs were offered in 11 provinces in 1987, but only in four provinces in 1996.

It is interesting to compare these numbers with those for programs offered in regular higher education institutions. Table 1 shows the ratio of the total number of programs offered in regular higher education institutions and higher education examination for self-taught learners to the aggregate number of programs by discipline. Since programs in regular higher education institutions are offered

in institution units, and programs in higher education examinations for self-taught learners are offered in province units, a precise comparison of the two is difficult. However, examining the ratio of programs for each discipline reveals some features of programs in higher education examinations for self-taught learners.

Two points can be inferred from this table as features of programs in the higher education examination system for self-taught learners. The first point is that, in 1996, the ratios of programs in social science and medicine were higher than those in regular higher education institutions, while the ratios of engineering and natural science programs were lower. This is because establishment of liberal arts-related programs in higher education examinations for self-taught learners was easier than science-related programs and also because many programs in social science were offered in connection with social demand. In the field of medicine, raising the qualifications and quality of people holding jobs was a priority issue, and since the conditions for experimental work and practical training were also able to be satisfied, such programs were quickly established. For example, at a general meeting for discussing model case activities of traditional Chinese medicine programs that was held in 1988 by the National Supervision Committee of Higher Education Examination for Selftaught Learners and the State Administration of Traditional Chinese Medicine, higher education examinations for self-taught learners were regarded as a valid method for training and selecting specialists of traditional Chinese medicine. They were highly valued as serving an active role in raising the service standard of people engaged in the practice and in solving the shortage of qualified successors. At the same time, the health and hygiene departments of each province called for the integration of traditional Chinese medicine programs offered in higher education examinations for self-taught learners into the training programs for people engaged in traditional Chinese medicine.³⁰

The second point is deduced from the changes between 1987 and 1996, which show a large decrease in the ratio of humanities programs in regular higher education institutions,³¹ but an increasing trend for programs in other disciplines, excluding agriculture. In higher education examinations for self-taught learners, on the other hand, the ratios of liberal arts-related programs, namely humanities and social science, and natural science show a decrease, while the ratios of such applied science fields as engineering, agriculture, and medicine have increased. Especially conspicuous is the change in the natural science field, for which the ratio increased in regular higher education institutions but decreased in higher education examinations for self-taught learners to the extent that hardly any natural science programs were offered in 1996. The drop in the ratios of humanities and social science programs was likely a relative change that could be accounted for by the fact that the high ratios for such programs, established during the initial stage were offset by the addition of applied-science programs thereafter. On the other hand, the decrease in the ratio of natural science programs could be attributed to the tendency for programs in higher education examinations for self-taught learners to be established in response to the social demand for manpower, as previously mentioned. Because natural science is regarded as a fundamental science, its necessity is

acknowledged and relevant programs were established in regular higher education institutions; but in higher education examinations for self-taught learners there seem to have been obstacles to their establishment.

Discipline		Humanities	Social	Natural	Engineering	Agriculture	Medicine	
			Science	Science				
Regular	1987	40.0	11.4	5.1	35.2	4.7	3.5	
higher							5.5	
education	1996	21.4	18.9	11.1	39.9	4.7	4.1	
institutions	1770		1019		0,1,1	,		
Higher	1007	24.0	56.9	2.0	0.5	4.1	1.7	
education	1987	24.0	56.8	3.9	9.5	4.1	1./	
examinations								
for self-taught	1996	20.2	44.8	0.6	19.7	5.0	9.8	
learners								

 Table 1. Ratios of Total Number of Programs in Regular Higher Education Institutions and

 Higher Education Examinations for Self-Taught Learners (%)

Source: Percentages for the number of programs in regular higher education institutions were taken from *Zhongguo jiaoyu chengjiu 1986-1990* (Achievement of education in China 1986-1990), State Education Commission Planning and Development Department ed., People's Education Press, 1991, p. 21, and *Zhongguo jiaoyu shiye tongji nianjian 1996* (Educational statistical yearbook of China 1996), State Education Commission Planning and Construction Department of the People's Republic of China ed., People's Education Press, 1997, p. 17. See the main text for the source of the percentages for higher education examinations for self-taught learners.

Changes in the Program Establishment Situation

The National Supervision Committee of Higher Education Examination for Self-taught Learners began conducting a review of programs in 1996, and prepared a new list of programs by 1998.³² Based on the realization that existing programs are not keeping up with changes in social demand and that they are not fully bringing out the merits of examinations for self-taught learners, the committee identified the following six principles for the review: (1) raising the capacity of programs to answer to social demands; (2) setting the level of programs primarily to short-cycle levels; (3) cultivating versatile manpower; (4) focusing on basic organizations in rural villages and elsewhere in society, as well as taking into consideration special demands of the mid-west region and areas inhabited by the minority nationalities; (5) satisfying demands for improving people's cultural capacities and standard of living; and (6) integrating short-term programs into a nationwide adjustment plan. In accordance with these principles, programs unsuited to higher education examinations for self-taught learners

were discontinued, and new programs with a large social demand were established. Through such adjustments, the number of programs is said to have halved from the number before adjustments were made. Nevertheless, this result was not necessarily reflected immediately on the establishment of programs in each province, but rather, its extensive implementation was slated to begin in 2002, after a transitional period.

The effects of such adjustments on the establishment of programs in each province remain to be identified. Whether the trend of increasing numbers of programs up to 1996 will continue is not known. Particularly from the perspective of the review, it is conceivable that the number of pure science programs will decrease further, while a number of wide-application programs will continue to be established. As clarified through the analysis, there is a tendency for pure science programs to be established in regular higher education institutions and for wide-application programs to be established mainly in higher education examinations for self-taught learners. This trend may well continue.

A second item is coordination with overseas institutions. Specifically, it involves cooperation between the National Supervision Committee of Higher Education Examination for Self-taught Learners and the Cambridge University "Examination Committee" in establishing commercial management and finance management programs in a number of provinces.³³ Students who pass all the examinations can receive a diploma of the higher education examination for self-taught learners as well as a certificate from the Cambridge University "Examination Committee". Furthermore, if graduates of these programs wish to study in the UK with their own funds, the Cambridge University "Examination Committee" is to recommend an appropriate higher education institution. As previously mentioned, it is up to each province to decide whether or not to establish certain programs. Therefore, establishment of these programs will likely be placed in the hands of the provinces as well. Nevertheless, the incentive for examination applicants to study is expected to rise. Completion of the higher education examination for self-taught learners, which has been valid mainly within the country, can now take on a new meaning.³⁴ Basically in such cases, it is important to consider not only the overt demands for manpower in a region, but also latent demands that present new incentives.

A third point pertains to the relationship with regular higher education institutions. Regarding programs offered by regular higher education institutions, as of 1985, it was agreed that "each institution possesses the authority to adjust the future directions of its programs".³⁵ "The Higher Education Law" enacted in 1998 delves further into the issue and stipulates that "higher education institutions shall, in compliance with the law, independently establish and control their disciplinary areas and programs" (Article 33).³⁶ Furthermore, recent reforms are bringing about a change that can perhaps be called the "localization"³⁷ of regular higher education institutions. For example, in 1997, Peking University, Tsinghua University, Renmin University of China, and Beijing Normal University were placed under "joint construction, joint management" by the (then) State Education Commission and Beijing city.³⁸ In this way, the trend for regular higher education institutions under the authority of the central government to strengthen their ties with the local community can be seen throughout the

country. Combined with the fact that the majority of regular higher education institutions have traditionally been under the authority of local governments, regular higher education institutions as a whole will be more apt to give serious thought to local demand for manpower and the socio-economic development of the region when establishing programs. On the other hand, from the standpoint of provinces, they can consign the establishment of new programs to regular higher education institutions under their authority, or they can choose to establish new programs as a part of higher education examinations for self-taught learners. Additionally, as previously mentioned, the establishment of new programs for higher education examinations for self-taught learners requires a regular higher education institution to control them. Therefore, when a province establishes a program, it is inevitable that the program will be linked to a program offered in a regular higher education institution. Considering the fact that there is an age restriction to enrolment in regular higher education institutions and that higher education examinations for self-taught learners aim mainly to cultivate widely dispersed talent, it is inconceivable that programs previously offered through higher education examinations for self-taught learners would be completely absorbed by regular higher education institutions. The majority of programs offered by higher education examinations for self-taught learners are likely continue in the future. Nevertheless, bearing in mind the recent trends, the establishment of programs in the higher education examination system for self-taught learners will perhaps become more selective.

Conclusions

Since the examination system was introduced, programs have been established in accordance with the fundamental principles of giving consideration to the demand for manpower in a region, acknowledging provinces as units, and realizing the need to have a regular higher education institution to control the examination. Based on the experiences of model cases, cooperation among provinces and nationwide establishments of programs has also been pursued.

A comparison of the state of program establishment in 1987 and 1996 reveals three points concerning programs offered in higher education examinations for self-taught learners. First, the number of programs shows an increasing trend. Second, although the situation by provinces indicates that programs have been mainly established in provinces that were specified as model regions at the time when the higher education examinations for self-taught learners were first introduced, even provinces that were late in implementing the examination have now increased their number of programs. Also, in terms of the number of provinces offering programs, both the number of programs offered in more than 20 provinces as well as the number of exclusive programs offered in only one province greatly increased from 1987 to 1996. This indicates that not only have programs relevant to cultivating human resources necessary on a national basis been established widely and uniformly throughout the country, but also that provinces themselves are establishing the programs that they feel are necessary. The third point concerns disciplinary areas. When the examinations were first

introduced, programs in the humanities and social science fields were predominant because they were easy to establish and because social demands needed to be satisfied. Subsequently, an increase was seen in the ratio of programs related to applied science, requiring practical training. However, social demand for natural sciences has not been as large as was expected. While several programs were initially established, the number of such programs has now decreased so much that by 1996 hardly any programs remained. Consequently, the majority of science-based programs offered in the higher education examination system for self-taught learners have become applied science programs. The initial dominance of liberal arts-related programs due to their ease of establishment, was later modified by increased numbers of science-related programs as the conditions for their establishment were able to be satisfied.

In this way, the type and total number of programs offered in the higher education examination system for self-taught learners has greatly increased since the introduction of the system in 1981, and applied science programs in particular have been established. However, as discussed in the last section, changes can be seen in the environment surrounding higher education examinations for self-taught learners. Amidst diverse demands for manpower and varying situations of higher education among provinces, the issue of the types of programs that ought to be established in higher education examinations for self-taught learners should perhaps be approached from a more macro perspective: this might include establishment of programs in adult higher education institutions, an area that has not been considered in this paper. Furthermore, since most recently-established private higher education institutions require students to acquire a diploma through the higher education examination system for self-taught learners, such institutions must establish their programs on the types of programs offered in the higher education examination system for self-taught learners. An empirical analysis of these above points should provide an issue for future study.

Notes

- For more details concerning the open nature of higher education examinations for self-taught learners, refer to the author's "Chugoku no kotokyoiku dokugaku shiken sankasha ni kansuru ichikousatsu: 1996 nen chosa wo chushin ni (An analysis of examinees for the higher education examinations for self-taught learners in China: based on a survey conducted in 1996," *Daigaku Ronshu* (Research in Higher Education), No. 29, 1999, pp. 99-112.
- 2. Zhongguo jiaoyu bao (China education daily), January 27, 1999.
- Yutaka Hasegawa, Hirotaka Nanbu, Sumiyo Yoshimura, "Chuka jinmin kyowakoku kotokyoikuho yaku to kaisetsu (zenpen) (Translation and interpretation of the Higher Education Law of the People's Republic of China (part I of II))," *Kikan: Kyoikuho* (Educational Law Quarterly), No. 118, 1998, pp. 36-44.
- 4. As the author clarified in his paper cited above, in reality, a large percentage of examination applicants have engaged in some form of supplementary activities.
- 5. The establishment and adjustment of subjects for examination in each program also influence what the examination applicants study. An analysis of this point will be made in another paper.
- 6. He Dongchang et al. ed., *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo zhongyao jiaoyu wenxian (1949-1997)* (The important education documents in the People's Republic of China (1949-1997)), (1976-1990 edition), Hainan Publishing House, 1998, pp. 1890-1891.

- 7. Ibid. At this time, higher education institutions that control the examinations and the Committee of Examination for Self-taught Learners of each province, municipality, and autonomous region were prescribed as specific institutions that implement examinations, and the extent of participation by regular higher education institutions in the examinations for self-taught learners was not clearly established.
- For information on the situation of provinces designated as model cases, refer to Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian bianji bu ed., *Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian 1949-1981* (China education yearbook 1949-1981), Encyclopedia of China Publishing House, 1984, pp. 624-625.
- 9. For details on the developments of initial program establishment in Beijing, refer to Guan Shixiong, "Beijingshi gaodeng jiaoyu zixue kaoshi shidian yu zhanwang (Experiment and prospect of higher education examination system for self-taught learners in Beijing)," *Gaojiao zhanxian* (Higher education battlefront), 1984 No.4 (contained in *Fuyin baokan ziliao: zhigong jiaoyu yu qita leixing jiaoyu*(Copied materials from newspapers and magazines: education for workers and staff members and other type of education), 1984 No.3).
- 10. For details on the development of the nationwide establishment of statistics, pricing, and demography programs, refer to Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian bianji bu ed., *Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian 1985-1986* (China education yearbook 1985-1986), Hunan Educational Press, 1988, pp. 61-69.
- 11. State Education Commission Policy and Regulation Department ed., *Shisan jie sanzhong quanhui yilai zhongyao jiaoyu wenxian xueanbian* (The selected important education documents after the third Plenum of the 11th CCPCC), Jiaoyu Kexue Chubanshe, 1992, pp. 325-329.
- 12. The National Education Examinations Authority ed., *Zhongguo jiaoyu kaoshi nianjian 1997* (Chinese educational examination yearbook 1997), Higher Education Press, 1998, pp. 75-78.
- 13. The following description was taken from He Dongchang et al. ed., *Dangdai zhongguo jiaoyu* (Current education in China) (part I of II), Dangdai Zhongguo Chubanshe, 1996, pp. 680-681.
- 14. In 1989, the establishment of higher education level programs especially for people in the People's Liberation Army was approved, upon the understanding that only programs deemed to be necessary to the army would be established, programs that can be offered by provinces would not be established, and programs necessary to the army but having few examinees would be omitted. The People's Liberation Army Committee of Examination for Self-taught Learners was to be responsible for the programs ("Reply in regard to People's Liberation Army conducting examination for self-taught learners, issued by the Office of State Education Commission," in The Office of Higher Education Examination for Self-taught Learners of State Education Commission ed., *Gaodeng jiaoyu zixue kaoshi wenjian xuanbian (1989-1992)* (Selected collection of documents about higher education examination for self-taught learners (1989-1992)), Economical Science Press, 1994, p. 332). The actual examination was conducted from the latter half of 1990 (The Office of Higher Education Examination for Self-taught Learners of State Education Commission ed., *Quanguo gaodeng jiaoyu zixue kaoshi tongji ziliao huibian 1981-1993* (Collection of statistics about national higher education examination for self-taught learners of State Education examination for self-taught learners of State Education Commission ed., *Quanguo gaodeng jiaoyu zixue kaoshi tongji ziliao huibian 1981-1993* (Collection of statistics about national higher education examination for self-taught learners 1981-1993), Wuhan University Press, 1996). See note 23 for the specific names of programs that were offered as of 1996. Also note that secondary vocational education level examinations were implemented from the first half of 1985 (*Ibid*.).
- 15. The types of programs established in 1996 were determined in accordance with the following procedure. In the table showing the state of program establishment utilized in this paper, several programs had similar names, so only those programs having identical names were regarded as the same programs; those programs that had different names, although the contents of the program were estimated to be almost the same, were counted as different programs. The ensuing analysis excluded the four programs offered to people belonging to the People's Liberation Army.
- 16. The following analysis excludes Hainan province, as it was not yet an independent province in 1987.
- 17. The correlation between the number of programs established in 1987 and the rate of increase was -0.622.
- 18. As mentioned in note 14, since the programs established especially for people belonging to the People's Liberation Army were not programs that could be established by the provinces, they never overlapped with programs offered in other provinces. In other words, when calculating program types, one program was regarded as one type.
- 19. In Xinjiang, several programs were offered in Uygur and Kazak. For example, in addition to ordinary law programs, there were Uygur law programs and Kazak law programs. Data utilized for this paper listed these programs separately, so they were each treated as one type of program in this analysis as well.
- 20. Since the birth of the People's Republic of China in 1949 till today, programs for regular higher education institutions have been subject to reexaminations on four occasions. During the period from 1987 and 1996 that this paper takes up for analysis, a reexamination task was conducted in 1989, and in 1993, the "List of Regular Higher Education Institution Undergraduate Course Programs" was announced (the above is from Wu Fenghe, "Cong "danxingdao" dao "lijiaoqiao": gaoxiao sici zhuanye mulu tiaozheng huimou (From "one-way road" to "two-level crossing": review of adjustments made four times to the list of disciplines in higher education institutions)," Zhongguo jiaoyu bao (China education daily), January 7, 1999). In this

particular reexamination, the large categories were modified, and adjustments were made in the lower categories as well. For example, "politics"-related programs that originally belonged to the liberal arts discipline were placed under legal studies in the new classification. Furthermore, the newest classification was the "List of Regular Higher Education Institution Undergraduate Course Programs" that was announced in 1998. In this list, a large category for "management" that did not exist previously, was established (Ministry of Education Department Higher Education Division of People's Republic of China ed., *Putong gaodeng xuexiao benke zhuanye mulu he zhuanye jieshao* (List of Regular Higher Education Institution Undergraduate Course Programs and Descriptions) (announced in 1998), Higher Education Press, 1998).

- 21. "Comparative table of new and old programs in the list of regular higher education institution undergraduate course programs" (Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian bianji bu ed., *Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian 1994* (China education yearbook 1994), People's Education Press, 1995, pp. 143-166).
- 22. Technically, programs offered in the higher education examination system for self-taught learners are unrelated to the establishment situation of undergraduate course programs in regular higher education institutions. Therefore, the names of a considerable number of programs offered in examinations for self-taught learners were not included in the list. However, it was prescribed that "programs offered in the higher education examination for self-taught learners shall generally be selected from the list of programs in higher education institutions" ("Regulations on managing establishment of programs in higher education examination for self-taught learners," Article 7, The National Education Examinations Authority ed., *Zhongguo jiaoyu kaoshi nianjian 1997*, pp. 75-78), so fundamentally, establishment of programs was based on the list.
- 23. Concretely, the classification of disciplines in 1987 and 1996 were as follows: [1987] engineering → engineering, agriculture → agriculture, forestry → agriculture, medicine and pharmacology → medicine, teacher training → humanities, literature → humanities, natural science → natural science, finance and economics → social science, politics and law → social science, physical education → humanities, arts → humanities [1996] philosophy → humanities, economics → social science, law → social science, pedagogy → humanities, literature → humanities, history → humanities, natural science → natural science, engineering → engineering, agriculture → agriculture, medicine → medicine

Also, in 1996, four programs for people belonging to the People's Liberation Army were established: "military machinery management," "military demand control," "aeronautical engineering and maintenance," and "military high-tech utilization and control." In this paper, these programs are grouped together as "engineering".

Especially worthy of mention here are the teacher training programs in 1987 and pedagogy programs in 1996. Judging from the names of the programs, science-related programs that were classified in the teacher training category in 1987 (for example programs such as "mathematics" and "physics" that were offered in institutions conducting teacher training) were transferred to their respective disciplines in 1996. In terms of discipline, they are both in the humanities category in 1987. Therefore, this point must be heeded in the analysis below, especially when examining the changes in the ratios of programs in regular higher education institutions.

- 24. The number of students enrolled in regular higher education institutions greatly increased during the period from after the Great Cultural Revolution in 1977 to 1985, so that in the finance and economics fields, 7,992 students increased to 147,453 (18.5-fold), and in the politics and law fields, 576 students grew to 36,129 (62.7-fold).
- 25. Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, "Resolution on the reforms of the educational system," in Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian bianji bu ed., *Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian* 1982-1984 (China education yearbook 1982-1984)," Hunan Educational Press, 1986, pp. 1-8.
- 26. Ibid., pp. 120-121.
- 27. "Statistics" was classified as economics in the classification of disciplines given in the *Chugoku Daigaku Soran* (Comprehensive List of Chinese Universities) introduced in the text as well as in the classification of disciplines that was used in 1996. The latter classification also gives a "statistics and probabilities" program as a mathematics-related program in the "natural science" category (Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian bianji bu ed., *Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian 1994* (China education yearbook 1994), p. 151).
- 28. In reality, neither statistics programs nor pricing programs were offered in Tibet in 1987. No statistics programs were offered in Ningxia either.
- 29. In the table showing the programs offered in 1996, two programs are given as "others." The ensuing analysis based on disciplinary areas excludes these two programs.
- 30. "Notice concerning summary of a general meeting for discussing model case activities on traditional Chinese medicine program in national higher education examination for self-taught learners, printed and issued by the National Supervision Committee of Higher Education Examination for Self-taught Learners and State Administration of Traditional Chinese Medicine" in the Office of Higher Education Examination for Self-taught Learners of State Education Commission ed., *Gaodeng jiaoyu zixue kaoshi wenjian xuanbian (1989-*

1992), pp. 550-553.

- 32. The following citation is from *Zhongguo jiaoyu bao* (China education daily), May 20, 1998 and May 21, 1998.
- 33. Zhongguo jiaoyu bao (China education daily), February 24, 1999. In this article, the institution that establishes programs in cooperation with the National Supervision Committee of Higher Education Examination for Self-taught Learners is said to be the "Qianqiao daxue kaoshi weiyuanhui(the Cambridge University Examination Committee)", so this paper simply uses the translation of it, "Examination Committee".
- 34. In addition to this, there were trends for foreign higher education institutions to acknowledge the diploma from China's higher education examinations for self-taught learners (*Beijing zixue kaoshi bao* (Beijing examination for self-taught learners weekly), March 23, 1997).
- 35. "Resolution on the reforms of the educational system," in Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian bianji bu ed., *Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian 1982-1984*, pp. 1-8.
- Yutaka Hasegawa, Hirotaka Nanbu, Sumiyo Yoshimura, "Chuka jinmin kyowakoku kotokyoikuho yaku to kaisetsu (zenpen)", pp. 36-44
- 37. Deng Yaocai, "Gaodeng jiaoyu difanghua he guojihua (Higher education regionalization and internationalization)," Huang Yuzhi et al. ed., Dangdai zhongguo gaodeng jiaoyu lunyao (On contemporary Chinese higher education), Shantou University Press, 1994, pp. 99-127.
- 38. Zhongguo jiaoyu bao (China education daily), December 9, 1997. For details on reforms of the administrative structure of regular higher education institutions that are being pursued in modern times, including "joint construction, joint management," see also: Sumiyo Yoshimura, "Chugoku no kaikaku/kaiho seisakuka ni okeru daigaku no jishuken no kakudai: keizai kaikaku tono kanrensei ni oiteno ichikousatsu (The expansion of university autonomy under reform and "open-door" policy in China: An Examination in Relation to Economic Reforms)," (Kyoto University Graduate School of Education master's thesis), 1997, and Yutaka Otsuka, "Chugoku kotokyoiku no kanritaisei kaikaku to soshiki henyou (Management system reform and organizational changes in China's higher education)," Akira Arimoto, ed., Posuto taishuka dankai no daigaku soshiki henyokatei ni kansuru hikaku kenkyu (Cross-national study on post-massification academic organizational development), (Reviews in Higher Education No.46), RIHE Hiroshima University, 1997, pp. 154-164.

^{31.} See note 23.

Professional Education Reconsidered: Conflict between Academic Knowledge and Practical Knowledge

Naoyuki Ogata*

Introduction

In Japan, interest in higher professional education is rapidly increasing, especially in the field of social sciences, with a view to expanding postgraduate education. For instance, the University Council report in November 2000 entitled "Higher Education in the Age of Globalization" advocates the training of higher professionals through introduction and support of accreditation systems in various professions and expansion of specialized graduate schools based on wide-ranging general education at the undergraduate level. Accordingly, there are now extensive attempts to introduce professional schools into Japan by reproducing the arrangements used by existing schools, mainly in the United States, and the systems that allow them to function.

The education of higher professionals in graduate schools is not a new subject in terms of legislation. The "Standards for the Establishment of Graduate Schools" (1974) already allows courses aimed at higher professional education to be established within master's programs. An amendment (1989) enabled higher professional education to be pursued in doctoral programs as well. In the natural sciences, especially in the field of engineering, providing higher professional education in graduate schools is an established fact. Enrolment for master's courses in engineering surpassed 10,000 by as early as 1985, and reached 30,000 in 2000. The employment ratio of those who did not proceed to the next stage of education has remained high, in the 90% range (Table 1).¹

However, despite a growing popularity of specialized graduate schools among policymakers and university stakeholders, it seems that little has been discussed in Japan regarding the concept of professions,² the relationships between professional training and higher education, and the effectiveness of professional education in universities. Perhaps this is a natural consequence when the fact is considered that there are more requirements on the supply side than there are socioeconomic demands behind discussions of graduate school expansion (Ichikawa 2001, p. 127).

Needless to say, universities can establish a central role in professional education without debating such issues. All they need to do is establish and gain social recognition for a system where study at university or graduate school and acquiring education in a certain academic field constitute the prerequisites for practising a designated occupation. Actually, in the field of natural science, there is

Associate Professor, Research Institute for Higher Education, Hiroshima University

The article was originally published in "Daigaku Roshu" (Japanese), No. 32, 2002.

	Humanities	Social Science	Science	Engineering	Agriculture	Others	Total
Enrolm	ent (no. of peop	ole)					
1980	2,036	1,573	1,858	7,522	1,257	2,598	16,844
1990	2,400	2,927	3,291	14,697	2,104	5,314	30,733
2000	5,251	10,039	6,285	30,031	3,938	14,792	70,336
Employ	yment ratio (%))					
1980	41.0	46.7	79.5	95.7	75.5		
1990	48.1	59.1	92.7	91.8	91.3		
2000	35.2	49.1	80.0	91.8	77.2		

Table 1. Trends in the Number of Students who Proceeded to Graduate School and the Employment Ratio

Note: Employment ratio was calculated by; number employed / (number of masters graduates – number of students proceeding to next stage of education)

Source: School Basic Research

no evidence showing that the occupational relevance of educational contents has been examined, although it has been pointed out that in Japan the salary level of master's graduates is the same as a third-year employee who graduated from university. Neither have there been any systematic evaluations of graduate school curriculums in the fields of science, engineering and agriculture (Shimizu and Mori 2001, p. 227). It is unclear whether the correspondence between academic knowledge and practical knowledge is self-explanatory, or whether refraining from investigating this issue is more beneficial to universities and corporations.

In what ways should higher professional education be centered on master's programs in graduate schools? The only way to answer this question is to analyze the educational contents and examine their relevance to the knowledge and skills exercised in the workplace. As a preliminary procedure to this issue, this paper examines the significance of professional education in universities from the viewpoint of professional knowledge. It is not the purpose of this paper to probe into the concept of professions or to clarify whether occupations that aim to be professions can indeed be considered professions. Neither is it to identify what is lacking in order to establish a professional society or promote the introduction of any item that is lacking. Such procedures have no real significance for research in higher education, especially for analyses of knowledge in the university.³

What is Meant by Profession?

Ishimura wrote in his book *Gendai no Purofesshon* (Contemporary Profession) published in 1969 that the word 'profession' (or *senmonshoku*, which seems to be used as its translation) is nowadays often used in various spheres of work. However, it appears that the word 'profession' used in these contexts often does not have a precise definition. Thirty years have passed since then, but basically the situation has not changed. This is partly due to the fact that the concept of profession was born in a Western context, but, even so, a series of research studies of professions shows that there is no consistent definition of the term even in Western society. The content and extension of the concepts of profession are surprisingly flexible and arbitrary (Nakano 1981, p. 40), and thus no established definition necessarily exists (Ohta 1993, p. 16).

How has the concept of profession been introduced in Japan? Here are some examples. "It is an occupation that contributes to the interests of the whole of society by rendering specific services in response to specific needs of individual clients arbitrarily presented from the general public. It should be based on a special skill obtained through special education or training, supported by scholarship (scientific or higher knowledge), and displays in itself a certain basic theory" (Ishimura 1969, pp. 25-26). "A profession entails: (1) being engaged in work based on professional knowledge and skills that requires a theoretical basis that can be obtained through long-term educational training; (2) following ethical standards when providing services as a professional; (3) the presence of an occupational body which primarily aims at maintaining these abilities and ethical standards; and (4) exclusive rights in specialized fields due to the existence of an inner regulation that guarantees professionalism and morality" (Ohta 1993, p. 17). In a profession, "a high level of autonomy is exerted when conducting one's work, based on systematic knowledge or principles that can be acquired only through long-term training" (Nagao 1995, p. 20).

These are ideal definitions of professions. Studies that deal with what are called emerging professions as opposed to traditional professions (Nakano 1981, Shimbori 1984)⁴ often utilize the above-mentioned definitions flexibly corresponding to a subjective analysis. Ohta (1993) noticed that some form of evaluation system of abilities and other attributes based on the standards of a professional organization or society always exists in jobs requiring professional knowledge and skills; from that point of view, he studied researchers, information processing engineers, designers, and architects. The Japan Institute of Labour (1994) employs objective measurement and the possibility of evaluation of skills, establishment of theoretical knowledge, and discretion in methods of work as standards for its case studies of R&D engineers in manufacturing companies, TV program producers, and reporters and editors of newspaper agencies. The Japan Institute of Labour (1999) also conducts case studies regarding workers in the occupational classification of "those engaged in professional and technical occupations", such as public consultants on social insurance, translators, professional *go* players, social workers, system engineers, certified accountants, and designers, with a focus on such standards as the strength/weakness of organizational constraints and the solitary/collective nature of

their work. Miyashita analyzes white-collar workers in large enterprises by defining those workers employed by enterprises and other organizations, who have independence and expertise in their duties, and who are evaluated as core talents in the organization or as intra-organizational professionals (Miyashita 2001, p. 56).

It is clear that the existence of a *distinctive "knowledge*" is common to any concept of profession, regardless of whether it refers to ideal professions or emerging professions. Takeuchi (1971) discusses this point extensively. He explains that because studies of professions are based on the concept of ideal professions, their definitions presuppose an image of the classic professions and are not appropriate as contemporary concepts of professions. He also claims that altruistic ethics and collective and service orientation should be eliminated from the basic concept, and that a "systematic theory" and its "application that cannot be standardized" should be the basic requirements.⁵ Furthermore, depending on systematic theory alone is insufficient, and its usefulness and necessity must also be taken into consideration. He therefore proposes to add the following points to the concept of profession: (1) sophistication of systematic theory and its relevance or necessity, and (2) the necessity of creation and judgment and its irreplaceability when a theory is applied.

"Knowledge" of Professions

"Knowledge" of professions generally indicates highly theoretical and systematic knowledge acquired through an extended period of training. Yet, the expression *distinctive "knowledge*" was used deliberately in the preceding paragraph for two reasons. The first reason is that there are occupations that do not require theoretical and systematic knowledge to be studied at educational institutions prior to employment, as is evident from the case studies introduced above. However, it leaves room for the objection that such kinds of occupations cannot be regarded as professions. But, since this paper is concerned with education of higher professionals at the graduate school level, this argument can not be conclusive. More important is the second reason. That is, even if the acquisition of theoretical and systematic knowledge is required in employment, it does not necessarily form the foundation of actual practices in the workplace. It can be said that traditional studies on professions have revolved around this second reason. This is demonstrated in the shift from a simple functionalistic interpretation that regards theoretical and systematic academic knowledge as the foundation for work performance, to a conflictive interpretation in which the exclusiveness and prestige of knowledge in higher education are said to be exploited by professions.

On one hand, professions are said to utilize irreplaceable, highly specialized knowledge and skills that are beyond the understanding and criticisms of untrained people (Nakano 1981, pp. 41-42, Nagao 1995, p. 25). On the other hand, a high level of expertise, advanced and long-term educational training, and a high degree of publicness are regarded as requirements for the intellectual monopoly that forms the solid foundation of a professional group (Yamada 1979). There is no doubt that

Naoyuki Ogata

Freidson points out that in professional training, not only practical knowledge but theory and principles are also taught. Therefore, both instructors and students are isolated from the context of its immediate relevance to daily work; and sometimes practical training is specifically avoided. However, since discretionary judgment skills are required in the workplace rather than the daily application of limited skills, learning basic theories and concepts is essential (Freidson 2001, p. 95). In this argument, theoretical and systematic knowledge is also considered to function in the practical context of occupations. That is to say, abstract knowledge is considered to have versatility and transferability. However, Abbott argues that, on the contrary, the formal knowledge of professions has a logical consistency and is rationally idealized, and therefore it has no definitive practicability or usefulness. The basis of professional authority is derived from the power and prestige of academic knowledge. In other words, professional knowledge based on scholarship serves a symbolic function, but it is not practical (Abbott 1987, pp. 52-58).⁶ Collins set his eyes on the social structure of knowledge rather than knowledge itself, and identifies three reasons why professions exploit academic knowledge in order to maintain occupational independence and prestige: academic knowledge does not provide practical knowledge; it restricts the supply of knowledge and skills; and it provides qualifications (Collins 1990, pp. 18-20). Larson also sees professions as establishing a structural relationship between comparatively high-level formal education and relatively desirable positions and remuneration in the social divisions of labor, and seeks the importance of formal higher education in the protection of scarcity brought about by restrictions to qualifications rather than in the superiority of knowledge (Larson 1990, pp. 30-31).⁷ These perspectives do not actively deny the functions of theoretical and systematic knowledge in the practical workplace. Rather, they focus on the fact that theoretical and systematic knowledge is studied through formal higher education, and discuss its significance, not from the context of professional practice, but from the viewpoint of how professions are socially structured.

Although conventional studies on professions emphasize the knowledge of professions, they fail fully to clarify the substantial relationship between theoretical and systematic knowledge and professional practical knowledge. Needless to say, it is not easy to question the relationship between theory and practice, because it is difficult to generalize what kind of principles are employed by practitioners in disregard of the individual or context (Svensson 1990, p. 62).

Professional Practical Knowledge

Ito explains that objective knowledge, which is universally applicable, is predicated on its independence of 1) the subject, 2) the personality, 3) the body, 4) the circumstances, and 5) other persons; in a broad sense, all of these several aspects can be called contexts (Ito 1997, pp. 119-120). On the other hand, theories of social practice see a relational and mutual dependency among actor,

world, activity, meaning, cognition, learning and knowing, and emphasize the fact that meanings are essentially determined by social negotiations and the importance of thoughts and behaviors of the person engaging in the activity (Lave and Wegner, translation, p. 26). Professional practical knowledge is indeed dependent on such contexts.

Stehr discusses practicality of knowledge in the social sciences in the following manner. Knowledge is a behavioral ability that both elicits an action and is elicited from an action simultaneously. It is sometimes said that there is no theory as practical as an excellent theory. However, such instrumental models consider theories as intellectual instruments that can be utilized in practical circumstances, and assume that they will not be influenced by the local nature of the context in which knowledge is applied. Yet such "logic of justification" is not based on a sufficient philosophical rationale or on reliable sociological considerations. Unlike the natural sciences, the subjects of social sciences are surprisingly complicated. Social context greatly affects the practicality of knowledge in the social sciences, and the application of social scientific knowledge ("logic of practice") cannot be separated from local restrictions or possibilities under specific conditions. Knowledge *for* practice cannot be considered apart from knowledge *about* practice, and therefore scientific objectivity does not guarantee usability (Stehr, translation).

In the field of engineering as well, knowledge that differs from natural laws on which the natural sciences are based, is gaining attention, although not necessarily from the perspective of practicality of theoretical and systematic knowledge. Taura identifies as "process knowledge" the "something" that lies behind an engineer's thought process and controls the process. He analyzes the technical activities in designing and development, and attempts to define "process knowledge" from the three aspects of ability, context and information (Taura 1997(a)). Furthermore, he considers the knowledge that makes contexts abstract as the essence of process knowledge; and examines the function of "metaphors" in the thought process of designing and development. Taura points out that in the process of scientific discovery, (1) the knowledge to discover the viewpoint for interpreting the objective from a metaphor and (2) the knowledge to construct a metaphor from the prospect can both function in the case of natural phenomena where the prospect is clear. However, in the case of designing and development, (3) the knowledge that constructs the prospect from a metaphor has significant meaning (Taura 1997(b)).

Is the universality of theoretical and systematic knowledge something that transcends the limitation of context, or is it universal only under laboratory-like special settings or assumptions? In order to study this issue, questionnaires and interviews are often employed to inquire whether "the theoretical and systematic knowledge studied in universities is useful in the workplace." However, such surveys are themselves biased by a stratified view of knowledge which places academic knowledge above professional knowledge. It is necessary to cease approaching theoretical and

systematic knowledge from this starting point, and to explore the possibility of eliciting academic knowledge from professional knowledge. This approach was first embraced by Schön.

Knowledge is generally considered to have a stratified structure with basic sciences at the bottom, followed by applied sciences and practical knowledge (skill); practical knowledge is believed to become professional knowledge when it is based on systematic scientific knowledge. Schön, however, advocates an inverted form of this stratified structure. He is skeptical of whether academic researches produce useful professional knowledge and of whether school-taught professional knowledge is based on practical demands; he argues that it is more important to consider what can be learned from the abilities practitioners display, rather than how they utilize research-based knowledge. Regarding professional schools as a place where disciplinary and practical orientations come together (Figure 1), he suggests practical sciences as a bridge between the two (Schön 1987).⁸

Figure 1. Dual Orientation of the Professional School



Source: Schön (1987, p. 306)

Schön focused on the concept of reflective practice. The practices of experts are not suitable for models of technical rationality (instrumental problem-solving that strictly applies scientific theory and technology)⁹ because they contain complexity, uncertainty, unsteadiness, uniqueness and conflicts of value. Thus a dilemma over "rigour" or "relevance" arises. Experts who are called reflective practitioners are expected to find the limit of professional expertise through reflective dialogues with clients and to throw light on uncertainties. Once universities begin to take interest in the practical aspects of professions, then the roles of field work, consultations and continuing education will be given a higher status as a means for research instead of being regarded as secondary activities or as a necessary evil, and will become the major work of universities (Schön, translation).

The Future of Professional Graduate Schools

In the above sections, the relationship between knowledge in professions and knowledge in universities has been examined. Although there is still room for consideration of that issue, it is also important to examine the trends of higher professional education in graduate schools in Japan from these viewpoints. Ichikawa poses several questions concerning education for higher professionals in
graduate schools. Is it really possible to change the research-oriented graduate schools in our nation in terms of the ability, quality and awareness of faculty members? Can the substance of what is taught in specialized graduate schools be called scholarship? Is it practically useful? Can it contribute to society? Are there employment opportunities for graduates? (Ichikawa 2001, pp. 133-136) In this section, the arguments on professional education, taking postgraduate law schools as an example, are reviewed. Note, however, that the following arguments are based on limited material and not on the actual conditions in individual universities.

In the 1990's, postgraduate law schools in the national universities established specialized courses for higher professional education, whilst also retaining their traditional research-training courses.¹⁰ Acknowledging the fact that the cause for the lack of demand from society lay in their educational quality, they aimed to provide school-type training to replace the traditional apprentice system (Suzuki 1991, p. 62). Reflecting on their inadequacy in providing theoretical and systematic education, which forms the core of arguments on professions.¹¹ they actively attempted to introduce it. It is desirable for the educational contents and the abilities of faculty members to be determined according to the purposes of the training, but numerous disputes have emerged over whether law schools should cultivate "super-generalists" or professionals or both (Matsuura 1997, p. 69). Also, there are many cases where experienced workers who have already acquired some knowledge are accepted into specialized courses as students, where importance is placed on the systematic clarification of daily practical knowledge rather than on research guidance (Ishii et al, 1991). However, does this mean that traditional academic knowledge is reconstructed by practical knowledge?¹² Rather, it seems to imply the reconstruction of practical knowledge by traditional academic knowledge. In other words, it can be inferred that specialized courses provide education based on the traditional stratification of knowledge.

It would be significant to reconstruct professional practical knowledge from the viewpoint of academic knowledge. There is also the possibility that knowledge *per se* in universities may change as a result of enrolling many experienced workers (both as students and teachers). Since there are now a number of graduates of specialized courses, empirical analyses concerning this point can be expected in the future. Following the establishment of specialized courses, circumstances surrounding postgraduate law schools have changed further. These relate to the so-called law school plans and provide a very different context from the specialized courses.

There are roughly two types of law school plans according to Aoyama (1999). One is a proposal for an American-type law school that has, as a prerequisite, completion of studies at a 4-year college of liberal arts. American professional training is explicitly vocational in character, but presupposes advanced general education connected with a university education (Freidson 2001, p. 86). The idea of this plan is to build the legal profession upon diverse fields by accepting students with a wide range of interests. The other is a Japanese-type law school plan, which merges the undergraduate course with the master's programs. This is a plan to link the latter half of an undergraduate course to a master's

Naoyuki Ogata

programme, and so provide fundamental law education in the former and advanced law education in the latter. Further, because practical legal training is provided at the Judicial Research and Training Institute, the master's programme can be devoted to advanced education in legal theory.¹³

Another group, the "Working Group for Legal Profession Training and Law Education" (1999), advocates a third plan for postgraduate law courses, and proposes the separation of law school courses from practical skill training. It believes that practical skill training should be provided by pure practitioners; and that due to its fixed nature, it is not appropriate in a law school curriculum which is a part of the university where primary importance is placed on creative thinking by freewheeling thinkers. With respect to the educational program, it calls for basic subjects to be obligatory and applied subjects to be compulsory but elective, and considers the standardization of the content as being indispensable. It advocates the necessity of introducing practical problems in great volume into the content and methods of education in order to establish the advanced education in legal theory that is required by practitioners. Yet, its views on academic knowledge and professional practical knowledge are fundamentally the same as those of the specialized courses.

Let us also examine other arguments regarding the relationship between education in legal theory and actual practices. Based on an assumption of unity between theoretical and practical education, Ochiai *et al.* (2001) present the question of whether members of faculties of law in current universities can conduct legal theory education if they have failed to train for the legal professions, and even lack practical experience.¹⁴ On the other hand, they also refer to the negative effects of ideas that excessively divide theory and practice as a result of designating those responsible for theory and those responsible for practice; it is desirable to seek teachers who can link theory and practice together. Although it is not clear to what extent law schools intend to pursue an approach based on practical knowledge, they have a potential for developing new knowledge in universities.

Judging from the limited materials, professional training based on advanced theoretical and systematic education is designed not only for the specialized courses but also for the law school plan as well. This is natural from the standpoint of traditional professional education. How is the practical side of the legal profession considering this situation? Miyagawa (1999) points out that there are some discussions concerning this issue: objections to the law school plan; acceptance of the plan but only under the condition that practical training outside the educational system is maintained; and active promotion of a training system under "judicial unification" by the Japan Federation of Bar Associations. However, he mainly discusses the judicial examination and qualification system, and hardly shifts his perspective to the matter of how to relate practical knowledge to academic knowledge. The argument that teachers need to be prepared to put their research aside while they teach in the postgraduate law schools (Ochiai 2001) seems to imply that research is not incorporated within practical education.¹⁵ Ironically, while universities adhere to academic knowledge, the practical side clings to preservation of the present judicial status and systems. Yet, when recalling that professional independence is a component of professions, it is easy to understand the stance of seeking to preserve

the current situation. The evaluation of trends in professional schools suggests that they are subject to fundamental change depending on whether or not it is considered from the traditional concept of professions.

Beyond Arguments on the Limit of Academic Knowledge

It is easy to point out that theoretical and systematic knowledge, which has always been a premise of professions, is difficult to connect to professional practical knowledge; and also that professional education in graduate schools, which have already achieved stability, and emerging plans for specialized graduate schools are based on a framework of traditional academic knowledge. However, these references mean the same as performing the task of "probing into the concept of professions and clarifying whether an occupation that aims to become a profession can really be considered a profession." Simply pointing out the limits of academic knowledge would only produce a temporary ripple on the surface of professional education in universities. If so, are there any means to allow professional education in universities to function beyond an argument on the limit of academic knowledge?

One way is to examine the new framework for professional education in terms of discussions on the structure of knowledge. This refers for instance, to the mode theory (Gibbons, translation) that discusses the mode of knowledge production in the actual workplace and university. According to Kobayashi, "Mode 1" is an individual-oriented mode of knowledge production that emphasizes universality and is based on individual learning. "Mode 2" is a trans-disciplinary group-oriented mode of knowledge production that places importance on realistic effectiveness. Mode 2 is common in society outside the university, and this is where separation from mode 1 occurs. Mode 2 requires (a) basic ability, (b) configuration ability, (c) collaboration ability, and (d) broker's ability, but Mode 1 can only address item (a). Therefore, Kobayashi argues that universities themselves need to evolve so that they become capable of implementing Mode 2 (Kobayashi 1998). He also suggests the institutional separation of research and education (Kobayashi 2001).

While claiming that mode theory should be focused on research, Boud (2001) discusses it in the context of work-based learning (hereinafter referred to as WBL). He regards mode theory as a useful framework for examining the relationship between knowledge in a work-based course and in a traditional academic programme. Referring to Bowden & Marton (1998), he points out that traditional methods of curriculum study for solving practically issues that have already been presented as problems do not cultivate the ability to define what the problem is in the first place.¹⁶ Boud considers the ability of recognizing situations as an essential factor in WBL. It is the ability to place importance on temporary local knowledge while at the same time relying on specific situations. Mode 1 knowledge is not necessarily unsuitable for WBL, but Boud emphasizes that it is necessary to dismantle curriculums based on academic frameworks and to rearrange them flexibly.¹⁷

Naoyuki Ogata

Argyris and Schön (1974) examine the knowledge of professional schools from the viewpoint of theories of practice. There are two theories that regulate behavior: model I and model II. The former concerns achievement of a set target (the victory) and aims to restrict emotion and promote rational behavior. The latter aims to gather useful information, and offers unrestricted selection and selfresponsibility for that selection. Sato (1996) summarizes these two models in the following way. The practice of traditional experts (model I) refers to practice based on technical rationality, where experts individually apply professional knowledge and scientific skills to problems confronting their clients. The practice of the new experts (model II) is founded on interpersonal relationships. In it, experts work together with their colleagues and also forge a cooperative relationship with their clients to explore problems and solve them through mutual learning in complex contexts (Sato 1996, p. 69).¹⁸ Argyris and Schön claim that the ideas of traditional professional schools that (1) the theory of practice derives from basic theory, that (2) schools are responsible for teaching basic theory to elicit skills, and its application (hidden potential) should be taught in the actual workplace, and that (3) students should be taught to think like experts, are all problematic, and advocate the importance of education by model II, where the barrier between schools and actual workplaces has been abolished. It can be said that mode theories and theories of practice stand on common ground in that both clearly demonstrate a structure of practical knowledge that is incompatible with traditional academic knowledge.

Another way is to examine a new framework for professional education by analyzing cases where the concerned occupations approach universities proactively. In the case of postgraduate law schools mentioned previously, the issue was what kind of programmes should be introduced into universities where an academic education system for law has already been established. If an academic system is already in place, other academic fields may well follow a pattern similar to that for law, so it would not be a suitable subject for consideration here.¹⁹ Interesting cases would be those where the subject has not been academically established, and it is addressed by the practising profession.

A good example of this is the educational programme for university personnel (professionals of university administrative management) in Japan. Although there is only limited material at this stage, it is understood that incumbent university staff are playing a central role in forming a project and developing its curriculum. Serizawa (2001) gives the following five reasons why a graduate school master's degree is considered important: (1) learning basic concepts and methods for academic research; (2) learning the philosophy and history of universities as the foundation of their existence; (3) cross-sectional and professional learning that responds to informatization and globalization; (4) creation of networks among faculty members, and (5) enhancement of the social status of staff. For university personnel, their context is peculiar in that the graduate school, which is a place of learning, is their workplace. This peculiar aspect is also implied in the above reasons. Furthermore, even though a specific profile of occupational functions for the profession is pointed out to be vague, the programme contents presented as a plan are detailed and comprehensive.

The list gives the impression that, upon reconstructing the concept of management from the context of universities, it places emphasis on learning both knowledge of the university itself and of its administrative affairs as well as the skills that accompany management and administration. If a profile of a professional in university management is depicted, it would be of a person with knowledge of the university system, its structure and its overall administrative affairs. Certainly, having thorough knowledge would form the foundation of job performance. Also, considering the fact that such knowledge has not been traditionally addressed in universities, it is indeed a noteworthy attempt to introduce practical knowledge in universities. However, does practical knowledge for supporting job performance refer only to such knowledge? Are there not other abilities that have been omitted during their integration into such knowledge, or that were not fully recognized in daily business? If there exists, so to speak, a fuzzy knowledge that cannot be conceptualized as firm knowledge in practical business, it would be necessary to ensure that such knowledge was actively included in the curriculum as well. There is no need to assume rigidity in a university curriculum (conventional research training programs are not necessarily rigid either). Further arguments and developments that take into consideration practical contexts and are not excessively influenced by the context of universities are expected in the future.

Conclusion

Under circumstances that require competition in the free market and effectiveness by corporate management, the foundation of professionalism is said to be weakening due to criticisms that it maintains a monopoly for its own benefit and does not contribute to consumer benefit (Freidson 2001, pp. 2-3). In our nation, too, in parallel with the rise of arguments concerning professional schools, scandals involving professionals are becoming daily news, and the bedrock of education is being questioned.²⁰ It is easy to counter that the work of professionals does not relate to market principles or effectiveness. However, the only way professions can continue to be accepted by society is for professionals to pursue their jobs in a professional manner. If universities claim to uphold the education of professionals, they have no choice but to cultivate the abilities that would allow professionals to carry out their business professionally.

Should universities assume a theoretical and systematic knowledge based on individual disciplines? Should they prepare a curriculum focused on rigid course work? Although these questions may seem self-explanatory at first glance, they do not guarantee anything in terms of the professional relevance of its educational content. Many of those of us who are members of universities know almost nothing about professional practical knowledge. On the other hand, those who work in the professional field are not aware of the abilities that form the basis of their own professional practice. This implies that professional education cannot function easily, either for university faculty members who have always followed an academic path or for faculty members who were employed for their practical experience.

Naoyuki Ogata

In order to step away from the call for the transformation of knowledge, it seems there is no alternative but to examine diligently the practical knowledge of individual occupations. The author hopes this paper will serve as a stepping stone for the emergence of people who are willing to pursue such examination among university academics and professionals in the practical field. Education and training for professionals is necessary. However, if the issue is premised on providing professional education in universities, this would pose many pitfalls. If it is deemed too difficult to absorb exposed practical knowledge into universities, then professional education should simply be detached from universities and the educational resource be relocated wherever is suitable. Such an attitude seems to fit universities better in their role as the seat of learning.

Notes

- The largest increase in the enrolment of master's courses during the two decades from 1980 to 2000 was seen in social sciences, with a 6.4-fold increase. However, the ratio of employment remained extremely low at 50%, compared to natural sciences.
- 2. In this paper, specialized occupations are called professions. Also, "specialists" and "experts" are terms similar in meaning to "professionals," but their definitions have not really been established academically either. For instance, Shimbori classifies the term "professional" as shown below.

Words	Criteria	Antonym
1. Professional	Scientific knowledge (higher education)	Amateur
2. Expert	Practical ability (organizational training)	Layman
3. Veteran	Experience (intuition, knack)	Rookie
4. Specialist	Area	Generalist

Source: Shimbori (1970, p. 64)

- 3. Along the transitional process of employment from private owner to organizational employer, the concept of professions has been argued from the viewpoint of organizational analysis, especially the influence of bureaucratization (ex., Thompson, translation, Etzioni, translation, etc.). The kind of organizational forms that would maintain the features of professions or improve performance are interesting themes in the light of organizational reforms in universities. The issue of specialized graduate schools also affects what education should be provided in undergraduate courses. About law schools, there are arguments that students will tend to avoid applying to those law faculties that are not linked to a law school or that the rearrangement of law faculties into liberal arts colleges should be advanced. In order to discuss academic knowledge, a thorough examination that also gives consideration to specialized departments is necessary.
- 4. Contrarily, studies aimed at traditional professions consider it self-explanatory that they are professions, and therefore, they have the possibility of obscuring the viewpoint of studies of professions. Even for traditional

professions, when taking into consideration the fact that careers and the formation of professional knowledge change with time, it would be necessary to reconsider their occupational features as well. There are not many studies of this, but the career analysis of lawyers conducted by Hori (2000) serves as a reference.

- 5. The grounds for the argument is that if the practical target of professions is too narrow, it would become a mechanical application, and if it is too wide, it would become obscure and therefore difficult to apply a systematic theory.
- 6. However, he claims that academic knowledge has a function of discovering rules for reconstructing practical knowledge. He indicates that only knowledge ruled by abstract notions can redefine an issue and identify a new issue, and that this very abstractness is what allows for survival in the competitive system of professions.
- 7. In a case where the training organization and the practice group are separated, there is an indication that universities would not try to restrict the supply and they may teach what they desire (knowledge separated from practice), and therefore, the interests of practitioners and universities do not always match (Burrage, Jarausch & Siegrist 1990).
- 8. The core of reflective practice is "learning by doing", and the necessary abilities are brought out by the role of coaches, and not through teaching.
- 9. He claims that also in the curriculum, practical skill comes after basic sciences and applied sciences, and practical knowledge is interpreted as the relationship of a means to an object. Medicine, dentistry, agriculture, and engineering are regarded as fields where the model of applied sciences is relatively useful.
- 10. For details, refer to Matsuura (1997, p. 67).
- 11. Then, what is the knowledge that becomes the core of researcher education in universities? For those people aiming to be university researchers, graduate school education probably equates to on-the-job training or apprenticeship, and not the course work of professional schools. The training of academic professionals may indicate the true nature of higher professional education.
- 12. Specifically, it is necessary to examine whether the curriculum was jointly formed by inviting practitioners. The pursuit of business schools based on the differences in the principles of organizational composition between Japan and the Western societies (Kusunoki 2001) is an example that indicates the creation of contents rooted in the peculiarity of the workplace.
- 13. The interim report of the Judicial System Reform Council (2000) advocates the functional division of undergraduate education and postgraduate law schools, and suggests that this is different from the idea of a second-story graduate school built on undergraduate education (Ochiai et al. 2001).
- 14. The argument that current faculty members can conduct neither theoretical and systematic education nor practical education indicates the need to re-examine the training system for university faculty.
- 15. It is necessary to heed the meaning of the word "research". When using the word research in the context of the university, it often refers to the theoretical and systematic nature of academic research. However, the meaning of research in this paragraph is the pursuit of practical knowledge. It seems that practitioners lack this way of thinking.

- 16. In the case of approaches from workplaces, what first comes to mind is the selection of cases and the learning of solutions to those cases that could become standard. However, it must be noted that this is not the same as learning from practice.
- 17. He claims that integration of Mode 1 (academic) and Mode 2 (professional) is difficult due to the qualitative differences of the two modes, and also because the framework of professional practical knowledge itself has yet to be elucidated. Kobayashi (1998) also points out the difficulty of bringing education corresponding to mode 2 into universities.
- 18. For a paradigm of traditional and new professionals, refer to Argyris & Schön, 1974, pp. 154-155.
- 19. When professional education is brought into universities, it can be done in two ways: through an approach from the universities or one from the occupational side. It is meaningful to make a historical examination, including those differences, by focusing on how 'knowledge' is regarded.
- 20. In the arguments for professional schools in our country, not much weight is placed on ethical matters related to professions (including integration into the curriculum). According to Harris, Pritchard & Rabins (translation), who studied ethical issues of science engineers, the responsibility of professions goes beyond a fundamental duty based on the ethical code of the professions and embraces personality and virtue as well. Although ethical issues in occupations do not only relate to professions, professionals are required to be more aware of ethical matters, because unbalanced human relationships are created between professionals and laymen (Kyogoku 1995, (a)-(f)). It is desirable to learn professional ethics as part of common education in undergraduate courses but also to study ethics relevant to the profession concerned in professional schools. However, currently university education lacks both.

References

Aonuma, Y., *Sangyo shakai no tenkai* (Development of industrial society), NHK Shimin Daigaku Sosho 10, Nippon Hoso Shuppan Kyokai, 1969.

Aoyama, Y., Kaino, M., Kunii, K., Kobayashi, T., Honma, M. & Matsuo, T., "Kawaritsutsuaru hogakukei daigakuin to hogakubu (Changing postgraduate law schools and departments of law)," *Jurist*, No. 1125, Yuhikaku, 1997, pp. 36-63.

Aoyama, Y., "Hoso yosei ni okeru daigaku no yakuwari (The role of the university in training law professionals)," *Jurist*, No. 1168, Yuhikaku, 1999, pp. 9-15.

Agata, K., "Senmonshoku gainen no saikento (Concept of professions reconsideration)," *Research Report of Aichi University of Education*, 44 (ed. Educational sciences), Aichi University of Education, 1995, pp. 83-90.

Ashizawa, S., "Daigaku gyosei senmonshoku yosei shushi katei karikyuramu no tenbo ni tsuite (The future of master's program for the education of university administrators)," *Daigaku gyosei kanri gakkaishi* (Japan Journal of University Administrative Management), No. 4, 2001, pp. 49-61.

Ishii, S., Suzuki, S., Narita, Y., Hori, R. & Mitsui, T., "Atarashii daigakuin no kadai to tenbo (The problems and future of new graduate schools)," *Jurist*, No. 975, Yuhikaku, 1991, pp. 38-61.

Ishii, Z., Gendai no profession (Contemporary professions), Shiseido, 1969.

Ichikawa, S., Miraikei no daigaku (Universities in the future), Tamagawa University Press, 2001.

Ito, M., "Anmokuchi to chi no sohatsu (Tacit knowledge and knowledge creation)" in Taura, T., Koyama, T. &

Ito, K. ed. Gijutsu chi no honshitsu, (The nature of technological knowledge), Shin

kogaku chi-2, University of Tokyo Press, 1997, pp. 113-134.

Ohta, H., Professional to soshiki (Professionals and organization), Dobunkan, 1993.

Ohta, H., Shigotonin to soshiki (Businessmen and organization), Yuhikaku, 1999.

Ochiai, S., Annen, J., Kato, T., Uehara, T. & Kubori, H., "Hoka daigakuin koso to hogaku kyoiku – shiho seido kaikaku shingikai 'chukan hokoku' wo megutte – (Postgraduate law school plans and law education: concerning the interim report issued by the Judicial System Reform Council)," *Hogaku kyoshitsu* (Law classroom), No. 246, Yuhikaku, 2001, pp. 9-35.

Kyogoku, J., "Seijirinri toiu bamen (The scene of political ethics)," *Toki no horei* (Law of the times), No. 1496, Printing Bureau, Ministry of Finance, Japan, 1995 (a), pp. 33-39.

Kyogoku, J., "Senmon shokugyo no shokugyo rinri (Professional ethics of specialized occupations)," *Toki no horei* (Law of the times), No. 1498, Printing Bureau, Ministry of Finance, Japan, 1995 (b), pp. 55-62.

Kyogoku, J., "Shokugyo rinri (Professional ethics)", *Toki no horei* (Law of the times), No. 1500, Printing Bureau, Ministry of Finance, Japan, 1995 (c), pp. 56-63.

Kyogoku, J., "Hochi, kenryoku, fuhai (Constitution, authority, and corruption)," *Toki no horei* (Law of the times), No. 1502, Printing Bureau, Ministry of Finance, Japan, 1995 (d), pp. 33-40.

Kyogoku, J., "Samazama na fuhai (Various corruptions)," *Toki no horei* (Law of the times), No. 1504, Printing Bureau, Ministry of Finance, Japan, 1995 (e), pp. 40-47.

Kyogoku, J., "Kenryoku no aku (The evils of authority)," *Toki no horei* (Law of the times), No. 1506, Printing Bureau, Ministry of Finance, Japan, 1995 (f), pp. 53-59.

Kusunoki, K., "Nippon no business school: kyosoryoku saisei no tameno jinzai ikusei ni mukete (Business school in Japan: towards human-resource training for regaining competitiveness)," in Aoki, M., Sawa, A., Daito, M., and Research Review Editorial Board of MITI, ed. *Daigaku kaikaku - kadai to soten* (University reform, problems and arguments), Toyo Keizai, 2001, pp. 251-281.

Kobayashi, S., "Atarashii chishiki seisan to jinzai ikusei (New knowledge production and human resource training)," *Business Review*, Vol. 45, No. 4, Chikura Shobo, 1998, pp. 19-30.

Kobayashi, S., "Daigaku kyoiku no shokugyoteki relevance to daigaku no soshiki sekkei (Occupational relevance of university education and organizational planning of universities)," in Aoki, M., Sawa, A., Daito. M., and Research Review Editorial Board of MITI, ed. *Daigaku kaikaku - kadai to soten* (University reform, problems and arguments), Toyo Keizai, 2001, pp. 283-305.

Sato, M., "Jissenteki tankyu toshiteno kyoikugaku - gijutsuteki gorisei ni taisuru hihan no keifu- (Pedagogy as practical inquiry – traditions of the paradigm shift beyond technical rationality)," *The Japan Journal of Education*, Vol. 63, No. 3, The Japan Society for the Study of Education, 1996, pp. 66-73.

Shimizu, K., Mori, K., "Nippon no rikokei daigakuin kyoiku no bapponteki kaikaku (Total reform of graduate school in the fields of science and engineering in Japan)," in Aoki, M., Sawa, A., Daito, M., and Research Review Editorial Board of MITI, ed. *Daigaku kaikaku - kadai to soten* (University reform, problems and arguments), Toyo Keizai, 2001, pp. 223-249.

Shimbori, M., Shakai kyoiku no hoko (Direction of social education), Teikoku Chiho Gyosei Gakkai, 1970.

Shimbori, M., *Daigaku kyojushoku no sogoteki kenkyu* (Comprehensive study of university professoriate), Tagashuppan, 1984.

Suzuki, S., "Daigakuin kyoiku kaikaku no haikei to hoko (Background and direction of reform in postgraduate education)", *Jurist*, No. 975, Yuhikaku, 1991, pp. 62-68.

Taura, T., "Process chi no shiten (Viewpoint of process knowledge)" in Taura, T., Koyama, A. & Ito, K. ed. *Gijutsu chi no iso* (Phase of technological knowledge), Shin kogaku chi-1, University of Tokyo Press, 1997(a), pp. 65-77.

Taura, T., "Sekkei kaihatsu process no tatoe (Metaphor of planning and development process)" in Taura, T., Koyama, A. & Ito, K. ed. *Gijutsu chi no honshitsu* (The nature of technological knowledge), Shin kogaku chi-2, University of Tokyo Press, 1997(b), pp. 69-87.

Takeuchi, Y., "Senmonshoku no shakaigaku - senmonshoku no gainen (The sociology of professions - the concept of professions)," *Sociology*, Vol. 16, No. 3, Shakaigaku Kenkyukai, 1971, pp. 45-66.

Tachi, A., "Beikoku no daigaku ni okeru koto shokugyo kyoiku no seiko (Success of higher professional education in universities in the U.S.)" in Aoki, M., Sawa, A., Daito, M., Research Review Editorial Board of MITI, ed. *Daigaku kaikaku - kadai to soten* (University reform, problems and arguments), Toyo Keizai, 2001, pp. 185-204.

Nakano, S., Profession no shakaigaku (Sociology of professions), Bokutakusha, 1981.

The Japan Institute of Labour, *Professional no shigoto to kanri ni kansuru chosa kenkyu - R/D gijutsusha, bangumi seisakusha, kisha -* (Research and study for business and management of professionals - R/D engineers, program producers and reporters)," Chosa kenkyu hokokusho (Research and study report), No. 55, 1994.

The Japan Institute of Labour, *Senmonteki shokugyo no rodoshijo ni kansuru chosa kenkyu* (Research and study on the labor market of professional occupation), shiryo series (materials), No. 92, 1999.

Hori, Y., "Bengoshi no gyomu no tayoka to career keisei no bunka (Diversification of lawyers' affairs and differentiation of career establishment)," *Nippon rodo kenkyu zasshi* (Japan Journal of Labor Study), No. 481, 2000, pp. 26-35.

Matsuura, K., "Kokuritsu hogakukei daigakuin no kokoromi (Approaches of law schools in national universities)," *Jurist*, No. 1125, Yuhikaku, 1997, pp. 64-71.

Miyagawa, K., "Discussion paper ni taisuru iken - jitsumu hoso no kanten kara (Opinions regarding the discussion paper; from the viewpoint of a practical jurist," *Jurist*, No. 1168, Yuhikaku, 1999, pp. 36-38.

Miyashita, K., Soshikinai professional (Professionals in organization), Doyukan, 2001.

Institute for Democratic Education, *IDE - professional school no kanosei* (the potential of professional schools), No. 402, 1998.

The Ministry of Education, Japan, University Bureau, ed, *Daigaku shiryo* (Informational materials for university), No. 52, 53, Zaidanhojin Bunkyo Kyokai, 1975.

The Ministry of Education, Japan, University Bureau, ed, *Daigaku shiryo* (Informational materials for university), No. 113, Zaidanhojin Bunkyo Kyokai, 1990.

University of Tokyo, graduate school of law and political science, "Hoso yosei to hogaku kyoiku ni kansuru working group - discussion paper (Working group for law professionals training and law education)," *Jurist*, No. 1168, Yuhikaku, 1999, pp. 16-24.

Yanagida, Y., "Nippon no atarashii hoso yosei system, the first volume (New training system of law professionals in Japan)," *Jurist*, No. 1127, Yuhikaku, 1998, pp. 111-118.

Yanagida, Y., "Nippon no atarashii hoso yosei system, the second volume (New training system of law professionals in Japan)," *Jurist*, No. 1128, Yuhikaku, 1998, pp. 65-70.

Yamada, M., *America no professional* (Professionals in the U.S.), Nikkei Shinsho 307, Nihon Keizai Shimbun, 1979.

Yamada, R., Professional school, Tamagawa University, 1998.

Abbott, A., The System of Professions, The University of Chicago Press, 1988.

Argyris, C. & Schön, D. A., *Theory in Practice: Increasing Professional Effectiveness*, Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1974.

Beckman, S., "Professionalization: Borderline authority and autonomy in work" in Burrage, M. & Trestendahl, R. ed. *Professions in Theory and History*, Sage Publications, 1990, pp. 115-138.

Boud, D., "Knowledge at Work: Issues of Learning" in Boud, D & Solomon, N. ed. *Work-based Learning*, The Society for Research into Higher Education & Open University Press, 2001, pp. 34-43.

Bowden, J & Marton, F., The University of Learning, Kogan Page, 1998.

Burrage, M., Jarausch, K. & Siegrist, H., "An actor-based framework for the study of the professions" in Burrage, D & Trestendahl, R. ed. *Professions in Theory and History*, Sage Publications, 1990, pp. 203-225.

Collins, R., "Changing conceptions in the sociology of the professions" in Trestendahl, R. & Burrage, M. ed. *The Formation of Professions, Sage Publications*, 1990, pp. 11-23.

Etzioni, A., 1964, translated by Watase, H., *Gendai Soshikiron* (Modern organizations), Gendai Shakaigaku Nyumon 2 (Introduction of modern sociology, 2), Shiseido, 1967.

Freidson, L., *Professionalism, the Third Logic: On the Practice of Knowledge*, The University of Chicago Press, 2001.

Gibbons, M., 1994, supervised and translated by Kobayashi, S., *Gendai shakai to chino kozo, mode ron toha nanika* (The new production of knowledge: the dynamics of science and research in contemporary societies), Maruzen, 1997.

Harris, C. E., Pritchard, M. S., & Rabins, M. J. 1995, translated and edited by Nihon gijutsushikai, *Kagakugijutsu no rinri; sono kangaekata to jirei* (Engineering Ethics: concepts and cases, the first edition), Maruzen, 1998.

Larson, M. S., "In the matter of experts and professionals, or how impossible it is to leave nothing unsaid," in Trestendahl, R. & Burrage, M. ed. *The Formation of Professions*, Sage Publications, 1990, pp. 24-50.

Lave, J. and Wenger, E., 1991, translated by Saeki, Y., *Jokyo ni umekomareta gakushu* (Situated learning: legitimate peripheral participation), Sangyo Tosho Publishing, 1993.

Michaele, B., Konrad, J. & Hannes, S., "An actor-based framework for the study of the professions" in Burrage, M & Trestendahl, R. ed. *Professions in Theory and History*, Sage Publications, 1990, pp. 203-225.

Sevensson, L. G., "Knowledge as a professional resource: case studies of architects and psychologists at work" in Trestendahl, R. & Burrage, M. ed. *The Formation of Professions*, Sage Publications, 1990, pp. 51-70.

Schön, D. A., 1983, translated by Sato, M., Akita, K., *Senmonka no chie* (The Reflective Practitioner: How Professional Think in Action), Yumiru Shuppan, 2001.

Schön, D. A., Educating the Reflective Practitioner, Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1987.

Stehr, N., 1992, supervised and translated by Ishibashi, S., *Jissen chi* (Practical Knowledge), Ochanomizushobo, 1995.

Tompson, V. A., 1961, translated by Otomo, T., *Dosatsu suru soshiki* (Modern Organization), Kogakusha, 1971. Trestendahl, R., "Essential properties, strategic aims and historical development: three approaches to theories of professionalism" in Burrage, M & Trestendahl, R. ed. *Professions in Theory and History*, Sage Publications, 1990, pp. 44-61.