Higher Education Research in Japan

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Thirty Years in Higher Education Research:

A Retrospective Review and Perspective

Akira Arimoto*

Introduction

The "Thirty Years in Higher Education Research" of the title of this paper refers to the thirty-year period between 1972 and 2002, the three decades following the founding of the "University Issues Research Center" of Hiroshima University, which is now the Research Institute for Higher Education, Hiroshima University (RIHE). According to the title, the task of this paper should be to encompass all of these thirty years. However, in 1992, twenty years after RIHE's foundation, Kazuyuki Kitamura wrote a retrospective review and perspective paper entitled "Twenty Years in University Education Research" (Kitamura, 1993); and then in 1997, when the Japan Association of Higher Education Research was established, both Ikuo Amano and Kazuyuki Kitamura wrote retrospective studies (Amano, 1998; Kitamura, 1998). To avoid replication therefore, it would be reasonable for this paper to concentrate on the period after these studies were written. Though keeping an eye on the whole thirty-year period, we shall aim chiefly to review the higher education research in higher education.

Structural Transformation in Higher Education

Quantitative Development Let us first use Table 1 to confirm some facts regarding what we observe in terms of quantitative development over this period, examining the entire three decades even if we are to focus more closely on the latest decade. Starting with (1) 1950, shortly after the end of World War II, we shall set three checkpoints in time: (2) 1970; (3) 1990; and (4) 2004. In relation to RIHE, the rough correspondences are: (2) the foundation period; (3) the 20th anniversary; and (4) the 30th anniversary.

By using the number of universities, number of students, number of teachers and number of non-teaching staff as indicators, we see that an unprecedented quantitative expansion has taken place during this period, no matter which indicator we adopt. Comparing 1950 with 2004, the number of universities increased 3.5 times, the number of students 12.5 times, the number of teachers 13.8 times and the number of non-teaching staff 3.5 times. Comparing the more recent figures of 1990 with 2004, though the growth rate has decreased, growth continues: the number of universities by 1.4 times, the number of students 1.3 times, the number of teachers 1.3 times, and the number of non-teaching staff

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1.1 times. Although not included in Table 1, if we were to extend our data to the entire higher education spectrum, including junior colleges and other institutions, the findings would be almost the same. What characterized the period's developments is that higher education expanded quantitatively at a rapid pace. The key word that describes the phenomenon precisely is no other than "massification." There is no disputing the fact that there was steady progress in the massification of higher education during this period.

Table 1. Number of Universities and Other Data

	1950	1970	1990	2004
Universities	201	382	507	709
Students	224,923	1,406,521	2,133,362	2,809,295
Teachers	11,534	76,275	123,838	158,770
Non-teaching Staff	51,132	100,590	160,496	177,111

Note: The number of non-teaching staff 51,132 is for 1955.

Source: Statistics Abstract of Education and Science 2005, Ministry of Education, Culture,

Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT).

Structural Changes in Society and University Reform Social development brings with it development of higher education. Therefore, the condition of social development invariably determines the form of development of higher education as well as the character of its reform. In this regard, social structure during this period underwent a great transformation and we may readily understand that the result had an impact on higher education. To illustrate, there was a change from a post-industrial society to a knowledge-based society, together with globalization, marketization, massification of higher education, a declining population, and the social spread of lifelong learning. These momentous changes in social structure defined the conditions for the development of higher education. They led to an inescapable demand for unprecedented change in the actual social role and social structure of the university.

Social structural change is closely related to economic change. If we consider economic development, we note that the period from the 1960s to the mid-1970s, corresponding to the massification phase of access to higher education, was a period of high economic growth; from the mid-1970s to the mid-1990s, corresponding to the post-massification phase, was a period of rising economic growth leading to the bubble economy in the 1980s; and from the 1990s to the present time, corresponding to the universal phase, saw the collapse of the bubble economy, low economic growth and emergence of marketization. Overall, the transition from the elite phase to the universal phase took place in a period of economic development and we find that, despite having now entered a period of low economic growth, massification and then universalization still make progress. To this extent, we have observed one situation where the economy was directly involved as a driving force and another where quantitative development of higher education continues without regard to economic forces.

In summary, the massification of higher education that took place during this period underwent twists and turns but did develop gradually to result in a system, quantitatively flourishing on the surface; below the surface however, conflict arose between quantitative and qualitative development, leading to qualitative improvement of higher education emerging as an important issue.

<u>Post-massification Phase</u> By adopting the Trow nomenclature (Trow, 1974) for a broad framework, we can divide the thirty-year period into an elite era (pre-war to post-war *circa* 1965), a massification era (*circa* 1965 – *circa* 2000), and a universal era (2000 –). The total period covered in this paper commences with the entire massification era from its early to late phases and finishes with arrival at the universal era. If we extend our scope beyond universities and junior colleges and look at post-secondary education as a whole, we see that the era of massification is already in the past and universalization is in full swing. Research indicates that massification took longer than predicted both in America and in Japan. Consequently it becomes appropriate to insert a post-massification phase before progressing to universalization (Ehara, 1994; Arimoto, 1997). The reason for this is that we need to give consideration to the unforeseen conflict between quantitative development and quality, to the extent that quality assurance became the main issue in university reform in the massification era (the problem of assessment appeared in 1991). It is the period when university reform became inescapable that is regarded as the post-massification era.

In retrospect, what defines this period is that university reform, corresponding to social structural change, became a matter of utmost urgency. In this way it can be regarded as a third period of reform in Japanese education, following the Meiji reforms (late 19th century) and the post-war reforms. As Shinichi Yamamoto has argued, at this dramatic watershed, the structural changes and strategies of universities became vital issues, leading to the need for practical reform of various aspects such as policies, university structure, management operation, education, research, service, finance, research funding, and incorporation of the national universities, accompanied by a need for research in all these areas (Yamamoto, 2002). Not only did social structural change and higher education reform become important issues, appearance of other issues in higher education, which had now reached the post-massification phase, cannot be ignored. Quantitative development had revealed qualitative conflicts and ailments that had to be clearly identified so that qualitative development could be achieved and quality assurance provided (Arimoto & Yamamoto, 2003). Accordingly, by placing the last ten years in the broad stream of the thirty years' flow, we see that after quantitative development in higher education, qualitative development became a problem and the main theme for education reform switched principally to that of quality assurance.

Overall in this period, aspects of university and higher education lagged behind social change. Despite calls for urgent reform, the responses were inadequate. Even so, some policy measures were adopted enthusiastically and the respective reforms carried out. This is illustrated by the rapid fivefold increase in the number of Faculties from 70 in 1975 to 330 today (Niwa & Hattori, 2005, p. 26). This significant response followed establishment of "fundamental principles" in 1991. Nevertheless, a close scrutiny reveals that there were substantial time lags and apparent randomness in implementing

reforms and qualitative measures. Action was taken in areas where conflicts were obvious from early days, and initially action started first on prominent non-intrinsic issues. These included systemic reforms such as the entrance exam system, university evaluation, reform of university teacher training, and establishment of new concept universities; action was also started on superficial aspects such as changing of faculty or department names. But action on a range of intrinsic matters was, at least initially, deferred: teaching evaluation by students, introduction of GPA, CAP and office hours systems, syllabus development, stringent student assessment, good teaching practice, and the contemporary good practice program. Similarly action was delayed on human resource development, including student quality (attainment targets, indicators), faculty development (FD) and staff development (SD) (Arimoto, 2003). To summarize, the question arises whether or not the universities and higher education structures actually changed to meet the needs of the structural changes in society. Did they change from a 20th century model to a 21st century model? Were appropriate higher education policies formulated, systemic and organizational reforms implemented and theoretical debates on higher education conducted?

Meeting the Needs of a Knowledge-based Society Focusing our attention on social structural change reveals that the information and electronics revolutions that started in the 1960s were precursors to the information society and the knowledge-based society. Internationalization was the precursor to globalization; and a phenomenon of simultaneous actions was a precursor to them all, starting an international chain reaction of knowledge. Numerous student movements and unrests occurred in America, Germany, France, South Korea and Japan. The revolutions in telecommunications and transport facilitated a gradual synchrony of events worldwide and student unrest was just one such global manifestation. Universities were politicized due to specific political triggers (i.e. in Japan, the Japan-US security treaty). This aroused the interest of higher education research. As Ryoichi Kuroha pointed out, no systematic research can be found on this topic (Kuroha, Subsequently, campuses became quiet; apathy replaced action and persists to this day. Considering that there are problems specific to individual systems, it would be expected that studies of these problems would result in a diversity of research. In fact it appears that research work globally arises on common topics. Indeed, in recent years, we observe that the incidence of similar phenomena is increasing around the world and stimulating similar research around the world. As well as studying the historical experience of each system, more attention is being given to problems common throughout the world (Altbach & Umakoshi, 2004; Ehara, 2005). This may explain the fact that the research interest in student affairs that was awakened during the period of university unrest died down by and large in Japan and elsewhere after the unrest was over.

The period following high economic growth signified general economic affluence in society and the numbers of students entering universities increased. Universities were no longer for the elite but for the masses. At the same time in the university, elite education had to be replaced by mass education. The presumption of common interest between teachers and students that had existed in the elite era collapsed. Educational innovation that would meet the needs of a diversified student cohort was required. During this period, the transformation of an industrial society to a knowledge-based society progressed steadily. Society entered an age in which the value of knowledge was enhanced, the necessity for learning capacity and aptitude in students increased and the teaching ability of the academic staff came under scrutiny.

Meanwhile, the progression from high economic growth with ever-rising economic indicators to the bubble economy, its ensuing collapse, and the current emergence of a low-growth era replaced economic success and confidence with doubt and despondency. The Japanese nation, now burdened with deficit-financing bonds, faced the need for increased contributions to higher education and investment in the national universities. To resolve these problems, rationalization measures originating in the so-called Ad Hoc Committee on Administrative Reform (*Rinjighoseikai* or *Rincho*) were to be incorporated into higher education policy. Social changes from the 1980s have occurred in rapid succession: the IT revolution, internationalization, globalization, knowledge-based society, marketization and the knowledge economy. Most notably, in the words of the WTO/GATS report, globalization and marketization combined to open the door to an age in which education is viewed as a financial commodity subject to the same market fluctuations as capital and stocks (Arimoto, Huang, & Yokoyama, 2005)

In this new age, developed countries are taking the lead in structural change from primary and secondary industries to tertiary and quaternary industries, with their greater focus on information, knowledge, economy and finance. In tandem with the prominence of globalization, the emergence of the knowledge-based society began to have a relentless impact on the world of higher education. The value of knowledge was reappraised. Knowledge-based academic productivity, centers of learning, brain drain and gain, international competitiveness, international standards, and quality assurance became key words. At the same time, the importance of the "center of learning" was reconfirmed. Universities structured for an industrial society were now required to change to institutions serving the 21st century: the structures and functions of the old were incapable of meeting the demands of the new society.

Changes in Higher Education Policies Structural changes of society occur first in the economic and political domains before affecting cultural and educational domains. This phenomenon is illustrated by the relationship between the economy and the universities of this period. Indicative of this are the moves towards government cutbacks in funding, investment and support for universities, and to inquiries into rationalization, accountability, relevance and external evaluation: on these matters, there is little difference in principle around the world. In Japan's case, the activities of the Ad Hoc National Council on Education Reform (Rinkyoshin) and of the University Council (Daigakushin) became central to policy matters because of the need to conform to the prescription of the Ad Hoc

Council on Administrative Reform in the 1980s.

Reports of the University Council and Other Bodies Higher education policy and planning in this period were characterized by the promotion of rationalization around the world. The rise of neo-liberalism in Britain, United States and Japan in the 1980s accelerated this trend. Key concepts were rationalization, international competitiveness, deregulation, and above all marketization with its focus on supply and demand, productivity, efficiency, relevance, and accountability. In Japan, implementation of administrative reforms began with establishment of the Ad Hoc National Council on Education Reform. The Council published four reports, the first in 1985 and the fourth in 1987. These reports led to the creation of the University Council, which in turn produced a cascade of 28 reports during the twelve years between 1987 and 1999. Many measures of university reform were proposed and many have been implemented administratively. The major reports - though not all of them - are listed in Table 2. In particular, the 1991 Report 'Improvement of University Education' recommended legislation on fundamental principles, deregulation, introduction of self-assessment, and dismantling of the Liberal Arts Faculties; the 1998 Report 'A Vision of Universities in the 21st Century and Reform Measures - To Be Distinctive in a Competitive Environment' recommended a new vision for the university in the 21st century, transformation of national universities into corporations, and key direct and indirect policies, such as establishment of third-party assessment bodies, and thereby completed its survey of university reform (The University Council, 1998). Among all the reports, the 1998 Report of the University Council can be regarded as a master plan for higher education. Its key points included (1) development of the ability to respond to challenges, (2) a more flexible structure for the university research system (3) institutional responsibility for decision making and implementation and (4) establishment of a multiple third-party assessment system.

The University Council's higher education policies were chiefly aimed at (1) the development of research and graduate education: notably through quantitative improvement and prioritized improvement of graduate schools, building flexibility into the graduate school system, introduction of a system of specialist professional graduate schools, promotion of recurrent education for people not in the academic community, and liaison with industry; (2) improvement of the ability of universities to respond to educational demands through greater flexibility in curriculum organization, promotion of admission into higher years, responsible lecture management and stringent grade assessment, action on qualitative improvement of lectures, and promotion of the use of IT; (3) invigorating institutional operations and management by means such as internal self-assessment, implementation of external evaluation, clarification of management operation systems, responsiveness to external opinion, creation of flexibility in academic appointments, simplification and flexibility of course approval procedures, provision of information on education research activities, and mobility of academic staff by using a fixed-term contract system and open recruitment.

The Central Education Council maintained its role through its University Subcommittee and made

important policy recommendations in the early years of the 21st century. In 2002, it reported on liberal arts education; in 2004, on the certification of accreditation and evaluation of university institutions; and in 2005, it outlined a vision for the future of higher education in Japan, of university teachers' organization, and of graduate school education (Central Education Council, 2005). Among these reports, the 2005 'Future Vision for Higher Education in Japan' is especially noteworthy for depicting a grand design for higher education from 2005 to around 2020. In recommending future action, the thrust of the report centered on (1) trends in quantitative provision of higher education, (2) a clearer statement of the diverse functions and distinctiveness of higher education institutions, (3) quality assurance in higher education, (4) an ideal way forward for higher education institutions, and (5) the role of society in developing higher education.

In liaison with the Council, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) has executed a series of administrative actions. MEXT's intention that university education and research in Japan should attain world-class standing was evident in the Toyama Plan of 2002, which led to the 21st century COE Program, the Distinctive University Education Support Program, which established the Good Practice Program for teaching set up the same year, and the Contemporary Good Practice Program, all of which aim to channel focused investment into research and education.

Table 2. Reports from Education Councils

abic 2.	Reports from Education Councils
Year	Summary
1969	Central Education Council Reports: Measures in Response to Current Issues in University Education
1983	Foreign Student Policy Discussion Group for the 21 st Century submission: <i>Recommendations on Foreign Student Policies for the 21st Century</i>
1985	Ad Hoc National Council on Education Reform: First Report on Education Reform
1986	Ad Hoc National Council on Education Reform: Second Report on Education Reform
1987	Ad Hoc National Council on Education Reform: Third Report on Education Reform
1987	Ad Hoc National Council on Education Reform: Fourth Report on Education Reform
1988	University Council Report: Creating a Flexible Graduate School System
1991	University Council Reports: Review of the Degree System and Evaluation of the Graduate School; Improvement of University Education; Improvement of Junior College Education; Improvement of Technical College Education; Creation of a Degree Awarding Body; Planned Improvement of Higher Education after FY 1993; Improvement of Graduate Schools; Revision of Standards for Establishment of Universities and Degree Regulations; Revision of Standards for Establishment of Technical Colleges; Quantitative Improvement of Graduate Schools
1993	University Council Report: Doctorate Course Night School
1994	Report: Improvement of University Teacher Recruitment
1995	Report: Smooth Operation of University Management
1996	University Council Report: Fixed-Term Contract System for University Teachers
1997	Reports: Future Vision of Higher Education after Fiscal 2000; Correspondence Course Graduate School; Handling of Standards for Establishment of Distance Learning Universities; Further Improvement of Higher Education
1998	University Council Report: A Vision of Universities in the 21 st Century and Reform Measures – To Be Distinctive in a Competitive Environment
1999	Central Education Council Reports: Improvement of Links between Primary & Secondary Education and Higher Education; Revision of Standards for Establishment of Universities; Improvement of Selection of Graduate School Entrants; Improvement of Standards for Establishment of Universities; Improvement of University Entrance Examinations; Improvement of Standards for Establishment of Universities
2000	University Council Report: Way Forward for Higher Education in the Age of Globalization;

Improvement of University Entrance Examinations

- 2002 Central Education Council: Promotion Measures for University Access by Working People; Way Forward for Liberal Arts Education in the New Era; Building a New System to Secure the Quality of Universities; Development of Highly Specialized Professional Graduate Schools
- 2003 Central Education Council report: Implementation of New Policies on Foreign Students
- 2004 (Establishment of national university corporations, start of certification and evaluation of university institutions)
- 2005 Central Education Council Report: Future Vision of Japanese Higher Education; Way Forward for University Teacher Organizations; Graduate School Education for the New Era Towards the Creation of an Internationally Attractive Graduate School Education -; (Third Science and Technology Basic Plan)

Science and Technology Basic Law, First, Second and Third Basic Plans framework for these policy measures, the Science and Technology Basic Law was implemented in 1995 and the National Committee on Science and Technology released its First Basic Plan in 1996. The Plan attracted a massive budget of ¥17 trillion for its first phase and ¥24 trillion for its second phase. The Second Plan (2000) adopted the following four basic policies for the promotion of science and technology: (1) a prioritized allocation of resources to improve returns from investment in R&D; (2) pursuit of mechanisms to achieve results of world-class excellence, and improvement in investment on infrastructure to this end; (3) guarantees of greater return to society from advances in science and technology; (4) promotion of internationalization of Japan's science and technology activities. The Plan declared, "An improvement of government investment and effective and efficient allocation of resources will be effected" (Science and Technology Basic Plan, 2002). In 2005, the National Committee on Science and Technology published the "Five Strategies" of the Third Science and Technology Basic Plan: the Third Plan is scheduled to be implemented from 2006 (Second Science and Technology Basic Plan, 2001). The new plan is extremely significant in defining the philosophy, directions, policy measures and budgets of Japan's higher education and therefore merits close attention.

Strengths and Weaknesses of Higher Education Policies In the author's view, the characteristics of higher education policies of this period can be placed in eight groups: (1) designation of a rapid succession of reforms; (2) policies that span diverse domains; (3) policies oriented towards reconstruction and revival; (4) policies geared towards specialization in higher education; (5) government-centered policies; (6) deregulatory policies oriented towards market principles; (7) short-term policies; and (8) policies oriented towards high-tech developments. It is unusual and remarkable for Japanese education that in such a short space of time so many policies covering such multifarious aspects were presented in such rapid succession. One of the consequences is that this has generated a reaction of doubts and fears. Among the problems that can be criticized are the following: (1) reform took precedence over all else and there was a lack of verification of the achievements of previous policies; (2) illusions about universal benefits from reform prevailed; (3) the acceleration and discontinuity in the reform process from replacing social pressures by political imposition placed the universities under great pressure; (4) contradictions arise with other education policies, notably with

primary and secondary education, which are to enjoy greater curricular freedom whereas universities were to become constrained more closely; (5) the policies demonstrated distrust of universities' ability to fulfill their basic functions; (6) public benefit was not considered; (7) provision of medium and long-term policies was inadequate; and (8) overemphasis on leading edge and high-tech development led to an oversight of basic and fundamental aspects. Detailed discussion on these issues cannot be embarked upon here but there is need for debate elsewhere.

Implementation of Higher Education Reform

Broadly speaking, in this period and in parallel with the structural changes taking place in society, higher education underwent development and reform simultaneously. It is a simplifying convenience to examine these changes in two separate dimensions – vertical and horizontal. The vertical is viewed through the perspective of historical development, the horizontal by international comparison.

Past, Present, Future A vertical investigation based on an historical comparison would place its focus on an analog society. During the period when transition occurred from industrial society to an information society and in turn to a knowledge-based society, internationalization began to be replaced by globalization, with marketization manifesting itself. In the corresponding development stages of higher education, as mentioned earlier, the period began with a change first to massification from the mid-1960s, then to post-massification and to the onset of universal access in the 2000s.

The knowledge-based society that emerged at this time witnessed the transition from an academic type of knowledge society to a "pan-societal type of knowledge society." That is to say, until the knowledge-based society appeared, the internal knowledge-based society of the university was largely dominant but today the university type of knowledge society has been extended to society as a whole, described as a "pan-societal type of knowledge society." As the border has blurred between university and society, the ethos or standards of academic study implicit in universities and academia in general came to be regarded as no longer valid. As opposed to the ethos of science applied to academia by Robert Merton, a contrary ethos developed (Arimoto, 1999).

This change in knowledge can be designated as a shift from "Mode 1" to "Mode 2." The reconstruction of knowledge then becomes an issue. What Gibbons *et al.* describe as knowledge becoming borderless is replacement of a clear boundary between knowledge appropriate to universities and knowledge useful in society by one that is largely invisible (Gibbons *et al.*, 1994). In doing so, we entered an era in which recognition was given to the importance of both basic, pure science and equally to applied and developmental science with no relative superiority in value attributed to either. Thus collaboration and integration among branches of knowledge became imperative. Attention could now focus on the question of reconstructing knowledge, including interdisciplinary movements and fusion of different disciplines (University Council, 1998). A paradigm shift occurred in the knowledge dealt with in universities. We must note clearly that in this

period, the analog phase of development ended and what emerged globally was the need to pursue university reforms in common in order to meet the needs of the shared problems and tasks that presented themselves.

A Perspective of International Comparison Where the vertical analysis places emphasis on an analog investigation, the horizontal analysis places emphasis on a digital investigation. In other words, instead of looking at the past and the present, the focus falls on a comparative study of the current situation. Here we see emergence of a digital society where knowledge is the key player. From the point of view of the theory of knowledge, rather than a comparison of past, present and future societies, the emphasis is on the comparison of contemporary societies and the focus is placed on the competition between their different systems over developments and discoveries at the cutting edge. As described previously, the fact that higher education reforms are progressing simultaneously around the globe bears testimony to the inescapability of the digital approach. While transplantation of the developed country model one or even two steps behind produces a result that reflects the time lag, in digital society the very frontier of domains is achieved by transplanting the developed-country model in real time.

For example, according to the Trow model discussed earlier, the US, where development is ahead of that in other countries, should have advanced features that other countries can look to as models. Yet, in research at the leading edge of knowledge, the US is engaged in direct competition with other countries. The Trow model fails to explain this. The US certainly underwent its transition to massification much earlier than other countries and development of centers of learning in the US has attracted brain gain from other countries. In this regard then, there is a recognizable gap with other neighboring countries. Despite this, in academic productivity - and research productivity in particular – the US finds itself in fierce competition with other countries. Competition at the leading-edge of research involves even developing countries (Altbach & Umakoshi, 2004; Umakoshi, 2004). China for instance, which according to the analog model is still in the massification stage, is deploying university policies aimed at establishing international centers of excellence and in research already competing against those in other countries (Min, 2004).

The Reality of Higher Education Reforms Higher education reforms exist relative to both vertical and horizontal perspectives. That is to say, the ideology of the university more often than not is reviewed as a result of a critical examination of the *status quo* through comparison of the vertical and horizontal perspectives. The evidence for this can be seen in the continuing progress of analog reforms in accord with the respective developmental stages accompanied by simultaneous digital reform progressing globally that extends beyond the analog framework.

First of all, since the 19th century the idea of integrating education and research has been part of the university ideal. In practice though, it has become less evident, existing merely in form and

yielding unsatisfactory results. On a vertical plane, research orientation has been strong in Japan since pre-war times. Despite an American education-oriented system having been introduced after the war, the research orientation has persisted. When Japanese higher education entered the massification phase, reform of education became a matter of urgency as it became essential to meet the diverse needs of students. The priority assigned to research had to be reformed in favor of the increased importance of education. When a horizontal perspective is applied to this situation, it is apparent that a commitment to research is shared in all countries, albeit to varying degrees – this is not a problem restricted to Japan. Still, close examination reveals that while a dominant research orientation prevails in German systems, in Anglo-Saxon systems education and research have a 50-50 balance, and in Latin American systems there is a dominant education orientation (Arimoto & Ehara, 1996). By such international comparison, America, itself the center of learning, becomes the model in its balanced orientation towards an integration of research and education, or at least in a culture, climate and perception that places emphasis on education.

Second, the impact of the knowledge-based society, globalization, and market forces on universities seems to be common and simultaneous in character throughout the world, and has occasioned similar university reforms. Privatization is one of these. A global ascendancy of neoliberalism, which seeks small government and economic rationality, has led to large social changes and promoted university reform inclined towards privatization from the 1980s. In the same context, the pressure of market forces led to changes in university funding, tuition fees and financial diversification, undersubscribed courses, redundant universities, reviews of university buffer organizations, rationalization of management and management reforms (Altbach & Umakoshi, 2004; Arimoto, 2005). In Japan one response to marketization took the form of what can be termed a *quasi*-privatization of the national university sector, as the debt-entrenched Japanese Government moved to corporatize the national universities. In the US where the effects were experienced first, *de facto* internal privatization of university management was been achieved in some of the leading public universities, a typical example being Michigan State University (Clark, 2005).

Changes in university funding in Japan came about after some delay: the government promoted privatization, and tuition fees and other payments by students were increased. The resultant financial diversification focused attention on university management. We encountered external judgments of institutional performance rated as a "failing" grade, excess capacity and universities that seemed superfluous to needs. A first step towards privatization was establishment of the national university corporations in 2004. The new system of operational subsidies from government is performance related, inevitably leading to intensified competition among universities. And with reduction of the government budget allocation, university survival depends increasingly on securing external funding. The proportion of tuition fees and donations to the overall university budget is gradually increasing (Kaneko, 2004; Arimoto & Yamamoto, 2003).

Third, reviews of the key university functions, education, research and service, became essential

tasks. At the outset, the review of the research function focused on reform of the graduate school system. This was followed by the initiative creating research Centers of Excellence (COE) so as to establish conditions needed for realizing a system of world-competitive research capability. The Science and Technology Basic Plan and the Toyama Plan are instruments in this development. Meanwhile, review of the university's educational function instigated education reform referred to as the "education revolution." The essential element of the reform is improvement of undergraduate education. To raise its effectiveness, the relationship between curriculum, students and teachers had to be confronted, the relationship between liberal arts education and specialist education questioned, the education process reformed, and the educational environment improved. To raise the quality and ability of teaching staff, necessity arose for the full-scale institution of faculty development (FD). After having at first borrowed Western models and undertaken a process of trial and error, Japan has arrived at a point where some form of institutionalization of FD has now been achieved (Arimoto, 2005).

Compared with research and education, the service function used to receive less emphasis but its review is vital when we live in an age where there is a close relationship between the university and society. Formerly, liaison between industry and academia had become a taboo matter. This then rapidly changed with close partnership in industry-academia collaboration suddenly becoming officially encouraged. Chairs have been established by endowment, some bearing the donor's name; research funding and human resources have flowed from the private sector into universities. The university and society became "borderless." This generated increasing numbers of gray areas in the work of academic and non-academic staff where they work on joint and collaborative projects. Differentiation between teaching and non-teaching staff became necessary but at the same time there was need for fusion of their functions. The increased importance of Staff Development (SD) in parallel with FD is certain. Some research began to appear on this theme (Yamamoto, 2002; Oba, 2004).

These changes meant that reform of the management and operational organization became important, including structural reform of the university governing body, with specifically a review of its effectiveness. Emphasis now attached to the ability of the governing body to participate in management and deliver quality assurance through evaluation. Management of human resources in both public sector and private sectors increased in importance with introduction of performance-oriented human resources management (Yamamoto, 1997). Such reviews of the management function heralded a new era in which university governance, management and administration required the capabilities of specialist staff (Yamamoto, 2002). Unless experts could be appointed from private enterprise and government offices outside the university, it became impossible to conduct university business.

A notable development was the incorporation of the national universities, which was intended to strengthen the management capacity of the institutions. The President's authority was strengthened and a new board of directors included external directors (national university corporations were established in 2004). The changed structure removed responsibility for management from the university teachers though they retain responsibility for teaching and learning. Thus the chief focus of university teachers' administrative responsibilities became the university's education and research council. As a consequence of strengthening the president's authority, several vice presidents have been appointed and assigned different areas of responsibility. A negative impact from these changes has been weaker collaboration and decreased cohesion of the academic senate that is concerned with the education and research functions. In this way, the "inflexibility of organizational management" that had become a problem in Japanese universities (Osaki, 1998) was resolved to a certain extent and better provision was made for accountability; however, these improvements were achieved at the expense of issues of "freedom of learning" and of autonomy that needed to be considered further (Terasaki, 1998; Takagi, 1998).

As higher education reforms embrace quality assurance, university evaluation necessarily becomes inevitable. Evaluation is an aspect of reform: the dynamics of autonomy and accountability act strongly on each other. Between these two exist a range of operational modes: internal evaluation of the organization, peer review, external evaluation and third-party evaluation. A requirement for this approach was created by establishment of the Fundamental Principles in 1991. Subsequently, the approved forms of evaluation became diversified, with first party, second party and third party evaluation appearing in addition to the conventional chartering and accreditation. diversification was also encouraged, as in peer review and non-peer review, absolute evaluation and comparative evaluation, and ranking evaluation (Yamanoi & Shimizu, 2004). Finally evaluation by authenticated institutions has appeared as a monstrously complex structure, carrying facets of both the chartering system and the accreditation system contributed by the Japan University Accreditation Association and the National Institution for Academic Degrees and University Evaluation. The National Institution for Academic Degrees and University Evaluation has an inclination towards the chartering type and the Japan University Accreditation Association and the Association of Private Universities of Japan towards the accreditation type. In spite of this, both stress that they are of the accreditation type, which might be interpreted as suggesting a bias towards autonomy.

Finally, there is the question of the reward system. This is of importance equal to that of evaluation. A significant issue is what method is being adopted for resource allocation. In an age where allocation *en bloc* prevailed, with the government providing funding to universities through special budgetary measures, the amount of institutional allocation was determined by university ranking before any competition took place. Currently, where allocation of resources from central government revenue is tight, we have seen emergence of allocations based on market forces. The relative weights of bids for funding, payments by beneficiaries, tuition fees and scholarships have changed rapidly (Kaneko, 2004).

Development of Higher Education Research

Theory and Methodology Development As has been described, we have entered an age in which higher education reforms are being constantly implemented. This is a period when systemic and organizational reforms have been pushed through as a matter of policy. The question is, was higher education research able to lead the reform of higher education theory by spearheading reform through research activities that accompanied the reforms? There are some doubts about this but at least the theory and methodology of higher education research definitely underwent development during this period. Above all this is testimony to the study of higher education becoming established systemically and of establishing a space for itself among other disciplines.

First, formation of the Japan Association of Higher Education Research signified that the development of studies of higher education had reached the stage of exploring its direction as a branch of learning in both name and practice rather than just as a concept. Although one could say that this development is still inadequate, the move to substantiate it systemically as a discipline is evident (see Table 3 of the Appendix). RIHE was established in 1972 and the Research Center for University Studies, University of Tsukuba followed in 1986. After the 1990s, centers for the study of university education started to burgeon, indicative of the birth of a professional group that earns its living by higher education research. Further moves towards institutionalization followed. In 1996, the National Association of University Education Research Centers of Japan was instituted and in 1997 the Japan Association of Higher Education Research was founded. In 1997 the General Education Society of Japan underwent organizational change to be reborn as the Liberal and General Education Society of Japan. In 1997 the Japan Association of University Administrative Management was established (Kitamura, 1998). Each of these bodies publishes bulletins. These associations, societies and centers began to hold frequent and varied seminars, training programs and international conferences. The first text book for study of higher education was published in 2005, Kotokyoiku Gairon (Introduction to Higher Education), (Arimoto, Hata, & Yamanoi, 2005).

Second, methodology became refined. Academic societies probe deeply into the research methods of a whole variety of subjects. Higher education study became an emporium of learning where a diversity of methodologies is employed in research. For example, the specialist disciplines that are involved are wide ranging: sociology, educational sociology, scientific sociology, comparative education, education, history, economics, educational economics, politics, law, statistics, psychology, and others. Nevertheless, individually these academic fields cannot create higher education theory. When sociology and educational sociology interact in an interdisciplinary way or by amalgamation, this creates higher education sociology. If comparative education is added, we have comparative higher education sociology. In this manner, the amalgamation and merger of academic disciplines takes place. We can then observe that while today's higher education theory is becoming "higher education study," it is at the same time actually mobilizing the methodologies of all these different disciplines to expand its own methodologies through collaborative efforts that are both

interdisciplinary and amalgamations (See Arimoto, 2005 in op. cit. Kotokyoiku Gairon).

Period of Structural and Functional Change in Higher Education and the Development of Research To begin with, let us look at the changes in higher education policies. During a period of structural change in higher education, policies become inescapably subject to pressures from both social structural change and from the academic rationale within universities. In the context of society, government and universities all delineating their own views of universities, it is important to determine what higher education system vision and university vision should be created. National and government policies on the higher education system must be afforded attention as important components. In Japan, as discussed above, university policies and plans were proposed in rapid succession in this period through councils and later through MEXT, and above all from the University Council, which submitted a mass of proposals for university reform. Policies were implemented as administrative measures through MEXT and then materialized into actual systems, institutions and organizations. The research, teaching and service, which are the actual academic activities of a university, as well as all the functions of governance, management, and administration of the institution were to be defined, and productivity appropriate for each academic function had also to be defined.

An evaluation system is designed and built into the system to audit the qualitative standards established to scrutinize actually what success had attended the university reforms initiated by the University Council. The National University Corporation Evaluation Committee is a new evaluation body created for the corporatized national universities; other established bodies, the Japan University Accreditation Association, the National Institution for Academic Degrees and University Evaluation, and the Association of Private Universities of Japan conduct a variety of evaluations for universities. The Japan University Accreditation Association, after having fulfilled the prescribed roles of a conventional accreditation body, is to create a new role for itself. The National Institution for Academic Degrees and University Evaluation, despite historically being a chartering institution descended from the Council on Establishment of Universities, now appears to be becoming an accreditation agency and assuming a more complex function. Research is needed on policy formation in this area and on mechanisms for its delivery. At present research in this area is not fully developed, though there are some exceptions (Kurohane, 2002).

Tasks for University Reform Hitoshi Osaki pointed out that Japanese higher education research has to study a number of problems inherent in Japanese universities. These can be summarized as follows: (1) a strong tendency to pursue the formality of institutional egalitarianism; (2) a weak interest in education; (3) inadequate quality assurance; (4) a rigidity of organizational management; and (5) insufficient public investment (Osaki, 1998). Many of these defects can be directly related to the reform issues of this period. University reforms that were initiated at this time were mainly

directed at education, research, service, and management with the principal objective of improving their quality to meet the demands of contemporary society.

First, it can readily be accepted that references to the scope of the reforms of this period identify them as an education revolution, as reform of education lies at the core of all the reforms. In reform of education the issues that had to be dealt with were deregulation and integration of curricula, integration of liberal arts education and specialist education, reform or abolishment of the Faculty of General Education, characterization of the ideology, purpose and targets of undergraduate courses, and achievement of standards of attainment. In practical terms undergraduate course reforms have embraced both large and small items. They have included: the syllabus, the GPA system, a CAP system, course credits, office-hours systems, small-group teaching, the Socratic method, teaching evaluation by students, stringent evaluation, and assessed assignments. With the transition from the post-massification to the universal stage, education and preparative training in the first year of the ever-diversifying student cohort has become essential. Realistic reforms were called for and research was started in this area (Yamada, 2005). Ultimately the fundamental challenge for reform was crystallized in how to raise the lowered student morale, quality, leaning, ability and aptitude to the required standard. In terms of implementation of policy, substantial input of resources was made into "good teaching practice (GP), Contemporary GP, FD programs and other areas offering high payback in terms of educational results. Vital now are scrutiny and verification through research of these education reforms. Already for curriculum reform, it has been discovered that its expected purpose had not been fully achieved (Arimoto, 2003). Accordingly, a requirement that has emerged in the context of the IT revolution is the need, in the main, to reform teaching methods: necessary and important reform has yet to occur, in particular, adequate moves towards e-learning are lacking (Yoshida, 2003; Yoshida & Taguchi, 2005; Yoshida, Taguchi, & Nakahara, 2005).

Second, the main task of reform in research is for researchers actually to improve their academic productivity, notably in quality so as to achieve world-class results. As national policy, the Science and Technology Basic Plan committed a huge investment in the resources of university institutions in an attempt to stimulate attainment of international standards in research. This continues, as illustrated by the 21st Century COE Program sponsored by MEXT, which provides a focused input of resources into selected centers of research in priority areas.

Third, there is the question of connectivity among universities, schools and society. By placing schools and universities in a society where lifelong learning should take place, it becomes increasingly important to review the role of universities in this entire life-cycle context. Meanwhile, noteworthy is development of industry-academia partnership, which constitutes a great transformation from the lack of collaboration in the past. After having lagged behind America, Japan's industry-academia partnership policy has now altered rapidly. Joint research projects between universities and private enterprise has shown a very quick growth from around 1993. In Fiscal 2003, there were 9,255 projects as well as 13,986 commissions for research (MEXT White Paper, 2004, p. 295). Here, methods such

as university-initiated ventures and provision of "matching funds" are used. In 2004, 38 technology licensing organizations were approved (*ibid*, p. 296).

Fourth, with regard to management and administration, reform is progressing, according to the framework described by Ehara, from the former collegial-bureaucracy to a corporate enterprise that is claimed to be highly efficient. In such a context, if the knowledge-based university is to fully exercise its distinctive functions, such as education and research, and achieve an autonomous decentralized organizational setup in specialist areas, it is vital to establish a peer review system (Ehara, 2005). It appears that the current reforms are moving rapidly towards a corporate enterprise system.

In tandem with the moves towards marketization, attempts at achieving rationalization, greater efficiency and greater productivity have been affirmed in policy and realized administratively. A marked reduction in government funding for universities imposed upon them an increased dependency on income from tuition fees and diverse sources of external funding. Although the national universities retain their "national" aspect by receiving operational subsidies from government, the shift to national university corporations represents a move towards privatization. In effect, the national universities have acquired an element of private enterprise while suffering budget shrinkage and experiencing greater reliance on external funding.

Fifth, related to the above financial matters is the issue of readjusting management and educational affairs. With the exception of some prestigious private universities, many private universities are facing an even tougher environment than the national universities (Maruyama, 2002). In this period, a considerable number of private universities have faced problems of a shortfall in student numbers, a poor financial state and the danger of closure. Under the operation of market principles, entry to universities is determined by supply and demand; this means that once a private university falls into difficulties and loses its reputation, it will no longer attract students and consequently is exposed to the threat of closure. A rapidly increasing number of private universities is facing a serious problem in maintaining financial and business operations even before considering reforms on educational matters. The population of 18-year olds has plummeted and it has become possible for all candidates to obtain a university place: universities are now in a buyer's market. In these circumstances, a university's ability to educate is by far the most crucial point. There is no quick measure to induce improvement, only slow and steady efforts to improve their educational results, stimulate the students' learning capacity, raise their aptitude for study, increase their added value at graduation and achieve good figures in employment rates can restore or build educational reputations.

Sixth, as university reforms progress in response to the needs of social changes accompanying the transition to a knowledge-based society, globalization, and marketization, competition among universities intensifies and gaps widen, leading to the inequalities of the Matthew Effect. Different kinds of gaps open up between the majority and minority, the university haves and have-nots, the winners and losers. The emergence of a differentiated university society needs much deeper and wider research (Kondo, 2000; Moriyama, 2000). Similarly of importance, gender participation in

universities will become an important topic of social research in higher education (Sakamoto, 1987; Yamada, 2004).

Characteristics of the Changes in Research

Analog and Digital Model Methodologies In considering the relationship between society and the university, the focus is placed necessarily on social factors and social functions. When society reaches a certain stage of development there must be corresponding university development, with university reforms being induced that are appropriate for the period. Both society at large and the university in particular demonstrate sequential development. From this standpoint, the pattern of university development presented by Martin Trow can be categorized as a front-end sequential historical-social model based on population structure. It will certainly be accepted in the form of one that starts from the so-called elite stage, progresses to the mass stage, and then moves on to the universal stage. If this model is applied to Japan, it moved to the mass stage in the mid-1960s and is currently progressing to the universal stage.

If we recall that university reform in the period under examination centered on education reform, we may readily explain this phenomenon theoretically by noting that education reform becomes essential in the face of a diversity of students in the massification stage. Moreover, the argument becomes convincing when we see that in national systems that have reached the massification stage, such as those of the United States, Japan, and South Korea, education reform in all these countries has become an important challenge.

However, in China, which is currently in transit from the elite stage and only beginning its entry to the massification stage, education reform is also an important issue. In view of this, the Trow model alone cannot fully explain what is happening. Furthermore, in Japan, now at the universal stage, research reform, revolving around graduate schools, is increasing in importance: the focus is now on raising standards to secure international-level academic productivity. Yet in China, similar developments, such as its priority policies, the 211 Project and the 896 Project and related research reforms, are already in progress (Min, 2004).

On this evidence, the knowledge model is better suited to explaining the pattern of development and reform. International society is now encountering knowledge-based society and a knowledge-based academic society linked to globalization and marketization has been created simultaneously around the world. Reforms similar to those in other countries must be promoted simultaneously, and failure to do so would exclude a country from international competition.

From what has been considered so far, and by enlarging on the perspective that is demonstrated in recent research, current development of knowledge-based society in society as a whole and in the world of the university, indicates an evident need to undertake careful testing and application of a hybrid perspective of the historical-structural approach and the knowledge based approach (Arimoto, 2003).

<u>Increase in Research Subjects</u> An increase in the subjects for research as indicated above is illustrated by the increase in the number of academic societies and similar bodies. For example, the Japan Society of Educational Sociology's *Directory of Studies in Educational Sociology* started a new classification heading for "Higher Education" during this period in place of its previous incorporation under "School Sociology." Academic societies, associations, organizations, centers and courses on higher education research increased in number and expanded their scope. The number of researchers, specialists, and textbooks are continuing to rise, clearly denoting the institutionalization of higher education research. This in itself is a straightforward matter of celebration. To couch it in the terminology of scientific sociology, a scientific revolution occurred in the conventional theory of higher education and a paradigm shift took place. Yet at the same time, as any system can easily encounter a pitfall, no sooner had the study of higher education established itself as an ordinary discipline, it is undeniably in some aspects beginning to lose energy and vitality. The challenge now is to maintain momentum and cohesion.

Increase in the Number of Papers: A Case Study of Educational Sociology Research The increase in the number of research subjects would be expected to bring an expansion also in the scope of research. Educational sociology research can be used as a case in point. Consider the selfcategorized papers (journal papers/papers in edited books) listed under "5 Higher Education" in the Directory of Educational Sociology Studies that was published in Vol. 71, 2002 (Japan Society of Educational Sociology, ed., 2002). According to the data made available there, they are placed in the following groups: (1) general issues (including university theory, academic theory), 7 (journal papers) and 1 (book); (2) system/policy/administration & finance/planning, 10/6; (3) management/ organization/teachers, 15/6; (4) curriculum/teaching methods/evaluation/guidance, 10/3; (5) entrance exam/selection, 5/2; (6) school culture/student life, 6/0; (7) post-secondary education (including vocational and other schools), 1/0; and (8) graduate school/academic research, 4/1. In total, there were 58 journal papers and 19 edited book papers, adding up to 77 publications in all. For comparison, in 1989, there were 62 journal papers and 12 edited book papers, totaling 74 publications. No rapid increase in numbers is evident over the 13 years even though a constant and large volume of academic results is being reported. This is only in the field of educational sociology and so, if publications in other fields are included, there should be a quantitative increase. It is thus noteworthy that a large number of papers is being produced, and not only papers but many other research results in diverse forms such as books, translations, reports, and monographs are now being published.

<u>Increase in the Number of Research Methodologies</u> As explained above, many methodologies have been invoked. The fact that a wide range of methodologies can contribute means that there are complex higher education research subjects and content that require the different methodologies. One aspect of higher education research, which belongs to the domain of complex

systems, is the importance of higher education economics. Initially, higher education in postwar Japan developed in a close associative relationship with economic growth. Above all, in the most recent ten years, marketization has come to assume a powerful influence on higher education to the extent of determining its structural and functional changes. This signifies that research on the issue of the marketization of higher education is essential; nevertheless, it has been said that there is an insufficiency of analytical research in economics of higher education in Japan when compared with foreign countries. Discussing this deficient relationship between education and economics, Masakazu Yano states: "the theory of education marketization in Japan has lost the coordinate axes of discussion" (Yano, 2001, p. 104). As we can predict that in the first decades of the 21st century higher education cannot be discussed without mention of marketization, the necessity of research from an economics perspective is bound to increase. Education as economic policy and the politico-economic perspective of education issues are now vital (Kaneko & Kobayashi, 2000).

Challenges for the Higher Education Researcher As was discussed above, there is no room for doubt that higher education research became institutionalized through this period and has undergone unprecedented development both quantitatively and qualitatively. Compared to forty years ago when higher education research was unrecognized, there has definitely been a transformation. Yet, this is not something in which we can take unqualified delight. The reason for this doubt is that although the development during the period was in some ways propelled by inherent dynamic forces within higher education itself, it was substantially a result of research relating to university reform becoming unavoidable due to the external pressures of huge social changes, changes in government policy and rapid implementation of systemic and organizational reforms. However, as a consequence, problems seem to have arisen.

For instance, while institutionalization has been achieved, RIHE with a doctorate course that trains higher education researchers remains a unique institution. The development of higher education research centers throughout Japan has led to the creation of new posts and the engagement of researchers but the reality is that there are few researchers being employed who have been trained through research study on higher education graduate courses. As Masao Seki indicated, the challenge for Japanese higher education research of the future lies in how to train researchers and scholars who can expound "sturdy" theories of the university (Seki, 1993, p. 27). As the special expertise of higher education researchers is becoming ever more important today, training systems that meet this need are lacking and the situation calls for remedy.

Even more importantly, it is arguable that higher education research did not emerge from an act of creative initiative but to a large extent evolved out of necessity and underwent rapid development. There is concern that this has resulted in creating a climate where research tends to become superficial and peripheral. Kazuyuki Kitamura compared RIHE to "a horsefly stuck onto the eyes of a huge sleepy horse to keep them open" (Kitamura, 1993, p. 4). It is true that this period served to wake up

the huge horse that is the university or those associated with the university. Still, what awakened it was not necessarily a concentrated group of centers or researchers but external pressure. Can we ignore the need to be aware of this by way of self-reproach and criticism? The fundamental question, "where has the university come from and where is it going to?" tends to be often forgotten in today's world with the onset of a "higher education research boom" but we believe this is a question that all higher education researchers have to ask and answer themselves.

Conclusion

- (1) Reasons why education reform in the past thirty and especially in the most recent ten years became a matter of such urgency include the advent of knowledge-based society, globalization, orientation to market principles and other factors of social change as well as the internal logic of the university as a "center of learning." To devise university reform that matches social structural change, we cannot avoid the increasing demand on the university from various perspectives, including political, economic and social accountability, rationalization, international competitiveness, and academic productivity. These internal and external pressures on the university, especially the mounting external pressures, led to higher education policies being executed chiefly upon recommendations made by the Ad Hoc National Council on Education Reform (Rinkyoshin), the University Council (Daigakushin), the Central Education Council (Chukyoshin) and the Council for Science and Technology Policy, Cabinet Office (Sogo-kagakugijutsu-kaigi). The Japanese national government implemented administrative measures that proved to be accompanied by a wide range of good and bad consequences, and implemented large-scale university reform centered on systemic and organizational reform.
- (2) During this period, the theory of higher education developed alongside systemic reform. Higher education research entered into an era of great vigor that can be seen as the advent of a higher education research boom. Specialist academic societies and councils were born: membership of these organizations increased, various congresses, workshops and seminars were frequently held, many academic journals were published, associated posts were created within university organizations, and a considerable number of researchers who earn their living by higher education research appeared, all bearing witness to this boom. In addition to the diversification of the subjects of research, a diversification of research content and its consequent specialization reflected the increase in researchers. The result is that higher education research that pursues the theory and study of higher education achieved its desired institutionalization during this period.
- (3) With the institutionalization of higher education research, we entered a stage of exploration in the discipline. The subjects and content of research diversified and specialized, contributing to a shift from the former areas of macroscopic research to microscopic research, from fundamental research to applied and practical research, and from analog research to digital research. In particular, university education research centers mushroomed along with implementation of

university reform across Japan. New devices such as university education centers tended to be set up as a method of reform by universities that were being compelled to reform. Not only that but there was a tendency to seek practical measures that would directly assist in the reform of curriculum, evaluation, FD and the many other similar aspects. The reasons for higher education research rapidly becoming institutionalized during this period and becoming the focus of attention of the "eyes of the huge horse" that had taken little interest in it previously are closely related to these changes inside and outside the university. Both strengths and weaknesses coexist in this dimension and remain to this day.

- (4) Higher education research is a generalist academic domain relating to aspects of society, higher education, and learning. Therefore, there is a necessity to mobilize a wide variety of specialist fields that study these aspects. In this respect, "higher education theory" may well have become established but it remains debatable whether "higher education study" or "higher education science" are yet fully capable of sustaining their claims as disciplines. In this sense, though the Japan Association of Higher Education Research and the Liberal and General Education Society of Japan were formed during this period, we cannot say that the discipline has been fully established. Through research activities based on these academic societies, through interdisciplinary or fusions of disciplinary cooperation of various specialist sectors, and through the polishing and refinement of methodologies, we believe that moves to validate the fully-fledged establishment of the study will continue.
- (5) This period saw the growth of higher education research widely throughout the university system. It clearly began to be regarded as a useful discipline. At the same time, it has entered a stage when exploration must be made of its acquisition of social influence and its wide contributory role to social development. This is a period when social changes occur apace and university reforms accelerate, when higher education policies and science and technology plans have shifted to the cutting-edge of discovery, and when application and development, applied research and developmental research rather than fundamental research attract a greater focus of expectation from inside and outside the university. Research that is directly useful to university reform is increasingly expected from research centers and researchers. However, the age in which cutting edge, applied, and developmental research of excellence is required is also the age in which fundamental research of excellence is required to form the basis for these applications. Against such a backdrop, "where has the university come from and where is it going?" has been and will be a question that individual researchers must continue to confront.

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Appendix

Table 3. A Chronology of the Institutionalization of Higher Education Research/Study
(As of October 31, 2005)

Event - The Physical Society of Japan: Journal of the Physical Society of Japan
The Physical Society of Japan: Journal of the Physical Society of Japan
- The Frigsteal Society of Japan. Sournal of the Frigsteal Society of Supan
- The Japan Society for the Study of Education: Journal of Educational Studies
- The Association of Private Universities of Japan
- Japan University Accreditation Association: JUAA Kaiho (Report)
- The Japan Association of Municipal and Prefectural Universities and Colleges - The Japan Association of Universities: <i>Kaiho (Report)</i>
 The Japan Association of Private Junior Colleges The Japan Association of National Universities: <i>JANU Kaiho (Report)</i> (became a corporation in 2004): <i>Quarterly Report</i>
- Japan Society for Engineering Education: Engineering Education
- International Christian University Institute for Educational Research and Service: Educational Studies
- Institute of Democratic Education (IDE): <i>IDE – Gendai-No-Kotokyoiku (Higher Education Today)</i> (name change to IDE University Association in April 2006)
- Nihon University Center for Educational System Research: Kyoikuseido-Kenkyusho Kiyo (Bulletin)
 Research Center for Student Issues: Research Report The Japanese Association for the Study of Education Administration: Journal of JASEA
- Inter-University Seminar House: Seminar House News - The Japan Association of College English Teachers (JACET): JACET Newsletter
- Ritsumeikan University Research Center for General Education: <i>Ippankyoiku Kenkyu (General Education Research)</i>
 The Japan Society of Educational Sociology establishes a Higher Education Group: Journal of Educational Sociology Association of Private University Teachers on Treasury Subsidy, Kansai Liaison Council: Zenkoku-Shiritsudaigaku Hakusho (White Paper on Private Universities in Japan), Kotokyoiku Kenkyu Nenpo (Annual Report on Higher Education Research) Japan Comparative Education Society: Comparative Education The Japan Scientists' Association: Journal of Japanese Scientists
 The First Japanese Society for Historical Studies on Higher Education: Daigakushi Kenkyu Tsushin (Newsletter on Historical Studies in Higher Education) The Japan Education Administration Society: JEAS Nenpo (Annual Report)
- Kanazawa Institute of Technology Center for Education Engineering: KIT Kenkyu Kiyo (Research Bulletin)
- Education Research Institute of Otemon Gakuin University: Kyoiku-Kenkyusho Kiyo (Education Research Institute Bulletin) - Japan Society for Medical Education: Medical Education
 Hiroshima University, University Issues Research Center Waseda University, University Issues Research Reference Library (now Waseda University Archives Reference Room) Tokai University Research Institute of Student Life
 Kagawa University General Education Research Group: Ippankyoiku Kenkyu (General Education Research) Waseda Forum (Waseda University PR Office)
 Research Institute for Higher Education, Hiroshima University (formerly University Issues Research Center): Daigaku Ronshu (Research on Higher Education), Kotokyioku Kenkyu Sosho (Higher Education Research Series) IDE prioritizes activity aim to "contribution to higher education" Kwansei Gakuin University Institute for Integrated Communication Research and Development: Soken Ronshu (Institute Research Papers), Annual Report of the Institute for Integrated Communication Research and Development, etc. Tokai University Research Institute of Educational Technology

- 1973 Tokyo Institute of Technology, The Center for Research and Development of Educational Technology (CRADLE): Kenkyu-Noto Daigaku-To-Shakai (Research Notebook: University and Society)
 - Association of Private University Teachers on Treasury Subsidy, Kanto Liaison Council: Zenkoku-shiritsudaigaku Hakusho (White Paper on Private Universities in Japan)
- 1975 University Correspondence Education
- National Institute for Education Policy Research of Japan First Research Division, Department for Higher Education: NIER Newsletter, etc.
 - Kanazawa University Research Center of University Education Issues: Kivo (Bulletin)
 - Kansai University General Education Research Center: Kenkyu-Senta-Ho (Research Center Report)
 - Tsukuba Forum (University of Tsukuba PR Department)
- 1977 National Center for University Entrance Examinations Research Division: *University Entrance Examinations Forum*, etc. (became an independent administrative institution in 2002)
- 1978 National Institute of Multimedia Education Research and Development Division: *Kenkyu Hokoku (Research Report)*, etc. (became an independent administrative institution in 2004)
 - The Second Japanese Society for Historical Studies on Higher Education: Daigakushi Kenkyu (Historical Studies on Higher Education)
- 1979 General Education Society of Japan: *Ippankyoiku-Gakkai-shi (Journal of the General Education Society of Japan)*
 - The Society for Higher Educational Studies (sister organization of IDE): Kotokyoiku Kenkyu Kiyo (Higher Education Research Bulletin)
- Community and University Research Group (part of the Iwate University Faculty of Education Department of the History of Education): Chiiki-To-Daigaku (Community and University)
- 1982 Japan Dental Education Association
- 1984 Mukogawa Women's University Institute for Education: Mukogawa Women's University Report
- Fusion for the Management of Independent Colleges and Schools (FMICS): FMICS

 The Japan Society for Economics Education: Japan Journal of Economics Education (fi
 - The Japan Society for Economics Education: *Japan Journal of Economics Education* (first published 1982)
- Hiroshima University Graduate School of Social Sciences starts "Comparative University Institutions" in the International Society Course (April 2000: changed to the Graduate School of Education, Higher Education Development Course)
 - University of Tsukuba Research Center on University Education: Daigaku Kenkyu (Research on Universities)
 - Waseda University Institute for Advanced Studies in Education: Waseda Review of Education
- Tokai University Research Institute of Education: Kenkyu Hokoku (Research Report), etc. (organizational change of the Research Institute of Student Life established in 1970 and the Research Institute of Educational Technology established in 1972)
- 1986 The University of Tokushima Center for University Education: CUE Kiyo (Bulletin)
- 1988 The Japan Foundation Center: Directory of Japanese Grant-Making Foundations, Guide to Raising Grants for Grant-Making Foundations, Social Role of Grant-Making Foundations
 - Science and Technology Agency, National Institute of Science and Technology Policy: *NISTEP Nenpo (Annual Report)* (January 2001: as part of government ministry reorganization, became a research institute belonging to MEXT)
- 1989 Tokai University Research Institute of Education (Nagoya): *University and Education*
- 1990 Chukyo Women's University Research Center for Lifelong Learning
 - Ritsumeikan University Research Center for Education Science (March 1994: University Education Research Group set up within the Center): Ritsumeikan Education Science Research (June 1998: became University Education Development and Support Center)
- National Institute for Academic Degrees Faculty for the Assessment and Research of Degrees: *The Journal of NIAD-UE (Research in Academic Degrees)*, etc.
 - University Mobility in Asia and the Pacific (UMAP)
- 1991 The Japanese Society for the Study of Teacher Education: Annual Report of the Japanese Society for the Study of Teacher Education
 - The Japanese Society for the Study of Educational Objectives and Evaluation
- 1992 The University of Tokyo Survey Group
 - The University of Tokyo sets up "Higher Education Course" in the Faculty of Education
 - Center for National University Finance and Management Research and Survey Department: *Journal of NUFM*

• Kobe University Research Institute for University Education: Daigaku-Kyoiku Kenkyu (University 1992 Education Research)

Higher Education Research in Japan

- Lecture started on higher education in the Waseda University Graduate School of Literature (1994: research supervision started)
- Japan Academic Society for Educational Policy: JASEP Nenpo (Annual Report)
- 1993 - Higher education degree started in the graduate school of Obirin University
 - Research Center for Higher Education Tohoku University: Annual Report for Research Center for Higher Education Tohoku University
 - Ehime University Center for University Education Research
 - Japan Association for International Students Education
- 1994 • Kyushu University Research Center for University Education: Daigaku Kyoiku (University Education)
 - Kyoto University Higher Education Teaching System Development Center: Kyoto University Kotokyoiku Kenkyu (Higher Education Research), Kyoto University Kotokyoiku Kenkyu Sosho (Higher Education Research Series)
 - Niigata University Research Institute for Faculty Development: Daigaku-kyoiku Kenkyu Nenpo (Annual Report on University Education Research)
 - Japan Association for College Accreditation: College Education
 - University Center Kyoto (1998: name change to the Consortium of Universities in Kyoto)
- 1995 - Rikkyo University Center for General Curriculum Development: Daigaku-Kyoiku Kenkyu Forum (University Education Research Forum)
 - Shinshu University Research Center for Educational Progress: Shinshu University Research Center for Educational Progress Kiyo (Bulletin)
 - Center for Research and Development in Higher Education Hokkaido University: Kotokyoiku (Higher Education) Journal Kotokyoiku-To-Shogaikyoiku (Higher Education and Lifelong Education)
 - Tottori University, University Education Center: Daigaku-Kyoiku Kenkyu Nenpo (Annual Report on University Education Research)
 - Center for Research and Development of Higher Education, the University of Tokyo (formerly the University of Tokyo Survey Group): Center Monograph
 - National Association of University Education Research Centers
 - Nagova University sets up a higher education course in the Faculty of Education
 - Hiroshima University Survey Group (5-year period)
 - University Education Center, Ibaraki University: Center Annual Report, etc.
 - University of the Ryukyus University Education Center: University of the Ryukyus University Education Center Report
- 1997 - Japan Association of University Administration Management: JUAM Journal
 - Obirin University Institute for Higher Education Research and Development
 - Name change from General Education Society of Japan to Liberal and General Education Society of Japan: Journal of the Liberal and General Education Society of Japan
 - Japan Association of Higher Education Research: Kotokyoiku Kenkyu (Higher Education Research)
 - Kumamoto University Research Center for Higher Education; Daigaku-Kyoiku Nenpo (Annual Report on University Education)
 - Hannan University Institute of Education: Daigaku-Kyoiku Kenkyusho Nenpo (Institute of Education Annual Report)
- Center for the Studies of Higher Education, Nagoya University: Nagoya Journal of Higher Education - Division of Higher Education Research and Development set up in the Graduate School of Education
 - Kyoto University (Faculty of Education) (collaborative course)
- 1999 • Research Center for Teaching Practice, Fukuoka University of Education: Kyoiku Jissen Kenkyu (Research on Teaching Practice)
 - JABEE (Japan Accreditation Board for Engineering Education)
 - Research Institute for Higher Education, Hiroshima University (formerly University Issues Research Center) (The name of the Institute in English had been changed to this name in 1972)
 - Japanese name change from Gakui-Juyo-Kiko to Daigaku-hyoka-gakui-juyo-kiko (English name changed in 2003 from National Institute for Academic Degrees to National Institute for Academic Degrees and University Evaluation (April 2004: Established as National Institute for Academic Degrees and University Evaluation, an Independent Administrative Institution): Journal of NIAD-UE(Research on Academic Degrees and University Evaluation)
 - Chubu University, University Education Research Center: Chubu University Kyoiku Kenkyu (Education Research)

1996

1998

2000

2000

- National Institute for Independent Higher Education of the Association of Private Universities of Japan: National Institute for Independent Higher Education Series, Shiritsu-Kotokyoiku Sosho (Independent Higher Education Series)
- Nagoya University establishes a Higher Education Management Subdivision in the Specialist Professional Development Course of the School of Education Graduate School of Education.
- Hokkaido University creates a Higher Education Subdivision in the Planning and Administration of Education Chair in its Graduate School of Education, School of Education.
- Nagoya University establishes a Higher Education Subdivision (Cooperative Chair) in the School of Education Graduate School of Education and Human Development.

2001

- Oita University, University Education Development Support Center
- National Institute for Education Policy Research of Japan Department for Higher Education (In January 2000, The National Institute for Educational Research was reorganized and the name changed to the National Institute for Education Policy Research of Japan [NIER]).
- Ryukoku University, University Education Development Center
- Daido Institute of Technology Center for Teaching Improvement
- Obirin University establishes University Administration Course in the Graduate School of International Studies
- University of Tsukuba establishes Higher Education Policy/Management Course in the Doctorate Program of the Faculty of Education in the College of Human Sciences

2002

- Tottori University, University Education Center (name change in Japanese from *daigaku-kyoiku-senta* to *daigaku-kyoiku-sogo-senta*)
- Yamaguchi University Center for University Education
- Kagawa University Center for Research and Educational Development in Higher Education: Kagawa University Kyoiku Kenkyu (Education Research)
- Nagasaki University Research and Development Center for Higher Education
- Konan Women's University Education Research Network: Konan Women's University Education Research Network Research Report
- Obihiro University of Agriculture and Veterinary Medicine, Undergraduate Education Center (2004: name change to Obihiro University of Agriculture and Veterinary Medicine, University Education Center)

2003

- Research and Development Center for Higher Education, Hitotsubashi University: Annual Report of the Research and Development Center for Higher Education, Hitotsubashi University
- Kagawa University Center for Research and Educational Development in Higher Education: *Kagawa University Kyoiku Kekyu (Education Research)*
- Kanazawa University Research Center for Higher Education
- Shinshu University Higher Education System Center (formerly the Education System Research and Development Center): Shinshu University *Higher Education System Center Bulletin*
- Kyoto University Center for the Promotion of Excellence in Higher Education (formerly Center for the Development of Teaching Systems in Higher Education)
- Kyushu University Higher Education Development and Research Center (formerly University Education Research Center)
- Kumamoto University Research Center for Higher Education (formerly University Education Research Center): Daigaku Kyoiku (University Education)
- University of Miyazaki Center for Educational Research and Planning: Daigaku-Kyoiku Kenkyu (University Education Research)
- Education Center, Kagoshima University: Annual Report of the Education Center, Kagoshima University
- Center for Research and Development of Higher Education Saga University: Daigaku-Kyoiku Nenpo (Annual Report on University Education)
- Shizuoka University Education Development Center
- Yokohama National University Education Center

2004

- Iwate University: University Education Center: Annual Report
- Center for the Advancement of Higher Education, Tohoku University (formerly University Education Research Center): Annual Report of the Center for the Advancement of Higher Education, etc.
- Tokyo University of Agriculture and Technology Center for Higher Educational Development: *Journal of Higher Education*, etc.
- Ehime University Education and Student Support Organization
- Otaru University of Commerce, Center for Educational Development: On Hermes' Wings Otaru University of Commerce FD Activity Report

- 2004 Obihiro University of Agriculture and Veterinary Medicine, University Education Center (formerly Undergraduate Education Center)
 - Osaka City University Center for Research and Development of Higher Education: RDHE
 - Doshisha University Center for Educational Development
 - Kochi University, University Education Creation Center; Annual Report of the University Education Creation Center (publication planned)
 - Center for Faculty Development, Okayama University: Annual Report of the Center for Faculty Development, Okayama University, OU-VOICE, Momotaro Forum
 - Center for National University Finance and Management: CUFM Research, etc.
 - University Evaluation Society: University Education Today, University Evaluation Review
 - Organization of Private Vocational School Accreditation
 - Obirin University establishes University Administration Course by Correspondence (Master's Degree) in the Graduate School of International Studies

2005 - Introduction to Higher Education - Learn the Basics about Universities (Minerva Teaching Certificate Course 16) published

- Kobe University Institute for Promotion of Higher Education
- Oita University Higher Education Development Center (formerly University Education Development Support Center)
- Konan Women's University, University Education Research Center (formerly Education Research Network): *Annual Report of the Education Research Network*
- University of Yamanashi Center for Research and Development in University Education
- Prefectural University of Hiroshima Education Center
- Consortium of Universities in Kyoto Center for Higher Education Research in Kyoto
- Japan Institute for Higher Education Evaluation
- Association of National University Management
- The University of Tokyo establishes University Management and Policies Course in the Graduate School of Education

Notes

- (a) The author is responsible for the compilation of this chronology. Cooperation was received from RIHE, Hiroshima University, with particular thanks to the COE Project Secretary Miharu Otono, and the library staff Miki Wakimoto and Naoko Sekiuchi.
- (b) The list up to 1998 was based on Kazuyuki Kitamura (1998), "Past, Present and Future of Higher Education Research," Koto Kyoiku Kenkyu [Journal of Higher Education Research], 1, 29-46. However, the author supplemented the chronology with the names of bodies that do not primarily aim to conduct education or research on university or higher education (i.e. university organizations, academic organizations, some academic societies) that had been omitted from Kitamura's data.
- (c) Although the author has strived to attain the utmost accuracy in the chronology, if any omissions or errors are discovered, the author will be grateful for notification of them.
- (d) The organizations, etc. marked with in the chronology are members of the National Association of University Education Research Centers of Japan.

Theoretical Study of the 21st Century Higher Education System in a Knowledge-based Society: The Development of Coordination Theory for Reconstruction Analysis of Universities

Atsunori Yamanoi*

Introduction

The Research Institute for Higher Education (RIHE) in Hiroshima University was selected by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, and Technology (MEXT) as a member of the 21st Century COE Program, in the field of humanities with a five-year term from 2002-2006 (COE Project Leader: Akira Arimoto). The theme of the project is "Construction and Quality Assurance of the 21st Century Higher Education System." The major purposes of our project include (1) promotion of research at the highest international level; (2) information dissemination and collection as a national and international center for research on higher education; (3) establishment of a research network for higher education; and (4) training of next-generation researchers of higher education. We are working intensively to achieve these four major purposes by organizing research groups and projects specific to each subject. Particularly concerning the first objective (1), research is vertically organized into the following three groups: (a) a group for faculty/staff development and education (group leader: Akira Arimoto); (b) a group for research systems (group leader: Atsunori Yamanoi); and (c) a group for university systems (group leader: Takashi Hata). In a horizontal dimension, we have established other groups to study themes such as gender issues in higher education and establishment of the university's image in relation to reconstruction of knowledge. This paper discusses on an exploratory basis a theoretical analysis of university structure appropriate to the reconstruction of knowledge.

One of the major research objectives of the COE project is, as indicated, establishment of a 21st century higher education system in Japan. Since the 1990s, universities have undergone structural reforms as part of social structural reforms. I believe that the basic structural reforms show some identifiable directions, when viewed from a broader and global perspective. The first of these is toward "small government" against a background of neo-liberalism. A number of keywords epitomize the shifts in this direction resulting from structural reforms in the now corporatized national universities, privately managed public universities, and the other private and privatized universities: marketization, entrepreneurial management, accountability, university evaluation, and quality assurance. It is of course economic and political factors that have largely contributed to such reforms. The second is the shift to a knowledge-based society. "Knowledge-based society" has been adopted as a key phrase by governments and is used in various reports created by their advisory committees. The concept of a knowledge-based society as discussed in this paper is essentially similar to that adopted

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by governments and in such reports. The concept can be understood in the context of changes by comparing rural, industrial and information societies. The basic unit of a rural society is rice; the basic unit of an industrial society is capital provided by money and a labor force. In a knowledge-based society it is knowledge that can be considered the essential basic unit. As the former basic units (rice, money and a labor force) are tangible economic indicators, they can involve structural reforms that are physically evident; in a knowledge-based society, structural reform may be concealed, complex and invisible. Third, we can recognize as a universal phenomenon the accelerating movement of universities in a competitive direction due to marketization and the shift toward a knowledge-based society. Closure of universities has become a grave concern, particularly in Japan, given the rapidly declining cohorts in the 18-year-old bracket. However, basically it should be recognized that as a global phenomenon, the environment surrounding universities worldwide has become competitive. Accordingly, higher education policies in advanced countries are also being discussed within a framework of a new term, "Glonacal," that I will discuss later.

University reforms are in progress within the greatly transformed environment resulting from this broad range of variable factors. The background to university reforms based on entrepreneurial management, academic capitalism and market theories, and implemented in response to the needs of knowledge-based society, is examined in this paper by using the approaches of the sociology of knowledge and of science, and the structure of knowledge. An attempt will be made to develop an analytical framework for the process of university structural reforms through Japan's unique approach, and to examine the practical process of creating the 21st century higher education system in Japan.

To these ends, the paper presents a working hypothesis about the reconstruction of universities as well as their research and education structures after the ongoing structural reforms. Specifically, while critically reviewing the conventional theories, the author will examine from the perspective of a knowledge-based society resulting from social changes what kinds of social relationships should be established among states, academic institutions and marketplaces in order to carry out university reforms. At the same time, an attempt is made to develop a coordinated theory, based on the framework for university control and coordination proposed by Burton Clark that considers a knowledge-based society resulting from social changes to be a motivating factor for university reforms. In so doing, I would like to present a theoretical framework to clarify the dynamics of the reconstruction process derived from the differences in Japanese university sectors in its knowledge-based society. Through this analytical framework, the paper will formulate an hypothesis to establish characteristics of the reconstruction and reform processes in national, public and private universities unique to Japan, from a variety of perspectives, and will explore the possibility of testing the research hypothesis.

Limitation of Existing Theories in the Process of Structural Reforms

At the 29th R.I.H.E. Annual Study Meeting held in November 2001 and entitled "Reconstruction

of the Academic Organization", the author discussed how in principle academic reorganization might be approached, and pointed out the limitations of existing theories. For example, the "center of learning" hypothesis proposed by Ben-David has been dominant as one of the representative paradigms of higher education research in Japan.² However, this hypothesis cannot fully explain the ongoing globalization of the academic world. According to his hypothesis, in the past the international center of learning was transferred from Britain in the 17th century, to France early in the 18th century, to Germany by the mid-19th century, and finally to the United States in the first half of the 20th century. This migration of the center of learning provides the background to establishment of new social systems that support learning in each country. The significant point is that after the center of learning shifted to Germany, the social context that supported learning became focused on the university system as a production base of knowledge. Since the 19th century, no major institutes for intellectual activities other than universities have been established in regard to creation of knowledge. Although attempts were made to establish large-scale research centers in Germany, France, and the Soviet Union these centers did not survive as institutions that could take the place of universities. Second, since the United States became the international center of learning in the 20th century, no potential alternative has emerged that could replace it in the immediate future. Moreover, the higher education system in the United States has been established as a global model and draws strength from its system of recruitment that is open to the world. Inevitably, such a globalized standard model exercises great influence on reform of higher education systems in other countries. A major part of the theory of Ben-David derives from the assertion that the international center of learning changes in response to establishment of a new university image. If a global higher education system were to be established in other countries, it would be quite likely that the international center of learning could be dispersed in academic institutions and universities in those advanced counties that develop new paradigms.

Meanwhile, Trow's theory regarding stages in the development of higher education has been presented as a basic, universal framework for development in individual universities and higher education systems.³ It is said that Trow's theory has been evaluated and rediscovered particularly by Japanese researchers. However, his sequence of stages in the development of higher education is unable to provide a full explanation of the university reforms currently evident worldwide in the process of transition to a knowledge-based society, and in relation to governmental and economic market issues.

One of the reasons for the failure of the theory lies in its dependence on the proportion of the agerelated cohorts enrolled in higher education. As is well known, the proportions serve as demarcations between the stages of development of higher education; by its reliance on these proportions as the sole criteria, it can be said that Trow's theory is based on an internal and linear working hypothesis. Although minor changes have been made to the transition to the stage of universal access in European higher education, Trow's theory cannot explain the university reforms that are proceeding globally irrespective of participation rates. Currently, regardless of whether national enrolments correspond to high or low participation, university structural reforms are advancing in similar directions around the world. Accordingly, it is clear that university structural reforms are influenced by external variables other than the percentage of students enrolling in academic institutions. Consider the development of higher education in East Asian countries. China has seen a rapid development from an elite- to a mass-oriented higher education system; and even at this stage many people judge that the rate of China's structural reform is faster than that of Japan. Similarly, South Korea has shown a tremendous development of higher education; before its university structural reform, South Korea had a lower percentage of students enrolled in academic institutions, but after structural reform participation in South Korea greatly exceeded that in Japan. The phenomenon that is shared in Japan, China and South Korea is that global structural reform is occurring regardless of the percentage of students enrolling in universities. These effects cannot be explained by Trow's theory, which takes little account of external variables; it is also defective in lacking provision to accommodate differences in the dynamics of reform derived from unique university political structures and university sectors such as occur in Japan.

In this respect, Burton Clark's "triangle" theory is often seen as an appropriate framework for discussion of structural reform.⁴ According to Clark's hypothesis, a framework for university control and coordination can be defined either by the "triangle" of state, marketplace and academic institutions, or by expanding this to include relevant buffer institutions. While Clark aimed to make international comparisons between countries, European higher educational researchers, such as Braun, Merrien, McNay and Boer, have applied Clark's theory to examine the transformation of national higher education systems. The theory also provides a basic framework for the research pursued by Dill and other U.S. researchers into the relationships between universities and governments. Moreover, many Japanese researchers of higher education have conducted research within the framework of the same theory.⁵ By using macroscopic perspectives of higher education, i.e., states, marketplace and academic institutions, Clark has been able to compare university organizational structures internationally. The analytical framework of the three components, and particularly the relationships between states and marketplace, has provided a suitable, universal analytical framework for interpretation of university structural reform.⁶ However, with this analytical framework, I judge that Clark argues, for example, that changes and control, as well as coordination processes between states and academic institutions, occur in the context only of political relations, and that he does not explicitly allow for economic forces derived from influences such as small government or the structural changes toward a knowledge-based society. This is because, although he attempts to incorporate the effects of centralization and decentralization of power, redistribution and privatization in regard to the relationships between states and academic institutions, there is little reference to budgetary or financial issues or to structural reforms that accompany changes from a big to small government. To supplement his theory, in the 1990s and onward, Clark's research became focused

mainly on university entrepreneurial management.⁷ Economic reforms of universities in the form of diversification of university funding can be seen to supplement what was absent from his theory regarding state-institution relationships in the 1980s. And again, in a chapter on "Knowledge and Change" in his book "Higher Education Systems: Comparative Sociology of University Organization", Clark discusses the changes resulting from establishment of knowledge-based society; however, the central argument Clark presents is limited to knowledge issues only within universities and to definitive knowledge theories, and does not assume a significant social groundswell from knowledge-based society, precisely because his theory is confined to the higher educational system. Both in terms of the above-mentioned financial factors and of theory in relation to knowledge-based society, Clark's framework does not take adequate account of effects on universities derived from social changes.

From this discussion examining the present directions of university structural reforms and the theoretical issues, several priority subjects can be identified. First, as one of the ultimate goals of discussions regarding relationships between governments and universities in the 21st century, there is the basic issue: who should maintain universities? Discussing this issue is of prime significance. From a different perspective, it can be rephrased: who benefits from teaching and research in universities in the 21st century? By the middle of the 21st century, higher education should reach a universal level, allowing everyone access to lifelong learning and education. It is extremely difficult to predict the future numbers of people enrolling in universities or other postsecondary educational institutions in the 21st century. However, we certainly cannot deny the possibility that post-secondary education will become as accessible as secondary education and that enrolment in them both will achieve 90% participation. Regarding research functions, it is also very likely that the time will come when universities take on a greater role, as an intellectual sector, in leading private enterprises, local government and society, in both intellectual and scientific terms, through mutual exchange between universities and the general public, enterprises, and research institutes.

A second priority subject is the social issue relating to the linkage between knowledge and universities at a time when significant social changes accompany the move from a rural and industrial society to a knowledge-based society. In knowledge-based society, scientific and technological knowledge replaces land and finance as capital in its basic economic structure. The current university reforms will inevitably take on an aspect of national economic competition, regardless of whether this is right or wrong. Rankings of universities following structural reforms are no longer restricted, as in the past, to information on the difficulty of entrance exams. In particular, international university rankings carry a new implication in the context of a knowledge economy in the global marketplace.⁸

Since the latter half of the 1990s, theories of Academic Capitalism or of Cognitive Capitalism have begun to be developed, indicating possible future directions for higher education in terms of the relation between the market and knowledge society. Among representative examples of the former are those of Slaughter & Leslie, and Slaughter & Rhoades: their approach examines entrepreneurial management of universities in a knowledge-based society from economic and market perspectives.

Alternatively Bleiklie and Henkel with other European researchers employ a broader perspective of knowledge in higher education. The theory of Cognitive Capitalism theory developed R. Hostaker, Vab and others appears to be particularly useful in that they consider the relationships between universities and knowledge from broader perspectives.¹⁰

To establish an extensive university theory from these viewpoints requires a philosophy of knowledge. A higher educational system must accommodate not only consideration of the economics of knowledge, but also other aspects of the organizational theory of knowledge: of the politics and sociology of knowledge and sociology of science. In discussions of knowledge-based society, only the economic value of technological knowledge tends to be stressed, but to establish a 21st century university image requires consideration of the fundamental reconstruction of knowledge.

University Reform Control and Coordination Levels in a Knowledge-based Society: Analysis of Japanese Characteristics

As mentioned above, Clark assumed that control and coordination of universities was exercised by the state, the market and the academic institutions; where appropriate, these three may be supplemented by input from a buffer organization. To develop a theory for the university in a knowledge-based society, we have to consider how to incorporate the social variables into this framework. This problem I will discuss in more detail later.

But first it is necessary to examine and discuss university reform on the basis of the control and coordination process of these three (or four) components. Clark discusses control and coordination processes from the viewpoints of "changes" and "integration." However, university control and coordination is complex and involves political and economic processes as well. As mentioned earlier, Clark presented the framework to facilitate international comparison. However, his theory can be applied within a country to analysis of the internal transition process and its special characteristics. Japan presents a particularly suitable example. It features special characteristics, including a variety of university sectors (e.g., national, public, private, and privately managed public universities) and complex relations with governments. The coordination theory discussed in this paper is also based on this background in Japan. Within Japan's higher education system, control and coordination are complicated by the political tactics employed by the components that participate in the process. Even in the same sector vertical and horizontal control is complicated. For instance, in the government sector, where vertical control refers to the relations between central and local governments, such terms as "Glocal" (Global + Local), "Glonacal" (Global + National + Local) and "Nalocal" (National + Local) have recently been introduced to describe frameworks for academic analysis and political perspectives; 12 at the same time, horizontal control includes coordination among the respective ministries and governmental agencies.

Let me develop the case of Japan as a specific example. The state, or the central government, encompasses various organizations. In government, there are various power relations and conflicts, in

the Diet, within the cabinet, among the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) and other ministries, and between central and local governments. MEXT discusses and determines various policies mainly based on reports submitted by various advisory committees. Through coordination among each ministry and governmental agency, laws are enacted. Subsequently, budgets are planned and implemented that impact on each academic institution. This is university reform from the viewpoint of control and coordination by the state. In Japan, such control and coordination processes are extremely intricate and complex. The actuality of these processes may be better explained by the conflict theory proposed by M. Weber. For instance, pressure is placed on MEXT by its negotiating partners (e.g. official reform committees, the Ministry of Finance), which are able to exercise control over MEXT on the pretext of deregulation in the interest of globalization. In turn, MEXT seeks to sustain control over its university negotiating partners through new budgetary allocations and reestablishment of an evaluation system, so as to maintain and develop its own power, even in the new framework, while appearing to deregulate and decentralize authority.

On the other hand, academic institutions seek advantage in negotiations with the state and society, by making academic freedom and autonomy worthy causes in the new circumstances evident in corporatization and university reform. At the same time, the universities demonstrate selective ambivalence toward the policies of MEXT and other central government ministries and agencies as well as of local governments. There are particularly weak governance relationships in Japan between the national universities and local governments, and between public prefectural and municipal universities and the central government, because of the postwar bureaucratic sectionalism that vertically segmented national, public and private universities. Recently, the negotiation process in the higher education community has become even more complicated. Contributing factors are further diversification of and disparity among the types of universities (such as universities controlled by local government but managed and maintained by private corporations) that cannot be found anywhere else in the world, and discriminatory differences between the former imperial universities - based on prewar German models - and newer national universities based on postwar American models, and other more convoluted models.¹⁴ If in the future a new regional system of local government is introduced, vertical and horizontal complexities will become increasingly intricate, requiring Japan to adopt new Nalocal or Glonacal policies.

Within such a conflicting framework of tightened control under the name of new indirect governance by the state or government that is neither necessarily monolithic nor coherent, and the market, university institutions negotiate with their partners largely in terms of autonomy and academic freedom. In the U.S., with society characterized by weak governmental and strong market forces, academic institutions negotiate strongly with the state using the academic and university arguments; in some cases universities may resist or take active measures to oppose their partners in negotiation. However, in a society like that of Japan, where governmental control is extremely strong, resisting social pressure is difficult and would incur serious consequences.

What is more, it is hardly conceivable that the processes of the respective control sectors will be coordinated to exert similar influences on all universities. The influence of each sector will differ according to a university's type and sector: research comprehensive university, comprehensive university, single faculty college, four-year college, and junior college; national university, public university, private university, and public university independently managed; and research university, professional university, and liberal arts college. Even the category of private universities can be subdivided according to the date of establishment: pre-war, immediate post-war system, high-growth period, retrenchment period, or period of structural reform. The impact on private universities also varies according to whether they have been newly established or reorganized from junior colleges to four-year institutions. It is such complex underlying factors that have to be taken into account when discussing how academic knowledge can influence university reorganization and establishment in a knowledge-based society in Japan.

Within the framework for control and coordination of the university, both the state and the academic institutions have established their own routes, methods and processes. In particular, both the state and universities have internally institutionalized their decision-making bodies. This is the very reason for the occurrence of conflicts between them and within the individual sectors. In contrast, while the market advocates a democratic system to allow participation by all members, it lacks organization or institutions to enable members to participate directly. Whether or not an economic basis can be established – or in sociological terms, a competitive social selection – determines whether or not a university can determine a base for its existence from an economic and financial perspective. In relation to success or failure in a commodity market, it is said that "the market tells us about the market;" by setting equal market entry standards: a democratic market should ensure that all can participate in the market and enjoy equal opportunities there. Universities can enter the university market equally if they meet the standards (accreditation) for their categories. However, ultimately the market will determine success or failure of universities.

To describe the process of university coordination between sectors, Clark used the keywords "change" and, in particular, "integration." This indicates that his argument is a university theory on the premise of a structural and mechanical balance achieved across the higher education system. Thus, the state controls, coordinates and reforms academic institutions, through the political process of enacting laws and compiling budgets for control and coordination following policies based on reports from advisory committees. The market sector determines success or failure of management through the marketplace. Academic institutions control themselves through a process of decision-making in accord with university autonomy.

Then, how is knowledge-based society, which is the focal point of this paper and constitutes a factor for university reform, related to control and coordination of the three sectors (state, market and academic institutions) as discussed by Clark? A sharp demographic decrease in 18-year-olds in Japan resulting from the declining birthrate is one of the social changes that constitute a significant

contributing factor for university reforms. Similarly the advent of a knowledge-based society will have great impact on reconstruction and organization of the university image in the 21st century. However, such social changes themselves do not exercise the functions of decision-making, control and coordination, but rather impose conditions on university reconstruction and reorganization. By taking measures reflecting such social changes, the state, academic institutions and the market implement their respective processes of control and coordination. It is therefore inaccurate and delusory to regard the knowledge-based society accompanying these social changes as entering as part of the control and coordination sectors. The knowledge-based society and knowledge itself have no function with regard to control and coordination of academic institutions and states. Accordingly, placing "knowledge," "society," "state" and "academic institutions" on the same level fails to distinguish between "state" and "academic institutions," which are control sectors, and social changes, which have no control and coordination functions on the same level. This would result in a loss of precise understanding of the differences and interrelationships between the control sectors' decisionmaking processes and the social changes that affect these processes. Moreover, this would make it impossible to compare differences between countries in the control and coordination exercised by each sector, as well as the internal differences in control and coordination processes for the various categories of Japanese universities. As was discussed above, states promote reforms while exercising control over academic institutes through the political process of enacting laws and compiling budgets for control and coordination following policies that are based on reports. By modifying the underlined portion of the previous sentence, the statement can be changed as follows: "states promote reforms while exercising control over academic institutes through the political process of enacting laws and compiling budgets for control and coordination, following the policies responding to knowledge-based society as a result of social changes.

Such a "knowledge-based society as a result of social changes" can be placed on the same level, not only as the "state," but also the "academic institutions" as well as the "market": that is to say on the same level as the three control sectors. In other words, the "knowledge-based society as a result of social changes" can affect all three sectors as one of the components of the sources of influence.

Social Changes, Sector Control and University Reforms: Discussion on Coordination Theory

Based on the discussion above, it is possible to examine reconstruction of the provisions for teaching and research in ongoing university structural reforms by quantifying the measures included in the university reforms that have been carried out so far to accommodate a shift toward a knowledge-based society in Japan. This is made possible by setting a framework for analyzing the university control reform path in terms of the knowledge-based society emerging from social change. Through such a process, it is possible to illustrate the approaches that different universities have taken so far in response to knowledge-based society. At the same time, it becomes possible to explore clarifying the

dynamics of the university transformation processes to accord with reconstruction of knowledge, through analysis of data from survey questionnaires and reference materials. It would then be possible to assess how far we can go in addressing the main issue of "Construction and Quality Assurance of the 21st Century Higher Education System," the main theme of our 21st Century COE Program promoted by MEXT, by the familiar research procedure of examining theory, hypothesis, and quantitative analysis.

A first step in addressing this challenge is to formulate and verify a working hypothesis of the control and coordination routes influenced by a knowledge-based society as a result of social changes that varies with the university sectors in Japan. For example, before fiscal 2004, the then national universities were more likely than today's corporatized national universities to respond to reforms for a knowledge-based society by directly following reports from governmental (MEXT) committees, which reflected policies for which the budget was compiled.¹⁵ It can also be presumed that, before Fiscal 2004, national academic institutions were less likely to promote reforms, because they were already occupied with measures to cope with coordinating knowledge-based society and the demands of the marketplace. However, a hypothesis may be formulated that corporatization of the national universities increased both their discretionary power and the extent to which institutions took measures by themselves to meet the needs of the market in knowledge-based society, not in response to control by the state, and predominantly from MEXT. Private universities, on the other hand, are less subject to the state's direct control than national universities, but are more subject to coordination through the direct influence of the market. Private universities also have a much higher degree of freedom in decision-making in response to the influence of factors from the knowledge-based society, than did the pre-2004 national universities. Moreover, implementing market-driven reforms provides a far quicker way of responding to the needs of knowledge-based society than reform by action of the state. In comparison with national universities in the past, the current national university corporations are better able to respond to knowledge-based society, and are more likely to reform themselves by responding to the needs of the market. Positioned midway between the national and private universities, public universities and those public universities managed independently are subject to more intricate and complex control processes. Public universities have been controlled and coordinated by a dual system of governance, that is, by distant (MEXT) and local government (local authority): this is the "Nalocal" coordination process mentioned above. Public universities in Japan can be financially influenced by local government, but are legally constrained by the state. The public universities managed independently are controlled as public universities by both national and local governments, and simultaneously influenced by the market as well.

Within the universities, their basic functions, teaching and research, have different control routes and impose different emphases on control, according to university categories. As compared to private universities, the national universities are more research-oriented, and thus more subject to state control through the huge research budget allocations. In contrast, private universities are more focused on

teaching and securing job-placement for their graduates. Accordingly, private universities are more responsive to the need to implement university and curriculum reforms directly reflecting the market. Public universities are subject to greater control by local government that reflects a sensitivity to private enterprise and residents in local communities.

As has been discussed above, by taking into account the pressure resulting from social changes from a knowledge-based society as a source of influence on the three control sectors, we can establish an effective framework for analysis that could verify the differences in timing and the influence of reorganization and reconstruction of universities due to knowledge-based society, resulting from the institutional differences among the categories of universities in Japan. This framework superficially resembles the form of critical path analysis, but is essentially different in that there are relative time differences between the variables. This construct derives from the origin and types of universities in Japan, the kinds of teaching, research and social service provided by the university, and how the university is managed according to the differing circumstances surrounding the university (see Figure 1).

Control by STATE · National university Strong National university corporation . Public university Control by marketplace Weak Strong Public University independently managed Private university Weak Control by institution Strong Private university Control by marketplace Weak · Public University National independently University managed Public university • National university Weak Control by STATE National university National university corporation Public university Public University independently managed Private university

Figure 1. Association of Sector Control (= Coordination) and University Types

Note: Figure 1 shows the degree of influence exerted by each control sector on universities of each category in response to the needs of a knowledge-based society. The bottom figure is based on the hypothesis that the closer the university category is located to the vertices of the triangle, the greater the influence exerted by a control sector will become when the university is reformed to respond to knowledge-based society.

Control by academic institution

Control by market

In the U.K., where university institutional administration is becoming more centralized, state control is relatively strong, but is exercised through buffer institutions, comprised of higher education specialists that have far greater significance than in Japan. Positioned between universities and the state, these buffer institutions play an important role in university evaluations and allocation of basic support for research. It is said that these buffer institutions often act as intermediaries also in regard to university reforms by means of "carrots" rather than "sticks." In Japan, in the case of national universities, the degree in which the centralized government directly influences each institution is much higher. Meanwhile, in the United States, what is often called "decentralization of power" has been in progress. The degree to which the Federal government centrally controls universities is far lower than in Japan though State governments exercise substantial control of public institutions.

Any assessment of current international circumstances against a backdrop of gobalization reveals an American-style marketization proceeding steadily to determine university reforms in all advanced countries. Despite the historical and cultural differences among countries, in the transition from government-led to market-driven university reforms, the degree to which university reforms are implemented not by states but by academic institutions will become greater. As a result, market competition is intensified and individual institutions take the lead in carrying out reforms. Riesman named this phenomenon a "snake-like procession." University reforms completely based on the market principle, like the ones seen the United States, spread from leading universities throughout the entire higher education community. By analogy with a snake's head, main body, and tail, Riesman ably identifies its progression from top-rated universities (the vanguard), to second- and third-rated universities (the rear guard). As a result, Riesman argues that universities not only come to assume similarity to other major institutional organizations, such as governments and private enterprises, but also come to share the same form by imitating each other (isomorphism hypothesis).¹⁷ Due to the short time lags in the current knowledge-based society, such homogenization can proceed at a very fast rate. What is important here is that accompanying the shift from control by states to control by the market, the accomplishments and results of university structural reforms are subject to evaluation in the market. As the evaluation of individual institutions is based on diverse variables and operates in a variety of contexts, even the accomplishment of similar reforms in response to knowledge-based society will not yield uniform results: indeed, in some institutions the evaluations may demonstrate diametrically opposed results.

Coordination of University (Re-)Establishment in Knowledge-based Society: Control Sector, University Category, and Response to the Market

As a precursor it is necessary to examine the types of knowledge that constitute a knowledge-based society. First, knowledge can be classified by the way in which it is presented and by its content. The former can be easily recognized by considering that the advent of the information-oriented society is supported by information technology (IT). Information media is now changing from analog to

digital; and unlike conventional analog media, digital media is computer-based on the binary system. Everything inside a computer must be represented by some combination of 'on' and 'off.' It is the binary system that has supported the development of an information society. The binary system enables knowledge to be computerized, transferred, recorded and visualized. Therefore, as well as modifying the structure of knowledge, the IT revolution will greatly transform the education methods and styles of universities that use knowledge as a medium.

As far as the structure of knowledge, various typologies of knowledge are recognized. They include: terms discussed in the sociology of science - formal knowledge *vs.* implicit knowledge, and common-sense-knowledge *vs.* practical knowledge; Mode I *vs.* Mode II knowledge as discussed by Gibbons *et al*; disciplinary *vs.* transdisciplinary *vs.* interdisciplinary knowledge; university knowledge *vs.* social knowledge; academic knowledge *vs.* educational knowledge; and liberal arts knowledge *vs.* professional knowledge *vs.* scientific knowledge, which are discussed in relation to university theories. And according to E. Boyer, the functions of scholarship with respect to knowledge can be classified into creation, application, integration and education. Mode II knowledge is associated with its application, problem solving and multi-disciplining, as well as the production of knowledge, if its economic application is shifted to the context of corporatization and exploitation of intellectual property. Let us examine how the style of production of knowledge is related to university reforms. These changes and modalities together will determine the 21st century image of the university in knowledge-based society. This section will examine eight specific topics and look into the possibility of indicative research from applying the new analysis to (re-)establishment of the university image together with transition toward a knowledge-based society.

Titles of Universities and Departments One indicator of the influence of the knowledge-based society on university identity appears in the names of institutions and their sections. It is said that names and natures often agree. Some universities have changed their names, and the types of names may have changed from Mode I, in which a university name identifies its location or the entity that established the university to a Mode II type, identifying applied science and technology or advanced science. From the viewpoint of university categories and types according to the Carnegie Classification (research comprehensive, comprehensive, single-department etc.), we should consider what kinds of relationships are established between individual university titles and control by state and market. Possible subjects for study include the titles of new universities, existing universities and the four-year institutions that have been reorganized from two-year colleges. At the same time, we should look into how the titles of departments have been changed. There it becomes necessary to pursue the titles of newly established departments, existing departments, and departments in institutions that have been reorganized from two-year to four-year colleges. There are also changes in degree titles for which some earlier studies suggest a pattern of development seemingly different from the logic of the knowledge-based society. Verification of whether state or market control has influenced the degree

titles could provide an interesting research theme. In 1991 when, under state control, academic degrees were liberalized, the number of degree types was 29; the number increased to 250 in 1994, 348 in 1997, 444 in 2000 and then to 554 in 2004. It would be interesting to analyze how they are classified and on what logic.²⁰

Reconstruction of Colleges and Departments Accompanying the Transition from Two-year to Four-year Colleges
Transition from two-year to four-year colleges is mostly seen in public and particularly in private universities (most national junior colleges were merged with four-year colleges in an earlier period). The number of junior colleges decreased from 598 in fiscal 1996 to 525 in fiscal 2003, and during the same period 125 junior colleges were reorganized into four-year colleges. The first step has to be a quantitative and chronological analysis of the 125 four-year colleges reorganized from two-year colleges, and an assessment of what programs (majors) have been created in the process. The private sector is particularly sensitive to the market so that the changeover from two-year to four-year private institutions should indicate the importance placed by the market on a number of factors. This would require study of the following: 1) the entire picture of categories, types and directions of reorganization of existing departments; 2) case studies of what devices and improvements have been made regarding personnel organization, curriculum, teaching methods, graduation theses, credits etc.; and 3) failure or success of private university reorganizations by coordination with the marketplace, through time-series analysis of the numbers of students who take entrance examinations, the proportion of vacancies filled, the rate of employment, etc.

Changes to Teaching Methods through use of Digital Media in Place of Analog Media As mentioned above, knowledge-based society can be examined from the viewpoints of both knowledge type and content. The themes identified above in (2.1) and (2.2) are related to the content of knowledge. As the information technology revolution is related to both content and type, it has a significant impact on curriculums, teaching methods, graduation theses, and learning styles. But implementing change requires resources.

National university corporations are strongly controlled by governments, and thus have to make budgetary requests. Moreover, whether a request is accepted is determined by the results of negotiations: it takes at least two years for a budgetary request to be adopted – and requests for large amounts of money may take several years. Private universities have greater financial flexibility, although they have clear budgetary limitations. In addition, a sharp decline in 18-year-old population cohorts is having a great impact on survival of the smaller and weaker private universities, which necessitates survival policies focused more on education than research, ahead of its effects on other university sectors. It is clear that market coordination will function more strongly in the private sector than in other university sectors.

Relationship between the Organization of Research Universities and Knowledge-based Society It is mainly the traditional national university corporations and private comprehensive universities that have promoted research activities in Japan. We need studies to verify the relationships, at organizational, management and individual levels, between the research functions of these universities, their centers and institutes, and reconstruction of knowledge. Probably, research activities should be subject to control and coordination that differ completely from those for reform of teaching. Sector control and coordination for teaching and research will certainly differ according to university category and type. For case studies, we need to study by survey and observation research institutes, such as the Research Center for Advanced Science and Technology at the University of Tokyo, and the Institute for Materials Research at Tohoku University. Research can be greatly influenced by state control and coordination. It is especially necessary to analyze what relationships are established between the various strategies of basic research, applied research and development research, and university sectors and the way universities are controlled.

Impact on Universities of Liberal Arts Knowledge, Professional Knowledge and Creative Knowledge As already described, knowledge content can be classified into liberal arts knowledge, professional knowledge and creative knowledge. Until recently, basic professional knowledge has been provided at bachelor level. From fiscal 2000, university initiatives for professional schools in such fields as law, business administration, medical science, and the teaching profession have been promoted. Using the framework mentioned earlier, analytical work could be made to 1) grasp a general picture of the newly established professional schools, quantitatively and chronologically; 2) study their departmental configurations, types and directions; and 3) examine the structure of their academic appointments and curriculums.

Impact of Economic Knowledge on Universities One implication of knowledge-based society for universities is the relationship between scientific/technological knowledge and the economy. Science and technology has played an increasing role in improving productivity. The scientific knowledge held by universities will greatly transform the relationships between universities and society, by developments such as university-private enterprise collaborative relations. Activity in the fields of science and technology is closely related to strategies for prioritization adopted by government and the business community. Therefore, the flow of research funds, the roles of technology licensing organizations and other university organizations and the functions of professors will undergo significant changes.

Research into the Academic Marketplace, University Organizations and the Academic Profession An extensive account of the present situation and condition of the academic marketplace is available in "A Study of the Academic Marketplace in Japan: Past, Present, and Future" (2005) COE

Publication Series, vol.15, which was published under a project led by me for R.I.H.E., Hiroshima University.²² This topic provides many intriguing research themes from the perspectives of knowledge-based society, including the following: 1) analysis of open-search documents prepared when applicants are sought for professorial posts, so as to analyze the open-search recruiting methods in advanced fields; 2) analysis of specific recruiting methods used by organizations in advanced fields; and 3) study of the ways of reestablishment of two-year colleges as private four-year universities, particularly in respect of how existing, internal faculty were reassigned (*e.g.*, who was assigned to teach what subjects) and how new, external faculty were recruited, from the perspective of a knowledge-based society.

Sociology of Science concerning Academic Associations: Analysis of Membership of the Japanese Association of Higher Education Research In a knowledge-based society, universities and faculty should focus on political and developmental research. As competition is actually intensified by marketization, organizations will naturally take social countermeasures to respond to the situation. Japan's higher education system, which, like its banking system, was formerly based on the "convoy system" (protecting weaker institutions from competition), is now moving to marketization. It is necessary to verify how Japan's higher education system will adjust its institutionalization to accommodate marketization. As a methodology for this, analyzing the membership of the Japanese Association of Higher Education Research, for example, could provide an effective means of assessing the perceived missions of Japanese universities. As higher education reform in Japan is proceeding, it would be possible to examine what measures are being taken to carry out structural reforms of universities and to (re-)establish university images for the 21st century, in organizational and personnel terms. I am confident that that the membership lists of the Japanese Association of Higher Education Research that are now available (fiscal 1997; 2000; 2002; & 2004 versions) would serve as valuable reference material for this research topic.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have developed an hypothesis and outlined an approach for exploratory research regarding a "Theoretical Study of the 21st Century Higher Education System in a Knowledge-based Society: The Development of Coordination Theory on Reconstruction Analysis of Universities." The hypothesis developed here incorporating the coordination theory actually needs to be tested by means of exploratory research. Based on such research results, it will then be possible to elaborate the theory. At present the analytical framework discussed in this paper remains to be performed, and the results may reveal flaws to be corrected. Currently, higher education in Japan is in a period of unprecedented structural reform, and Japanese universities are undergoing radical transformation; their foundations, mechanisms, and controls are changing dramatically. These changes are being tested in the process of transition from a previous mature industrial society to a new knowledge-based society. To study

higher education in such a period of transition requires an analytical framework to be developed from an even newer perspective. I hope that this paper will provide others with opportunities to develop interests in research on higher education.

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- 15. Masakazu Yano gives an interesting definition that in the MEXT, reforms equal enactment of laws, and policies equal budget compilation. Concerning the latter, however, I judge that there will be a problem if policies continue to be too narrowly defined as budget compilations (The Second Sino-Japanese Higher Education Forum, held from Nov. 7 to 9, 2005, RIHE, Hiroshima University).
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- 17. Riesman, D. (1961). (translated by Shinbori, M., Kataoka, N., & Mori, S.) *Daigaku Kyoikuron [Constraint and Variety in American Education]*. Tokyo: Misuzu Shobo, 35-63.
- 18. Gibons M. (Ed.) (1997). (translated by Kobayashi, S.) Gendaisyakai to chi no souzou: Modo ron toha nanika [The New Production of Knowledge: The Dynamics of Science and Research in Contemporary Societies]. Tokyo: Maruzen Co., Ltd.
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- 20. Muguruma, M. (2003). Gakushi no gakui ni fukisuru senkobunya no atarashii meisyo no keiko [Contemporary trends in nomenclature of bachelor's degrees in Japan], *Gakui Kenkyu [Research in Academic Degrees]*, 17. Tokyo: National Institution for Academic Degrees and University Evaluation, 111-126.
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- 21. Shinken Ad. (2004). Suji de miru tandai no genjo [Present situation of junior colleges as shown in their figures], *Tokusyu: Charenji suru tandai [Special edition: Junior colleges in a challenge]*, *Between, 204,* 7-10.
- 22. Yamanoi, A., Fujimura, M., & Urata, H. (Eds.) (2005). Nihon no Daigaku kyoin sijyo saiko: Kako, genzai, mirai [A study of the academic marketplace in Japan: Past, present and future], COE Publication Series, 15. Hiroshima: RIHE, Hiroshima University.

Development of Historical Studies of Japanese Higher Education

Akihiro Itoh*

Introduction

This article reviews recent studies on the history of Japanese higher education after the Meiji Era. As historical studies of Japanese higher education up to 1993 have been reviewed (Itoh, 1993a), this article deals only with studies published from January 1993 to June 2003 (1).

The previous review pointed out that from around 1990, there has been a suggestion that the study of higher education history was "gaining momentum." This prediction proved to be roughly correct. Since the latter half of the 1990s, the number of publications on the study of higher education history has been increasing substantially. There is a wide variety of authors and of themes for research.

The article attempts to specify the characteristics of this "momentum." First, the periods dealt with in these studies are clarified; then several research topics that seem to be characteristic are identified, including the special situation concerning the compilation of the histories of individual institutions; and finally the article summarizes features of the developments and discusses related problems.

The Period between the Wars and the Post-war Period

Historical studies in higher education in the 1990s extended the periods they dealt with widely to the period between the wars and the post-war period. Researchers had paid attention to the formative stage of the modern higher education system, but this emphasis has been shifting and expanding to the stage of its development and establishment.

Period between the Wars During the period between the wars, higher education became more diverse and expanded. Consequently, accompanying this development, the system was modified and it became a period when we saw a hint of initial massification of higher education. Studies dealing with this period often take up a number of issues.

First, they deal with the problem of higher education opportunities for women. For example, Yukawa (2003) examines the process of opening the door of universities to women from the Taisho period to World War II with regard both to the movement for reform at the national level and to the movement at each university. Sasaki (2002) seeks to explain the mechanism for expansion of

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women's professional colleges (senmon gakko) during the period between the wars from a perspective of historical sociology, focusing on the effect of the certification system without examination for middle school teachers. Second, the period between the wars was a period when higher educational institutions, lacking the status of university, were able to become universities. Yoshikawa (2000) focuses on the philosophy of formation of public universities by Sata Aihiko of Osaka Prefectural Medical School. Yoshikawa (1996) also analyzes the fiscal structure of Kyoto Prefectural Medical School, which managed to become a university. Taniwaki (1995) provides a case study of the development of Buddhist private professional colleges into universities. Third, the period between the wars was a politically dynamic period, which had something to do with higher education. Law history researcher Takashi Itoh (2000) describes lawyers in and out of universities as supporters of the "Taisho Democracy." He also analyzes in detail the process of the "Gakuren Incident," which was a suppression of left-wing student radicals by government authority, and the responses of academics to it. And finally, for the expansion of higher education in general during the period between the wars including the various aspects above, Akihiro Itoh (1999) clarifies the political development and its social and political impacts upon higher education, with reference to issues such as the government's higher education expansion policy, the unemployment problem of graduates, and debate on higher education reform and student riots. Akihiro Itoh (1993b) analyzes the social function of the higher education system that, in the same period, contributed to the emergence of the new middle class.

Generally speaking, there is not much research on the wartime period following the period between the wars; we have only a little research that may constitute a breakthrough for future development. For example, clarifying the status of deliberations and reports of the Education Council (kyoiku shingikai) concerning higher education, Yoneda (2000) describes the macro situation of wartime higher education policy through these documents. There are also some empirical studies concerning students' conscription that are discussed below in the section on students.

Post-war Period An increasing number of studies is concerned with the post-war period. Previous studies tended to focus on the period of Occupation immediately following defeat in the war, but recent studies have also dealt with the 1950s, the 1960s, and even the 1970s.

Several solid survey books have emerged. Ohsaki (1999) offers a history of post-war higher education policies that are described in an easy-to-understand style: it is well balanced and compact, but rich in its contents. From a perspective different from that of Ohsaki, a Ministry of Education bureaucrat, Hosoi (2003) also surveys post-war policies. Amano (2003) also overviews the development of post-war higher education policies, Kuroha (2002) explores major issues of university reforms after the university dispute period in the 1960s, and Kuroha (2001) enlarges the well-known previous version of his study (Kuroha, 1992). Nakayama, Goto, and Yoshioka (1995-1999) have edited a post-war eight-volume science and technology history, an achievement of large-scale joint research: the chapters are written mainly by science historians, but there are contributions also by

researchers in social engineering, sociology of education, and education history. They include many surveys and empirical papers concerning post-war higher education history. These volumes' essence can be read in Nakayama (1995) and Nakayama and Yoshioka (1994). Asonuma (2003) has provided a post-war history concerning academic research policies that is mentioned later in the fiscal section.

Taking up issues of regional distribution and science and technology in the early post-war period as important themes of post-war higher education reforms, Hata (1999) establishes a perspective to extend the period of post-war reform up to the 1950s and the 1960s. Tanaka (1995) has compiled papers written in the early 1980s that constitute a detailed analysis of the process of formation of university accreditation in the Japan University Accreditation Association (*Daigaku Kijun Kyokai*). By extensive use of GHQ's education-related documents, Tsuchimochi (1996) focuses on the Occupation period and discusses a variety of issues concerning the creation of the new university system. Koshigoe (1993) seeks to describe the social norms that existed behind the abolition of the academic aptitude test in a short period of time.

Several studies on the post 1960s era have also emerged. Amano and Yoshimoto (1996) document the achievement in joint research primarily by educational sociologists concerning policies for massification of higher education and structural transformation of the system from the 1960s to the 1990s. Watanabe (2000) provides the first solid historical analysis of the "38 report" made by the Central Education Council (*chuo kyoiku shingikai*) in 1963 that goes a step further than the later higher education reforms. Nakamura (1993) analyzes changes of post-war agreements on recruitment of new graduates and transformation of the "logic of regulation" that induced these changes. Hashimoto (2002) examines the dynamism of the political process concerning the expansion policies of medical colleges and faculties in the 1970s. Iiyoshi (2001) surveys changes of "concepts of abilities" demanded from new graduates in a variety of statements made by major economic associations.

In addition, several studies on post-war university education and curricula have appeared. This is a remarkable development and is discussed later in the education section. But from these recent research developments, we can now comprehend the outline of post-war higher education history with far better clarity.

Others It goes without saying that there are many studies of the periods other than the period between the wars and the post-war period. There are some remarkable studies that deal with a relatively long time span. For example, considering the old higher schools (kyusei koto gakko), Takeuchi (1999) places the social characteristics of this school system in the context not only of institutional history but also of students' cultural and intellectual histories. His book highlights modern Japanese society in a broad sense through an analysis of the educational system and is well directed to a varied reading population. Amano (1996; 1997) has compiled collections of already classic, but still stimulating, papers primarily written between the 1960s and the 1990s including Amano's master's thesis concerning cultivating technical experts and other papers about examinations,

academic careers, educational plans, the academic profession, and correspondence education. Miura (2001) focuses on the birth and the ending of "youth" (seisyun) and simultaneously, on the fact that "youth" is closely connected with university through privileges and social class; consequently, he is able to discuss the accord of the destiny of "youth" with that of the university. Umakoshi (1995) describes the development of the higher education system in modern Korea/South Korea through studies of epoch-making cases: the relation between Japanese colonial rule and "domestic" higher education policies provides a forceful argument for exchange of research between "domestic" and "external" areas.

Among studies on the Meiji Era, Nakano (1999a) deals with the organizational establishment of imperial universities (*teikoku daigaku*) during the era of Mori Arinori as first Minister of Education by using documents at Tokyo University. Focusing on the era of creation of imperial universities, Nakano (1999b) clarifies the process, practices, and "myths" of the creation of the system. The latter work in particular offers an easy-to-read narrative for general readers, but it reflects an accumulation of a large amount of knowledge acquired by Nakano's research on Tokyo University and other imperial universities. Abe (1997) examines issues in increasing the number of national higher educational institutions at the beginning of the Meiji 30s (1897-1906), the so-called "eight-year plan", and seeks to identify factors related to regional disparities of higher education opportunities.

Education and Research

As the previous review (Itoh, 1993a) pointed out, one direction of change of higher education history research, which focused on the formation and transformation process of macro institutional structure, is a shift in the interest of researchers to the main functions of higher education, that is to education and research. This trend is remarkably observable in the works this review deals with.

Education Many works concerning education deal with the post-war reform period. Tsuchimochi (1997) describes the process of introduction of liberal education in the post-war era by focusing on the movements of actors such as the occupation forces, the Ministry of Education, and academics. Comparing the situation in the United States, Shimizu (1998) clarifies the intent of introduction of the credit system into post-war Japan and with its achievement, and draws attention to a hollowing out of this system in Japan. We have several works on specific people and case studies concerning curriculum reform in the same period. Sugitani (1998) examines the philosophy of university education of Koroku Wada, one of the important figures in post-war university reform. Sugitani (1999) provides a case study concerning the introduction of liberal education at the Tokyo Institute of Technology and Okada (2001) describes the roles of those other than Wada who promoted the reform of the Tokyo Institute of Technology. Nosaka (2001) analyzes the formation process of the Standards of Establishment of the Faculty of Domestic Arts (kasei gakubu setti kijun) in 1947.

As noted above, several studies have emerged concerning the post-war reform period that

constitute the direct roots of today's higher education curriculum, while we still do not have many works on the pre-war period. In one of the few related works, Watanabe (1993) analyzes the philosophy of liberal arts in the 1930s as a basis for introducing liberal education in the post-war era. In a broader examination of the philosophy of the liberal arts in the 1930s, Watanabe (1997; 1999) identifies this period as one of search for a new "style" for human development. Paying attention to the examination system that is closely related to education, Saito (1993) describes the examination and competition system in the Meiji Era developed, in the first half of the period, as a means of improving students' commitment to study in the elementary and middle educational institutions; in the latter half of the period, examination and competition was developed as a function of the students' entrance into higher educational institutions. Some of the studies of the academic profession that are mentioned later, also include discussion of education issues.

There are some works that focus on the Faculty as an organizational unit (*gakubu*) and its educational function. For example, Hashimoto (1996) makes an empirical analysis of the institutional structure of the Faculty of Literature and its function. Funaki (1994 and 1998) and the TEES Study Group (2001) examine the Faculty of Education from a perspective of "fostering teachers in higher educational institutions." Inevitably, these studies on "the Faculty" touch on not only its educational function but also its research function, dealt with below.

Research An increasing number of historical studies on research activities have also come into existence. Many of them are so-called historiographies of academic disciplines (gakumonshi kenkyu). For example, Isomae (1996) describes the process of formation of orthodox studies of Shinto after the Meiji Era, independent from the traditional scholarship derived from the lineage of Japanology. Takii (1999) writes about the introduction of German "state study" (kokka gaku) into modern Japan and the process of its institutionalization through early activities of the Society of the State (kokka gakkai). Yoshimura (1999) analyzes the process and background to establishment of the archaeology course at Tokyo Imperial University in the late 1930s. In the post-war period, Ikeo (1999) makes a comprehensive examination of the research environment concerning post-war economics taking academic productivity and involvement in policy formation into consideration. Hashimoto and Itoh (1999) analyze the institutional progress of sociology of education and clarify the institutional factors supporting the discipline, such as the processes of making sociology of education courses compulsory in teacher training programs in colleges, and creating "experimental type chairs" (jikken koza) along with such internal aspects as changes of its researchers' academic background. As well as these examples of studies in the humanities, there is also a large number in science and technology conducted primarily by researchers of science history although examples are not listed here.

There have been some studies from a perspective of relativizing the academic world. Tanaka (1999) points out a complementary relation between traditional academic studies and journalism by identifying an intellectual scholastic hierarchy as derived separately from the process of formation of a

journalistic hierarchy. From now on, it may be necessary to survey the historiography of each academic field and to integrate knowledge in each field. This process may bring about an opportunity to re-examine traditional studies on institutional history.

Students/Career/Life Course

Studies focusing on the "recipients" of education, that is the students, are increasing remarkably. Among them, studies on graduates' careers and the opportunities for access to higher education as well as those on student culture are relatively popular.

Access to Higher Education and Graduates' Careers Iida (1994) discusses careers and the achievements of those who received a French-style education in military technology at the end of the Edo period and in the early Meiji Period. Komiyama (1998) analyzes career patterns of physicians by building a database of personal resumes of some 400 physicians in Tokyo. The function of higher education institutions in formation of elites has given rise to a few case studies. Yamanouchi (1995) clarifies the social function of higher education in producing a literary elite and analyses the characteristics of a unique group based on an academic background from an early period. Kanno (1996) makes an empirical study of the disparity of social construction between pre-war and post-war eras of elite female groups by consideration of the expansion of opportunity for higher education together with expansion of careers based on academic achievement.

In this field, there is relevant work by researchers of the history of economic and business administration. Kawaguchi (2000) provides joint research from the perspective of history together with a comparison focused on the fostering function of business elites at university. Sugayama (1993) gives a case study of employees at a national steel mill in the 1890s and 1900s. Wakabayashi (1999) makes an empirical study of the practice of establishing employment of new graduates over a fixed period of time by a case study of Mitsui & Co., Ltd. in the Meiji and Taisho eras. In addition, Takeuchi (1995) provides a research monograph discussing the careers of Keio University graduates in each of the Mitsui companies in the latter half of the Meiji Era. Kawasaki (2002), in a study by a researcher of newspapers, analyzes the academic background of journalists in the period between the wars by using newspaper almanac directories as a data source.

Kikuchi (2003) makes an empirical analysis of the opportunities for middle and higher education in modern Japan in relation to the social class structure. Kikuchi gives a substantially comprehensive image of class and education opportunity by paying attention to the quantitative expansion of higher education and regional distribution policy as well as the scholarship system: all of them are closely related to education opportunity. Mitsuya (1997) makes a statistical analysis of the relationship between the original domicile of imperial university students and their chosen universities in the period between the wars. Taking the Bocho Education Association as a case study, Nakagawa (1994) analyzes the establishment and development of a local scholarship program. As has already been

mentioned, Yukawa (2003) analyzes the opening door of higher education opportunity for women.

Connections between education opportunity and careers after graduation have also attracted study. By linking analysis of students' social origins based on freshman students' original records and of careers based on the membership list of an alumni association of the Dai Ichi Higher School, Yasuda, Usuba, and Takeuchi (1999) provide a required revision of our understanding of the social origins of these students from a variety of aspects. A comparative analysis of social class and careers after graduation between students of higher normal schools (*koto shihan gakko*) and of imperial universities enables Yamada (2001) to clarify the social function of higher normal schools and the social composition of teachers in middle schools in the pre-war era.

The Social Stratification and Social Mobility survey (SSM), by a group of sociologists, has been used by Kondo (2000) in linking education and social mobility. The SSM report is a longitudinal study of people born between 1886 and 1975. This work clarifies the historical transformation of education and social movement, and the relative status and roles of the higher education system from a variety of aspects such as social movement, regional movement, and life course.

From historians, a similar approach to issues has appeared. Seeking to write "university history from the village (*mura*) perspective," Suzuki (2002), based on local documents, seeks to answer the questions: "Why did they try to study away from home?" "At that time, what did their parents expect of their children?" and "When they came home after graduation, how did they use what they had learned or did they fail to do so?"

The study of informal students and self-learners has progressed. Amano (1994) focuses on "informal" education outside formal school education in modern Japan from a learners' perspective. Focused on correspondence courses and their users, as well as making case studies of several professional groups, this work describes the situation of a variety of learners, especially "self-learners." Masao Terasaki and the "Bunken" study group (1997 and 2003) pay attention to a route to become middle school teachers through the "Bunken" system, which is a teacher license examination system for self-learners.

Student Culture By using relatively orthodox methods, Sugai (1993) analyzes changes in currents of thought among Dai Ichi Higher School students as seen in a student magazine, Koyukai Zasshi, from the period following the Sino-Japanese War to the end of the Meiji Era. Tomioka (1995) deals with self-governance of a dormitory at Kyoto Imperial University. With attention to problems that go hand in hand with the higher education system, Kimura (1998) considers statements and practices about "the youth" in the mid-Meiji Era and Shibutani (1999) takes a constructionist approach toward "students' moral order problems" in the Meiji Era. Further, Inagaki and Takeuchi (2002) have collected papers of historical sociology concerning young people and their aberrations such as reconsideration of "leftist-oriented" students' images, the lineage of "eloquent" (yuben) students, and an argument about the body-image of "students." Aiming to write a "history of the relationship

between magazines and readers," Nagamine (1997) identifies students as a reading audience.

Kinmonth (1995) and Takeuchi (1997) analyze students' careers and education opportunities as well as their culture. Kinmonth (1995) describes changes to the ethos of success in life of young people in modern Japan, highlighting the transformation of higher educational institutions from institutions intended to foster an elite to those aiming to foster "salaried persons" (*sarari-man*). Regarding the "cult of success" (*rissin syusse syugi*) as a key, Takeuchi (1997) describes the modern Japanese education system and a variety of courses of human lives going through the system (or not going through the system) from a broad perspective including less educated people.

Others New studies are emerging with perspectives of colonial and international society. Thus, Syozawa (1997) identifies Taiwan Imperial University, as a summit of the "entrance examination" for graduates of professional colleges that differs from that for graduates of higher schools. Matsutani (2002) presents a case study of the responses by prefecture to students' recruitment by Toa Dobun Shoin School, an institution established by the Japanese Ministry of Home Affairs in Shanghai. These studies examine higher educational institutions in colonies from a perspective of "co-movement with domestic schools" (Syozawa, 1997). Watanabe (1998) analyzes the international student exchanges through the Japanese English Students Association (Nihon Eigo Gakusei Kyokai) and others.

There are some works on students during the World War II era. Kan (1997) reports a study on Korean student soldiers. *Tokyo Daigaku Shi Shiryo Shitsu* (1997) is a comprehensive study of the mobilization of students and students' going to war at Tokyo Imperial University. Shirai (1999) analyses a survey by questionnaire of graduates of Keio University who attended the university during the war. Shirai (1996) provides an analysis primarily based on case studies of universities at the same period. Ninagawa (1998) examines students' perspectives on going to war.

Teachers

In comparison with studies dealing with students, studies about teachers are limited. Among them, several highlight the "sickness" and the hypocrisy of university people lately. In an account of a series of troubles in the Economics Faculty of Tokyo Imperial University, Takeuchi (2001) sharply describes the hypocrisy and privilege of people in the university and the system. A metaphor of "sickness" is used by Takada (2001) to describe the ethos of scholars of German literature from the period between the wars to the post-war period; she analyzes their cooperation in the war, the use of the principle of liberal arts, and the philosophy of academic achievement first. Iwata (1994) focuses on imperial university professors and Iwata (1995) focuses on imperial university assistants (*josyu*) and analyses empirically the status of their careers.

There are many biographies and autobiographies. A comprehensive list is not practicable but in recent years they have included works on Kawai Eijiro (Matsui, 2001), Tsuda Umeko (Takahashi, 2002), Naruse Jinzo (Nakajima, 2002), Anesaki Masaji (Isomae & Fukazawa, 2002), and Takada

Sanae (Waseda University Daigakushi Shiryo Center, 2002). In addition, Miyoshi (1999; 2000; & 2001) has published works that focus on leading figures in industrial, agricultural, and commercial education in modern Japan and seek to describe the institutional history of education, including higher education, in each field.

Kikuchi (1999) describes images of education and research in higher education in modern Japan, and especially the fate of the "Humboldt ideal" in modern Japan by tracing the life of Fukuda Tokuzo, an economics professor in Tokyo College of Commerce. This work has a perspective and scope beyond a simple framework of a biographical study.

There seems to be no study on clerks (*jimu syoku'in*) in higher educational institutions. This is perhaps an important theme for future research.

Finance and Governance

There are few studies on finance in higher education. Yoshikawa (1996), as has been noted in the section on the period between the wars provides a case study of finance in public universities. By examining the development and significance of the independent policies of national schools in the early years of Meiji, Hada (1996) describes the argument for independence of the imperial university from government promoted by the Ministries of Education and Finance, as well as the process of its failure. In the post-war era, Asonuma and Kaneko (1993) pay attention to grant-in-aid support for scientific research and research funding, major categories of finance for national universities. By using the two concepts, "specific purpose" and "competition," Asonuma (1999) identifies a trend of structural changes. Further, extending this treatment, Asonuma (2003) describes the structural changes in finance for national universities in postwar Japan from the perspectives of efficiency and independence, and seeks to clarify the total outcome of post-war academic policies.

Historical studies concerning governance and management of higher education yield only a few studies even though interest in these issues increases. Takagi (1998) considers various arguments concerning the legal status of universities in modern Japan, analyzes cases of dispute over self-governance, and clarifies problems of universities as corporations, and governance/management problems in the historical context. In the 1970s, Terasaki published a book that provided solid and pioneering empirical analysis of university self-governance. A republished edition (Terasaki, 2000) adds three new chapters concerning the chair system and others. Torii (2001) describes an aspect of the search for a method for operating university self-governance during the post-war reform era. Though we have some more works that treat the problems of governance and management, this field evidently requires more research in the future.

History of Development of Individual Institutions and Archives

During the review period, a great many works have been published on the history of the

development of individual higher educational institutions, especially of national universities. According to Noma Kyoiku Kenkyujo (2002), from January 1993 to March 2002, even when limited to works dealing with the whole university (and excluding photo collections), the histories of 42 individual national universities have been published. In other words, in the past 10 years or so, at least 40% of the national universities have published a history of their development. It needs saying that this is primarily because the 50th anniversary of the establishment post-war of new national universities fell in this period.

As well as compiling a history of development, a large number of universities publish bulletins of university history. Those universities and school corporations (*gakko hojin*) that began to publish bulletins of university history include Aichi University, Hiroshima University, Miyagi Gakuin, Musashi Gakuen, Nihon University, Ritsumeikan University, Ryukoku University, and Takushoku University. As seen here, in comparison with national universities, more private universities publish bulletins of their university history. Including the above universities, at present, some 20 universities publish bulletins of university history. In addition to bulletins, Musashino Art University and Japan Women's University began to publish collections of documents during this period. At present, about 10 universities publish such document collections. However, the bulletins sometimes include documents and it is difficult to distinguish clearly between these two categories of publications (2).

Histories of development in the form of a "three-item set" (Hata, 2000, p. 31) in "the style of university history publishing bulletin, document collection, and survey" are steadily increasing. Of course, it is still true that in terms of the number of all higher educational institutions, only a handful of them have published such a history of development, and even fewer continue to publish bulletins and document collections when they have completed editing the history of their development.

Terasaki, Beppu, and Nakano (1999) present the first solid instruction manual for editing a history of university development. Publication of this work indicates that editing history of development has matured to certain extent and that it has an assured reader's market. In addition, even though not many do so, some higher educational institutions seek to establish their own archives, which clearly demonstrate the development in the current situation. Expansion of this movement and a continuing popularity of such activities will firmly establish an infrastructure of research of higher education history. In this context Nakano (2003) details the processes of editing of university history and university archives.

Editing the history of university development and the movement toward establishing archives in recent years has been producing new types of products. They include works published, not for experts, but primarily for students, clerks, and non-expert faculty members. Typical examples are provided by Shinya and Orita's (2002) publication concerning Kyushu University and a series of booklets issued by Nagoya University Archives. Others are studies of the history of university development by a single researcher, such as Beppu's (1999) volume dealing with Meiji University during its establishment period and the work of Nakano (1999b) mentioned previously dealing with Tokyo

Imperial University primarily in the Meiji Era. Both of these authors were engaged in editing the universities' official histories of development and their individual works are by-products of the editing process.

Current Situation and Future Themes

This review indicates that substantial progress has been made in terms of quantity and quality in research in higher education history since 1993. A number of factors has contributed.

First, research into higher education history has become further institutionalized and specialized. Because research into higher education is now legitimized as a field of serious research primarily in educational studies, groups of experts in higher education history have been formulated and a few of these begin to operate their reproductive systems. Second, an important factor is the rapid development of higher education reforms in this period. This reform boom has brought about not only a rise of research in higher education as a whole but also, in history research, extending to a wide variety of people interested in the origins of today's higher education system. Probably because of this situation, we find work by researchers with a broad background, which contributes to the rise of interdisciplinary research. In this way, on the one hand, there is a tendency towards specialized research, and on the other hand, we see development of interdisciplinary research as in the current situation. This mixed trend stimulates research.

As for research methodology, we can identify the major characteristics. There is still the orthodox empirical method, but in recent years, the social historical method has come to have a broad influence. For example, in the past it might have been surprising that in a journal published by an old-style academic history association, most articles concerning the history of higher education focus on "learners" and some articles use quantitative methods. Together with history research conducted by educational sociologists, who have already employed the social historical method, a substantial part of research on the history of higher education is under the influence of social history. As Kocha (2000) says, "Today, social history permeates general history, has completely changed it, and is in a position to determine characteristics of general history." This point is well applied to Japanese research on the history of higher education.

Because of development of research as a whole and of the spread of the social historical method, subjects of research on the history of higher education are expanding. As has been indicated, many areas with no previous research have received substantial attention. Hirota (1990) says, "In order to grasp multi-layered parts of daily lives beyond [the process of institutionalization], it may be necessary to have a new perspective for grasping family-community-school relationships in total." Research into the history of higher education has been in this direction.

Of course, such movement of research entails several problems. Even though we have filled many areas with no previous research, we still have areas with a great lack of research such as governance and management. Specialization and the interdisciplinary trend we mentioned above do not

necessarily affect each other in a productive way. It is more necessary than before that researchers with a variety of backgrounds approach various aspects of higher education each bringing their special strengths.

In addition, in a different dimension from improving the content of academic research, we cannot ignore the problem of survival of this field as a legitimate research field even in the middle of a "rise" in research activities. It is the field of editing history of individual university development that sharply focuses this problem. In an environment of severe university management, the era of publishing a large volume of the history of development by a higher educational institution without any serious financial consideration may end soon. It is possible to have a great disparity in terms of accumulating and spreading information between those higher educational institutions that publish a "three-item set" of bulletins, document collections, and surveys or establish archives and those institutions that do not do so. Moreover, the objective and academic history of development may possibly be overwhelmed by other types of history of development that praise the past. As Clark (1992) describes, in a competitive environment, there is a strong demand and pressure for formulating a "memory of organization," strengthening organizational identity, and bringing out "saga" as embroidered "house history" that positively affirms the past. In editing individual history of development in the future, it is probably necessary to separate its service function for those within and outside the institutions from another function as academic research. This may be wisdom for survival not only for researchers editing history of development but also for all researchers of history of higher education.

Notes

- (1) This article was written originally in the summer of 2003.
- (2) Information about the publications is based on research in the Library of the Research Institute for Higher Education at Hiroshima University and the literature database of the National Institute of Informatics.

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Higher Education Studies from the Perspective of Comparative Education

Yoshikazu Ogawa*

Introduction

'Comparative Education' is often paraphrased as 'Comparative and International Education' in Western countries and this tendency is becoming more and more popular in Japan as well. More universities, for example, adopt the name 'comparative and international education,' instead of 'comparative education,' as lecture titles or as the names of courses and chairs. In addition, one of the leading textbooks in the field of comparative education in Japan also uses the words of 'comparative and international education,' in order to emphasize "a study pursuing the essence and ideals of education, comparing education among countries or cultures in the world from historical and contemporary perspectives, and clarifying the relations between countries or cultures, or the international relations beyond a country or a culture." Following this general tendency since the 1990s, this paper regards 'the comparative study (*i.e.* a juxtaposed comparison) of educational phenomena' and 'study of educational phenomena beyond a national border or a culture (*i.e.* international relations in education)' as the main two pillars of comparative education, and discusses the development of higher education research from these viewpoints.

Care is needed however, in that most studies in comparative education fields – as they are seen in the relevant journals – focus on education in only one country or in one culture without an explicit comparison (area studies). In other words, they are studies that are interested in a specific theme or a feature of recent changes in a country such as university reform or issues of academic achievement. Leading international journals in comparative education, such as "Comparative Education Review" or "Comparative Education" also publish many 'non-comparison' articles. Accordingly, it is necessary in a review to include also the development of these types of books and papers of higher education research in the 1990s.

This paper reviews the literature of higher education studies in comparative and international education fields in the 1990s from these three points – 'comparison', 'international relations', and 'area studies.' It covers Japanese books and papers published in national-level comparative education related journals, such as 'Comparative Education', 'Intercultural Education', 'International Education',

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¹ Ishizuke, M. (1996). 'Dai 1 shou Hikaku kokusai kyouikugaku toha nanika. [Chapter 1 What is comparison and international education?]; Ishizuke, M. (Ed.) *Hikaku kokusai kyouikugaku* [Comparative and international education]. Tokyo: Toshindo Publishing Co., Ltd., 4.

and so forth. The review also includes 'Study of Comparative Education and Culture ('Study of International Education and Culture' until 2001) published by Kyushu University, which has contributed to the development of comparative education fields for a long time, although it is not a nation-wide journal. A similar review paper in the comparative education field was written about ten years ago by Umakoshi.² As his review covered books published up to 1992, this paper covers those from 1993 to 2002. Umakoshi reviewed only books, but the shorter review period of ten years allows this paper to include both articles and books.³ On the other hand, the present review does not include the academic reports of the Japan Academic Promotion of Sciences (*Gakujutu shinkoukai*) or a series of books published by the Research Institute for Higher Education, Hiroshima University, nor does it include books translated from other languages into Japanese.

Juxtaposition Research

The basis of comparative education is to investigate educational essence and ideals by comparing two or more research objects to extract their commonalities and differences. Until recently, it went without saying that the unit of comparison as an object for research was a country. This remains true for many recent studies. This is primarily because the main concern in comparative education has practical purpose - to analyze education in advanced countries so as to learn something useful, but also because nation-states are still the most important foundations of educational systems. Accordingly the section below reviews the literature of comparisons based on the unit of a country.

Comparison with Western Countries While comparative education studies are basically interested in education in all foreign countries as research objects, the foreign country that many Japanese researchers have been most concerned with is the United States. The United States was the influential model for reform in Japan after the War, and in regard to higher education in particular, the American university system has been regarded as a world standard. Accordingly, those in many other countries as well as Japan have been concerned with its system as a model for education reform in their own countries. Furthermore, it is also important that American universities have explored various new approaches and that it is relatively easy for us to get information on their experiences.

Comparative study of education between the U.S. and Japan has continued to expand even beyond the 1990s, and many books and papers about American colleges and universities have been published with relevance to the situation of Japanese universities. For example, Ehara (1994a) in recent years analyzed American universities in the context of university reform in Japan. Nakayama (1994) discussed features of American universities in relation to his own U.S. study experiences and teaching experiences as a professor in Japan. On the other hand, Kaneko (1994) focused on

² Umakoshi, T. (1993). Hikaku koutou kyouiku kennkyu no kaiko to tennbou [Retrospects and perspectives of comparative higher education research]. *Daigakuronshu*, *22 [Research in Higher Education]*. Hiroshima: Research Institute for Higher Education (RIHE), Hiroshima University.

³ In this article, all book's and article's titles are in the reference section, not in the main body due to the lack of space.

general education in junior colleges in Japan, which are facing harsh realities now as the eighteen year-old population decreases, while examining junior and community colleges in the US.

In addition, it is worth noting that some Japan-U.S. comparative studies focus more on detailed problems inside an institution rather than general problems. For example, the credit system of universities in Japan and the U.S, which has not attracted attention until now, has been studied historically by Shimizu (1998). Also, Maruyama (1993) has published a unique study on the tuition charges of private universities from the point of unit cost analysis of college education.

Interestingly though, there is little similar juxtaposed research of higher education of Western countries other than the United States. Sugimoto (1998) has presented a comparative study of the higher education systems of Britain and of Australia, which were historically closely linked.

Comparison with Asian Countries In the case of comparative studies of education, it is without doubt that many books and papers refer to the United States. It is though noteworthy that juxtaposed comparative study of China and Japan began to appear in the 1990s. Although before the 1990s there were only limited studies about Asian countries, China was already a popular country as a research object for some concerned researchers. Due to the huge differences in the social systems and lack of useful information about China, however, many of these studies can be categorized as area studies of China rather than as comparative studies between Japan and China. As economic development in China made dramatic progress under 'the Open Door Policy', the situation has changed slowly over recent years – it is easier than before because foreign researchers can get access to conduct research in local areas, and China has also made useful information about education more open to the public.

When we focus on higher education in China, it is apparent that there are several books on teacher training issues. This may be because of Japanese influences on the teacher training system in China but also because both countries face similar problems even though the social and education systems differ. Chen's study (1994) is an historical research, comparing the teacher training system of China and that of Japan, embracing the keywords 'closeness' and 'openness' in licensing teachers. Kurosawa and Zhang (2000) published a comparative study of teacher education focused on retraining current teachers and showing how it has been influenced by the Socialist Market Economy.

It deserves attention that there has appeared a comparative study of college entrance examination issues in China and Japan. In both countries, it is a social concern and consequently the system is excluded from criticism. Under these circumstances, Nakajima (2000), with Japanese and Chinese contributors, analyzes the features and problems of the entrance examinations in both countries, the direction of reform, and the problems of connecting high school education to college education. As

Otsuka, Y. (1993). 'Nihon niokeru ajia koutou kyouiku kennkyu no tennkai [The development of the Asia high education research in Japan]'. Daigakuronnshuu, 22 [Research in Higher Education]. Hiroshima: RIHE, Hiroshima University, 126.

university entrance examinations are important social concerns in all Asian nations, where the 'diploma disease' is pervasive, it is expected that the research on justice and equality will continue to increase in the future.

While it can be said that comparative studies between China and Japan are developing gradually, they have not spread to many countries other than China. Only Lee (1994) has published a comparative study of Japan and South Korea from a viewpoint of the law about the independence and public responsibility of private schools.

Multilateral Comparison It is not just bilateral studies that constitute comparative education. But when it comes to multilateral comparisons, involving more than two countries, it is almost impossible for a single researcher to perform the research due to language problems: usually it will need to be the work of an international research group. Two distinguished international studies took place in the 1990s, both managed by American researchers.

One was comparative research on the academic profession sponsored by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. This project took the form of a large-scale questionnaire survey of college professors in fourteen countries; the results were published by the Carnegie Foundation. Arimoto, who participated in this project as one of Japanese researchers, reanalyzed the large-scale data to clarify the realities for university professors in each country from various perspectives. Arimoto and Ehara (1996) published the results of such re-analysis and succeeded in creating an image of the academic profession in Japan.

The other project was a comparative study of graduate education systems. This international research project was managed by Clark of UCLA: researchers from five countries, including Japan, participated. Ushiogi and his colleagues from Japan contributed to the project and subsequently translated the published results into Japanese (Clark, 1999).⁵ These results show that differences in graduate education systems are quite large even among advanced countries and even though, unlike primary and secondary systems, we regard it as maintaining many common features internationally. This research has contributed remarkably to elucidation of the special features of higher education in Japan rather than merely collecting information about foreign countries.

There have also appeared the results of an international research project on the college entrance examination, in which Japanese researchers took the initiative. In this project, one of great social concern, Fujii, Yanai, and Arai (2002) focus especially on comprehensive examinations. It is a little easier to compare the entrance examination system of Japan with those of other Asian countries for the reason that many of these countries adopt similar systems; this does not hold for Western countries due to the wider variations of their systems. To resolve the problem, the international comparative study employed an original approach of focusing on the comprehensive examination as part of the

⁵ Although this paper does not include translated books in general, this book is exceptionally included on account that Japanese researchers are engaged in the international comparative research.

whole examination process.

There is other multilateral comparative research conducted only by Japanese researchers. For example, Arimoto (1994) and his colleagues examined the productivity and other features of academic organizations regarded as 'centers of learning': this provides a useful guide to grasping the actual conditions of academic production. Ichikawa and Kitamura (1995) also have investigated the problems of graduate school education in Western countries. In contrast, Takagi (1998) and his colleagues compared features of academic organizations in Germany, the United States and Japan from the viewpoint of legal requirements and school regulations: a valuable study as these aspects usually do not reach our consciousness in the case of foreign countries

Expansion of higher education renders employment of college graduates important for each institution. However, our knowledge about this issue is insufficient. The Japan Institute of Labor (2001) has published valuable information gained from analysis of the relevance of college education to occupations in twelve European countries and Japan.

International Relations

The previous section reviewed books and articles about 'comparison', the first of the three categories identified for review. The section below turns to the second category and discusses the literature of 'international relations.' Although research in international relations deals with educational phenomena (things and persons) both pre-existing and spreading beyond a country's borders, it could be said that this research area has recently developed as a result of discussion of internationalization and globalization of education in the 1990s.

Progress of international student research in Japan From the point of educational exchange, comparative education before the 1990s was very much concerned with colonial education. There are many historical researches regarding education in the Korean Peninsula, Taiwan and 'Manchuria' in China, enabling an understanding of events and of how education was handled in these colonial areas. A series of papers by Inaba (1994; 1998; 2001) investigates steadily the relationship between the Korean Peninsula of colonial days and institutions of higher education in Japan, such as the Hiroshima Higher Normal School and the Tokyo Women's Higher Normal School.

Another aspect is research on international students. In fact, international student issues attracted much interest among Japanese researchers even in the 1980s when the words 'internationalization' and 'globalization' became popular. Various policy proposals were issued and research papers published under the influence of national policies such as the '100,000 foreign student plan' in the 1980s. This trend is maintained in international student research in the 1990s as well. Yokota (1999) discusses the foreign student support system, for example; Shiratsuchi (1994; 1999) mentions instruction methods for them; Shiratsuchi also refers to the legal problems of the guarantor system for international students; Narahara (1999) discusses the inadequacies of the private enterprise support system for

foreign students; and Shiratsuchi (1996a), writes about a Chinese policy encouraging homecoming.

The problem of Japanese language education for foreign students is discussed by Takeda (1994) and by Nakazumi (1999). Tsuboi (1994) analyzes features of the exchange between international and Japanese students within Japanese universities. This continuing interest of many researchers in international student issues even in the 1990s has led to accumulation of papers in this area.

In contrast, a new feature of international student research has been a dramatic increase in the number of studies focusing on the mental conflicts that individuals undergo and also on their careers rather than on policy level studies about international students. In other words, there was an increase in the amount of research about international student's cultural adaptation. Inoue (1997, 2001) contributes to the development of this area by analyzing the problems of adaptation of international students from the point of view of counselling. Other books and articles in this area are provided by Tanaka (2000), Takai (1994), Inoue and Ito (1995), Yokota (1996), Tsuboi (1999), Niikura (2000), Nakayama (2002), and Yokobayashi (2002). Topics previously unexamined are studied by Ohashi (1994), who deals with the problems of assimilation of former international students on their return to their mother countries, and Yamaguchi (1997), who discusses the cultural problems arising from the constraints in the abilities of international students to speak the host language. The journal 'Intercultural Education' has made contributions on progress in this area. It is clear that one of the most important themes of the Society of Intercultural Education is the international student issue.

Internationalization of Universities As more and more international students move to Japan, colleges and universities themselves are required to become internationalized. Influenced by this trend, there appeared many books and papers with 'internationalization' in the title in the 1980s. This trend continued in the 1990s as well.

In an aspect other than that of international students, a noteworthy publication is a special edition of the "Kyushu University Comparative Education and Culture Bulletin." In 1996 this featured 'internationalization of the College Curriculum'. In their contributed papers each researcher presents a study-abroad program or a case study of an individual university, and shows how in recent years internationalization affected the college curriculum (Ebuchi, 1996; Inaba, 1996; Yoshitani, 1996; Mochida, 1996; Shiratsuchi, 1996a; Tanaka, 1996). Tanaka (1997) also discusses the problem of the system side of the university as it moves toward institutional internationalization. Kitamura (2002), discusses internationalization of universities from the viewpoint of university evaluation.

Such internationalization issues are popular not only in Japan but also in rest of the world. Ebuchi, (1997) has examined the trend and problems of several European countries where universities are concerned with students' and professors' mobility under the ERASMUS Plan, while Yoshitani (1997) considers internationalization of higher education in France. Ebuchi's and Yoshitani's researches are valuable about foreign counties as many researchers restrict their focus to Japanese universities in regard to internationalization.

Area Studies

Although there is some criticism of single-country studies as comparative studies, many publications in journals of comparative education do refer to only one country. It should of course be pointed out that research in one country may well include comparative study between local areas or ethnic groups, and also involve the authors' own comparative views when they analyze the data. The section below reviews single-country research published in comparative educational-related journals.

Western Countries Many single-country researches have been of advanced Western countries. This occurs particularly when the research is concerned with educational reform in the authors' own country and seeks suitable models as was described for 'juxtaposition comparison.' This aspect is evident for studies through the 1990s. Ehara (1994a) analyzed the trend of U.S. higher education reform based on reanalysis of the Carnegie international research; while Kitamura (1994) discusses U.S. higher education reform of the universal stage of participation. Beppu (1998) describes in detail the historical formation process of the full professor's job in the German university system over the period from the middle ages to the second half of the 16th century. Kadokae (2001) discusses the trend that led to the disappearance of the polytechnics in recent reforms in Britain; while Deai (1995) analyzes recurrent education in Australia.

A critical feature of the comparative education of Western countries in the 1990s can be seen in the appearance of papers on 'multicultural education' and 'ethnicity.' In particular, from the second half of the 1980s there was increased research on the practices and problems of multicultural education in the world. In a paper belonging to this group, Matsuo (1999) discusses how multiculturalism impacted on the university curriculum of Stanford University. Torii (2002) discusses how 'Negro universities' had played an important role in expansion of Negro students' access to higher education. Furthermore, Ii (2000) provides a detailed analysis of the conflict and limited scale of actual achievements from the Australian government's policy of expansion of opportunity for access by Aborigines to higher education.

In addition to the multicultural education issue, gender issues also made progress in the 1990s. An energetic series of researches was presented by Sakamoto in this field of higher education. His first book (1999) analyses the reform and future trends of women's colleges in the United States including questioning their *raison d'etre*. The second book (2002a; 2002b) is historical research from a female perspective, showing how women have been accepted in male dominated college education by conservative educational institutions such as Boston Latin School, Boston University, and Harvard University. These books are valuable, not least for the virtue that there are no similar studies nor other works by a single scholar.

Asian Countries This area is of special interest both by virtue of the region's rapid expansion

and of the areas studied in Asian countries in the 1990s.⁶ This tendency to growth in research suggests a fundamental change from the conventional European and American-centered concerns. Ishizuke⁷ points out that "it is desirable to increase the number of researches on non-Western countries, showing that our research concerns are widening out to see the world wholly and comprehensively." Due to a lack of literature and materials available in Asian countries in general, most researchers conducting research in the areas needed to do fieldwork to collect data, participant observation, interviews and questionnaire survey material.⁸

In East Asian studies there was much accumulation of research. According to Otsuka, who reviewed literature up to the 1980s, sixty-seven percent of Asian studies of education are on China and South Korea.⁴ For books on South Korea and China in the 1990s, there are those of Umakoshi (1994), who analyzes the history of universities in South Korea with reference to transfer of college models, and of Otsuka (1996), who focuses on the era of restructuring of higher education. Among articles, Nanbu discusses the self-education examination system (1994), the gap in area research activities in China (1996) and college professor training (1999). Ogawa examines the features of the ethnic minority policy of the Chinese Communist Party from the actual institution of the higher education examination (1997).

What is seen to be another tendency of the 1990s is the increase in the number of articles on education in Southeast Asia.⁸ When limited to the higher education area, the literature is fairly restricted. Sugimura (1998) analyzes the higher education reform in Malaysia in the 1990s; and Chikada (1988) discusses higher education reform in Vietnam; Muta (1995) examines the causes of expansion of higher education in Indonesia; and Suzuki (1995) discusses the function of the Open University in Thailand: all of these are valuable by virtue of dealing with topics that have few other sources of information.

Conclusion

This paper has sought to describe from a comparative perspective the present condition and the problems of higher education research in Japan. There are three conclusions to be drawn. First, in regard to 'comparison', many researchers have been interested in comparative studies between the U.S. and Japan, with the implication that Japanese researchers regarded U.S. education as the model of reform. Recent trends also showed that comparative studies between China and Japan have become increasingly popular from the 1990s. European countries have been added as research fields in the case of multi-comparative studies but, in general, the research interests of Japanese researchers can be

⁶ Ishizuke, M. (1999). 'Kyouikugaku kenkyu niokeru hikaku kokusai kyouikugaku no yakuwari [the role of the comparative and international education in educatoinal research]' Hikaku kyouikugaku kenkyu [Japanese Journal of Comparative Education]. 25, 19.

Ishizuke, M. (1993). 'Matome [conclusion]. Hikaku kyouikugaku kenkyu [Japanese Journal of Comparative Education], 25, 158.

⁸ Murata, Y., & Shibuya, M. (1999). Hikaku kyouikugaku to chiikikennkyuu(1) –Tounann ajia chiiki kenkyu no tachiba kara. [Comparative education and area studies (1) – From the point of Southeast Asia area studies]. Hikaku kyouikugaku kenkyu [Japanese Journal of Comparative Education], 25, 58.

said to be biased towards the U.S. and China. With wider research areas, more original and varied research could become accessible.

Second, in the general area of 'international relations,' it appears that international student studies have become more popular in the 1990s. These studies have focused especially on the mental adaptation of international students through psychological and clinical approaches: this is one of the arresting features of the 1990s. Each theme has tended to be sub-divided, with the trend of internationalization studies of Japanese universities in the 1980s changing its focus into more empirical studies of international students in the 1990s. Considering the increase in the number of papers in this area, this theme can be expected to develop into one of the central issues in the near future.

Third, the situation concerning 'area studies' appears to be similar to that for 'comparative' studies in that we found many researchers were still interested in the United States in the 1990s. Among papers on U.S. studies, the trend in the 1990s identified multicultural education, ethnicity and gender issues of education as key aspects of recent years. In addition, studies of Asian education steadily increased in the 1990s as the number of fieldworkers in education increased: this is primarily because, methodologically speaking, fieldwork studies with participant observation or interviews rather than document analysis became a common research method; but also because more researchers could pursue research abroad without financial problems in the 1990s. However, while Southeast Asian studies were the most popular among Asian education studies in general, higher education studies of the area have been quite limited so far; it is hoped that in the future, these studies can be expanded.

As an overall trend, research areas and topics have become increasingly expanded and complicated in recent years. It is, accordingly, difficult to predict which particular areas will be more popular in ten or twenty years. Comparative education, however, has gradually developed positively by focusing on the areas and issues traditionally and socially ignored by many researchers; and by considering traditional aspects, it is possible that assertive higher education study can find original themes and develop them productively.

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A Review and Perspective of Research on Internationalization of Higher Education

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Introduction

Among studies on the internationalization of higher education in Japan, the contributions of Professor Kazuhoro Ebuchi have been outstanding. In 1993 Professor Ebuchi summed up the major previous research achievements concerning internationalization of universities from five perspectives: internationalization of the university in a broad sense and a narrow sense; arguments about internationalization of the university; issues concerning internationalism; practical issues concerning internationalization of the university; and the new stage of exchange of international students (Ebuchi, 1993). Ebuchi not only analysed various issues concerning the new situation of international exchange in higher education and internationalization of the university worldwide, but also made a detailed study of the characteristics of internationalization of the university in Japan. Based on his own research, Ebuchi established a research framework for internationalization, which is still influential (Ebuchi, 1997). Furthermore, in his book entitled 'Research in Internationalization of the University', Ebuchi identified indicators for assessing internationalization of the university, the policy and objectives of accepting international students in some major countries, and the trends of internationalization of universities in Europe. In a major sense, Professor Ebuchi made a remarkable contribution to research on internationalization of the university.

Based on the existing research, in his article 'History and Achievements of Research in the Internationalization of Higher Education', Huang (2002) examined the history and achievements of research in the field of internationalization of higher education with a special focus on European countries and the U.S., Japan, and China from a comparative perspective. He argues that before the 1970s, most research had focused on the U.S., whereas since the 1980s, more and more attention has been paid to EU countries, and this has been followed by increased study of internationalization of higher education in Asia and the Pacific region. Yet, in comparison to the situation for many Western countries, few research achievements have been accomplished in either Japan or China (Huang, 2002).

This article deals with the major research achievements and characteristics of the internationalization of higher education in Japan since the 1990s. Previous research in this field has been published in various forms, including presentations made at conferences organized by academic

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associations or frequently published in journals as research articles. This article is mainly concerned to review the achievements of research in the internationalization of higher education in Japan based on selected articles on internationalization of higher education that have been published in the journals of the Higher Education Association of Japan. Attention is paid particularly to the major achievements of research on internationalization of higher education since the latter part of 1990s, by examining the characteristics of recent research. The review seeks to identify future issues concerning internationalization of higher education and attempts to discuss future prospects for research in this field. In this article, where no special distinction is made, the term 'higher education' includes universities.

Major Arguments concerning Research into Internationalization of Higher Education

Since the 1990s, in contrast to the longstanding research on international students or education for international students, new issues such as the relationship between globalization and internationalisation have accompanied rapid development of globalization in the economy and other fields. The impact on internationalization of higher education by globalization has become an important research question in research into internationalization of higher education. Since 1993 four major research questions can be identified.

New Definitions of Internationalization and the Relationship between Globalization and Internationalization
Since the latter part of the 1990s, for a definition of internationalization, research by Ebuchi is frequently quoted. Ebuchi (1997) pointed out that internationalization represents a process of social and cultural transformation (a process of mutual self-adjustment), which arises in the direction toward 'commoditizing and standardizing', 'communizing', and 'strengthening of interdependency' based on his analysis of 'internationalize as an intransitive and a transitive verb, through comparative study on the concept of internationalization in the Japanese and English languages. According to Ebuchi, the concept of 'internationalize as a transitive verb' in English is a historical concept, which emerged from a nation with 'hegemony' in the international order; while 'internationalize as an intransitive verb' is one from a 'smaller nation' which was forced to follow a 'larger nation.' With regard to the components of an internationalized university, Ebuchi emphasizes that the process of internationalization embraces five elements: value, system, rule, norm and order (Ebuchi, 1997, pp. 52-53).

Since the 1990s, in addition to new research achievements in clarifying the definition of internationalization of higher education, discussion of similarities and differences between internationalization and globalization have received particular attention. In general, while discussion about globalization was initiated as early as the latter part of the 1960s (Jarvis, 2000), since the 1990s there has been a remarkable emphasis on the impact on higher education of globalization and the relationship between globalization and internationalization. Although some research was conducted in

the 1980s on the relationship between globalization and internationalization, it is only from the 1990s that research in this field has been undertaken in real earnest.

Initially it was accepted that globalization of higher education implied concurrent internationalization of higher education and that both terms could be used interchangeably. In Japan, many scholars supported this argument. For example, Ebuchi analyzed a definition of the globalization of higher education in a report of the Higher Education Planning Committee in 1990 entitled 'Summary of Discussions.' He stated in this analysis that 'the objective of internationalization' may be an international coalition (globalization) and that 'globalization of higher education' is almost equivalent to 'internationalization of universities', which has been generally referred to. It may be concluded that both terms are interchangeable and may be used with the same meaning (Ebuchi, 1997, pp. 52-52). The reason why Ebuchi thought that the two terms are equivalent might be that at that time the term 'globalization' had been just introduced into Japanese language and prior to the 1990s its full implication had yet to be completely understood by people in Japan.

Subsequently as a reaction to this perspective, many scholars have argued strongly that globalization and internationalization are different ideas, and have been careful to distinguish between Abe quoted Roland Robertson to explain the difference between globalization and internationalization. To put it simply, 'globalization' means 'diminishing the world's social dimension and expansion of overall world consciousnesses'. Therefore, this concept can be clearly distinguished from internationalization, which means 'the desire to be a member of international society by satisfying a certain standard, or strengthening the influence of a nation on other nations' (Abe, 1999). According to Abe, while the former is a product of the development and impact of economic and cultural globalization, internationalization of higher education is an inevitable and significant counter measure and action, especially against economic globalization, in particular against influences resulting from economic globalization. Kitamura (1999) also drew a distinction between the two terms. He stated that internationalization can be regarded as an effective way to respond to the impact of globalization and makes demands from globalization much more easily accepted by higher education institutions. Mitsuta (1999), who emphasised the distinction between globalization and internationalization, discussed the uniqueness of Japan after analyzing its position in the current world and comparing Western and Chinese civilizations. Based on this, he also discussed the approach to internationalization, especially in the age of globalization, and reviewed issues concerning how to approach globalized society and how to proceed with international exchange from diverse and historical perspectives. According to Mitsuta (1999), at the end of the 20th century, although Western civilization was basically increasing its dominance, Chinese civilization had yet to bow down. While Japan should implement international exchange with both the West and China, it is in a position to explore the way ahead, because it stands between the two great civilizations. With respect to the relation between globalization and internationalization, the outcome of the recent study by Abe (2004) is significant. Abe presents his own definition of internationalization based on a comparative analysis

of the two concepts. He defines a dual meaning for internationalisation: 'bottom-up internationalization' and 'top-down internationalization.' 'Bottom-up internationalization' means the effect on each individual, representing a liberalization of the mind, the acceptance of differences between people and equality in acceptance of Asian, African, European and American people. 'Top-down internationalization', on the other hand, indicates institutional promotion of liberalization by leaders: if, in a university, the leadership encourages people to promote internationalization, it is 'top-down internationalization' (Abe, 2004).

Acceptance and Education of International Students Since the 1980s, a plan to accept 100,000 international students to Japanese campuses has been stressed as one particular objective to facilitate Japan's internationalization of higher education. Research topics, such as the policies of other advanced countries in accepting international students, the current situation of international students in Japan, and issues concerning acceptance of international students in Japan, have become important aspects of the field of internationalization of higher education. In this regard, much research has been accomplished. Since the latter part of the 1990s, in addition to these research questions, many research articles or essays have been concerned with issues related to international exchange at institutional level; and accounts of provision for international students at individual institutions have been published. From various perspectives, Kurachi (1997) has adopted a qualitative method to analyse issues concerning the acceptance and education of international students based on his own educational practice. In recent years, in addition to research on a curriculum specially designed for international students, Kurachi has also touched on issues concerning faculty members who are responsible for providing the courses. By conducting a qualitative analysis of students at Japanese colleges who engage in international exchange activities, Kurachi was able to demonstrate the importance of social interactions. The attitudes of Japanese people who act as hosts to international students and others who are involved in international exchange activities play a central role in stimulating international exchange activities; and research into Japanese students' involvement in international exchange at an institutional level is highly relevant and very important to the promotion of international exchange (Kurachi, 2000).

Many publications have reported development and implementation of the curriculum for international students. For example, in an article entitled 'Experiment in Internationalization', various practices for stimulating internationalization in many universities, including the University of Tokyo, were described (IDE, 1999, July). In particular the clear mission and characteristics of Graduate Schools for International Development and Cooperation in individual universities were illustrated. Under the title 'International Competitiveness of Universities', topics including the internationalization of Japan's universities, international students and international competitiveness, and programs for short-term international students were reported (IDE, 2001, January). Again, in October 2003 IDE published a series of articles with special focus on international exchange of

students. While many of articles dealt with the present situation and issues arising from international exchange in Japan, a new stage of policy for international students, and change in visions of international students at a micro level, others were also concerned with the current circumstances and operational system of student exchange with an emphasis on national universities (IDE, 2003, October).

Internationalization of the University Curriculum While substantial research has been conducted into education for international students, there has also been growth in research into the issues and practice concerning internationalization of the university curriculum. Aoki (1998) made a comparative analysis of the curriculum of both universities and the Schools of International Studies and Law in Japan, the USA, and the UK based on three case studies in the three countries. His research suggests that a Faculty of International Studies should integrate all subjects, focusing on programs that would meet the requirements of employers in various fields such as business, banking, manufacturing, journalism, and the civil service (Aoki, 1998). Huang also conducted a comparative study of the internationalization of the university curriculum based on case studies of Chinese universities and Dutch universities (Huang, 2000a; 2000b). According to Huang, in conformity with the Bologna Declaration and realization of a European dimension in higher education, internationalization of the university curriculum in the Dutch universities has taken on a new appearance. First, university education has come to be composed of undergraduate and mastersdegree programs, characterizing a two-tiered structure. Second, while programs that are mainly concerned with cross-culture and foreign languages at the undergraduate level are taught in the Dutch language and have been substantially increased, even greater emphasis has been placed on development of programs taught in English in preparation for international professions or for internationally recognized qualifications at the masters-degree level. Third, internationalized programs, especially programs taught in English, are not only provided as they used to be in institutes devoted to international education, but also are increasingly offered in research universities and even in professional universities. Finally, the development of masters programs taught in English is regarded as an increasingly important way to internationalize the university curriculum in the Netherlands and these programs are offered to both international and domestic students (Huang, 2000a). By contrast, in China, based on the definition and typology established by OECD in 1996 and by using the relevant official data and interviews conducted in several Chinese universities, Huang analysed two different types of internationalized curriculum: programs for international students and for local students. On the one hand, the number of degree-conferring programs specifically designated for international students, mostly in humanities and arts, such as Chinese language, history or Chinese medicine, has greatly increased over the decade; on the other hand, the number of programs in foreign languages or linguistics, especially in the English language, and interdisciplinary programs such as regional and area studies as well as programs taught in English for local students, has also grown strikingly (Huang, 2000b). However, compared with the Netherlands and Japan, there are fewer professional programs at graduate level offered for international students or programs leading to internationally recognized professional qualifications provided for local students in Chinese universities.

Transnational Education There is a vast number of ways to define 'transnational education.' In general research on transnational education, exporting Japan's universities abroad, or importation of foreign institutions to Japan, has been undertaken since the early 1980s (Sukigara, 1993). While little research on this aspect had been conducted in Japan prior to the first half of the 1990s, in recent years, with a rapid development of transnational education in many advanced and some developing countries, some significant research achievements have been made. For example, Torii (2005) has studied why the branch campuses of American institutions withdrew from Japan in the 1990s. He also identified the distinguishing characteristics of the existing branch campuses of American institutions and touched on what lessons could be learned from the experiences of the branch campuses of American institutions when, in the future, new foreign institutions compete in the Japanese educational market. The major reasons why the branch campuses of American institutions withdrew from Japan are that in many aspects such as study duration, tuition fees, and the quality of education, these branch campuses could barely compete with the provision for students overseas, with the educational programs for students overseas, or with the Japanese higher education institutions (Torii, 2005). Huang (2004) examined the major forms and the quality assurance of transnational education from a comparative perspective. In particular, by examining the historical development, the current situation of Chinese transnational education since the 1990s, and the relevant policy and documents, he analysed the framework and characteristics of transnational education in China. According to Huang's study, quality assurance of transnational education in China focuses on provision of fields of study and award of degrees: it is regulated both by the central government and by the local authorities. In contrast to other parts of Asia and the Pacific region, quality assurance in China differs from both that in Australia, with its focus on quality assurance at institutional level, and that in Hong Kong, with its emphasis on a market-led quality assurance system. China's quality assurance system bears some similarities to that of Japan, but in terms of indicators and the major forms of transnational education, there exist remarkable differences between China and Japan (Huang, 2004).

Concluding Remarks

The most distinguishing character of research in internationalization of higher education in Japan since the latter part of 1990s is that it has been carried out either against a background of globalization or from the standpoint of examining the relationship between internationalization and globalization. Compared with research that had been conducted prior to the first half of 1990s, studies have been made on the basis of arguments about different definitions of the word 'internationalization' from

historical and comparative perspectives. Alternatively, much research has been undertaken on wider aspects including the new characteristics of internationalization in an era of globalization, the relationship between internationalization and globalization, and the impact of globalization on internationalization. Through such research, a micro context of the development of internationalization of higher education, a rational view of the current situation of the internationalization of higher education in Japan and individual countries has been greatly clarified.

With regard to the research objective or content of internationalization of higher education, substantial changes have occurred. Research on the necessity of internationalization, definitions of internationalization, and the indicators for assessing internationalization and its essential character has been accompanied by policy recommendations, and analysis of movement of international students. Significant achievements have been accomplished in defining the term 'internationalization' in an era of globalization, the role of indicators for assessing internationalization, the means of realizing internationalization and in particular of internationalization of the university curriculum as a core part of higher education, and the form of transnational education and its quality assurance. In a major sense, there has been a transition from at times somewhat superficial research on internationalisation as characterized by acceptance of international students, mobility of students and faculty members across borders, to studies of the central and concealed parts of internationalization of higher education. Thus, with increasingly broader and deeper research fields and objectives, the true nature of internationalization has begun to be examined.

A continuing emphasis on relevant research at a macro or policy level has allowed progress to be made in research on the various practices of internationalization based on case studies or at institutional levels. Important examples include the research by Kurachi of involvement of faculty members and students concerned in activities associated with internationalization, and the case studies of internationalization of the university curriculum by Aoki and by Huang.

There are though many research questions that remain to be considered. While the vast majority of researches have focussed on introductions to the current situation of internationalization in foreign countries, and even though many of them have been based on case studies or interviews, there is still a lack of theoretical, quantitative and empirical research. Limited emphasis has been placed on issues such as the prospects for internationalization of higher education, and in particular on the trends of transnational education and internationalization of the university curriculum. In other words, much research has been done on 'the phenomenon of internationalization' but little in fields that include: the role of internationalization of higher education in rapid globalization at either policy or institutional levels; on the response of internationalization of higher education to globalization; or on how internationalization of higher education can be facilitated in individual countries with different economic and political backgrounds. In essence, little research has been done on how to understand 'the future or particular objectives of internationalization.'

Since 1994, research on the internationalization of higher education in Japan has been made

against a background of globalization, through increasingly broader research objectives and content. Yet there are very few achievements that have been accomplished in research into the future of internationalization at a strategic level and especially in theoretical research, or by research based on survey, questionnaire and quantitative analysis.

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